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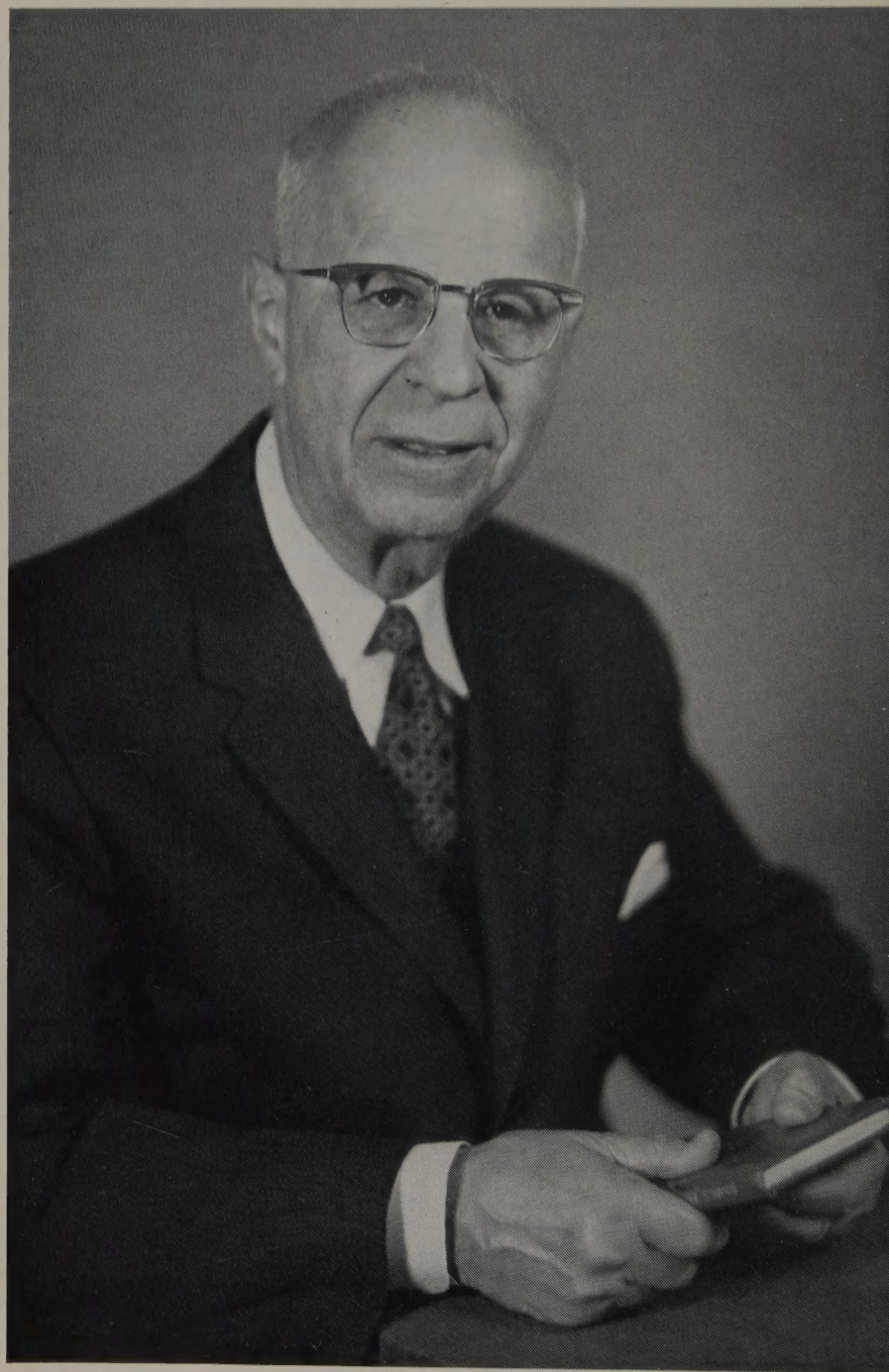
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DR. JULIAN MORGENSTERN

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# HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL

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THIS VOLUME  
OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL  
IS DEDICATED TO  
JULIAN MORGENSTERN  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY  
PRUDENT ADMINISTRATOR, SEARCHING SCHOLAR,  
STIMULATING TEACHER, LOYAL FRIEND, AND A  
GREAT RABBI



## The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the Hebrew Union College

Volume XXXII of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* is the fifth of this series to be subventioned by The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the Hebrew Union College, and is intended to serve as a memorial to Abraham and Emma Neumann, under the terms of the will of their son, Sidney Neumann of Philadelphia, who died at the age of seventy-nine on February 5, 1956.

Sidney Neumann was a modest, self-effacing son of the House of Israel. A life-long member of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel of Philadelphia, he was a loyal and devoted friend to three generations of its rabbis. Inspired in childhood by the eloquence of the dynamic personality of a member of the first graduating class of the Hebrew Union College, Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, Sidney Neumann always felt a special bond of gratitude to the seminary whose graduates ministered to him and to his family. Although he never visited the College, he revered its meaning in his own life and in the life of American Jewry. A bachelor with no human ties beyond the friendship of a few devoted souls, he sought in his bequest to support those aspects of American Jewish life, both in Philadelphia and elsewhere, which best exemplified the ideals and aspirations of his teacher, Rabbi Krauskopf, and which harmonized with his own concept of that which is permanent and enduring.

In his will, therefore, Sidney Neumann bequeathed the fruits of a lifetime of hard work to the institutions which he respected and loved: the congregation to which he and his parents belonged, for the building and maintenance of a chapel; the National Agricultural College (founded as the National Farm School by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Philadelphia Home for the Jewish Aged; the Jewish Publication Society of America (co-founded by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Lucien Moss Home of Philadelphia; the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia; the Hebrew Union College and the American Jewish Archives — for scholarly publications. All these, in addition to some modest bequests to many other institutions and to a number of individuals.



It is noteworthy that these generous gifts were not meant to perpetuate his own name, other than through the recitation of Kaddish for him in the Keneseth Israel Temple and the Chapel of the Hebrew Union College; Sidney Neumann contributed these large sums so that an enduring memorial to his parents might be assured.

We, of the Hebrew Union College, therefore, take pride in saluting the spirit of Sidney Neumann with this volume of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* dedicated to the memory of his parents, Abraham and Emma Neumann. *Zekher zaddik libhrakhah*: the memory of the righteous will be a blessing.



The extended size of this anniversary volume has been made possible by the generous grant in tribute to Dr. Morgenstern from the Simon Lazarus Family Foundation of Columbus, Ohio.

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## JULIAN MORGENSTERN — SCHOLAR, TEACHER AND LEADER

MORRIS LIEBERMAN, Baltimore, Maryland

**J**ULIAN Morgenstern was born on March 18, 1881 in St. Francisville, Illinois. His parents were immigrants from Germany and he was the second of three children. When he was two, the family moved to Vincennes, Indiana, remaining there for four years. Then, after a stay of but a year in Garden City, Kansas, permanent residence was taken up in Cincinnati, Ohio.

At the age of thirteen, with little Jewish background beyond a reading knowledge of Hebrew acquired from Rabbi Leon Strauss in Vincennes, young Morgenstern entered the Hebrew Union College, the seminary for the training of reform rabbis, established in Cincinnati in 1875 by Isaac Mayer Wise. In an autobiographical essay, Morgenstern tells us that he took this step without any proper understanding of the rabbinate and without ever having expressed a desire to become a rabbi. He writes, "The one thing, however, which I had demonstrated clearly, or at least to the satisfaction, or lack of satisfaction, of my parents, was that I was in no way qualified for a business career. And so my father reasoned that it would be timely for me to enter the Hebrew Union College, because students were then admitted at the unripe age of thirteen. Not at all improbably, my ability to read Hebrew fluently played some part in this decision."<sup>1</sup>

At the Hebrew Union College he continued for the normal course of eight years, receiving his rabbinical ordination in 1902. Morgenstern confesses frankly that these were not fruitful years, that he was not a particularly apt pupil and that he did not even find his studies interesting. He writes, "I became a rabbi at the age of twenty-one with, I am quite sure, the most minimal and abysmal Jewish knowledge of any rabbi ever ordained through all Judaism's history."<sup>2</sup>

After ordination it was decided that he should go to Germany to study, "but to study what, and for how long a period, and for what particular purpose, no one and least of all I, had the slightest idea."<sup>3</sup> However, to Germany he went. There he met Judah Leon

<sup>1</sup> L. Finkelstein, ed., *Thirteen Americans: Their Spiritual Autobiographies*, (New York, 1953), p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

Magnes, a friend from student days at the Hebrew Union College, who was completing studies at Heidelberg. Asked by Magnes about academic plans, Morgenstern answered that he had none. Magnes suggested the study of Semitic languages, and this suggestion was favorably received. "So," Morgenstern writes, "Magnes loaned me his Arabic grammar, sat down with me at once and gave me my first lesson. Thus it is that I owe it to Magnes that I became a student of Semitics, and perhaps a student at all."<sup>4</sup>

For the next two months, before the opening of regular classes, Morgenstern worked diligently. It was at this time that he learned, he tells us, "the technique of independent study and the virtues of system and thoroughness," traits which have been ever since outstandingly characteristic of him.

Spending his first year of foreign study at the University of Berlin and his second year at Heidelberg, Morgenstern was fortunate in establishing close relations with several of his teachers, Friedrich Delitzsch and B. Meissner at the former institution, and Carl Bezold and C. H. Becker at the latter. Delitzsch in particular had a great influence upon the young student and invited him to go to London for a summer's work in copying Assyrian inscriptions at the British Museum. This invitation he reluctantly declined, feeling it necessary to devote himself to the completion of his studies for the doctorate of philosophy in Semitics, which he received, *summa cum laude*, from the University of Heidelberg in 1904.

Assyriology was Morgenstern's first academic love. It was in this area that he wrote his dissertation, "The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion," and in this same field his article, "On Gilgameš-Epic XI, 274-320: A Contribution to the Study of the Role of the Serpent in Semitic Mythology," remains an important study.<sup>5</sup>

It is pertinent to ask why Morgenstern, who began his serious academic career as an Assyriologist, did not remain in that field. As we have seen, his relationship to the rabbinate was not the result of strongly felt desire and purpose. Though he tells us that during his two years in Germany his fellow students accepted him readily for what he was and felt himself to be, an American student of Jewish religious convictions and affiliations, there is little evidence yet of any positive Jewish orientation. Though immediately after his arrival in

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> Starting with Morgenstern's explanation of this passage, Albright was able to prove that the word for "slough" of the serpent, not previously recognized, actually occurs in it. See *Revue D'Assyriologie*, 1919, pp. 189 ff.

Berlin, he had enrolled at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in the hope of acquiring at this foremost European liberal rabbinic seminary something of what he had missed at the Hebrew Union College, he soon dropped out because of the dullness and coldness of the professors.

This was, however, a time of ferment and of growth for Morgenstern. At Berlin, as a result of his Semitic studies, it began to dawn upon him that the traditional approach to the study of the Bible was hardly tenable and that not all the statements of the Bible, not even those of the Pentateuch, could be literally true. Though some intimations of this point of view had reached him during his undergraduate days, the newer ideas of Bible study had never been seriously investigated by him. Now these questions struck him with force, raising in his mind such doubts as to lead him to wonder whether he could function honestly as a rabbi. As his studies deepened, however, his confusion was gradually dispelled. Especially at Heidelberg, convictions began to crystallize. A system of Jewish belief and a program of Jewish life and service began to take definite form.

One important consideration that helped shape his career was the need, which he must have begun to feel at this time, for Jewish participation in the newer scientific study of the Bible. Jewish scholars, he pointed out later in a paper read to the Central Conference of American Rabbis,<sup>6</sup> had contributed almost nothing to the scientific interpretation of the Bible. As a consequence, the Bible is often explained to the world in a non-Jewish, and sometimes even in an anti-Jewish, manner. In an article written in 1918, he says that while these Christian scholars have, with comparatively few exceptions, striven to be fair and unbiased, they write generally from a Christian point of view, seeing Judaism merely as the imperfect "old dispensation," destined to succumb to the "new dispensation," Christianity.<sup>7</sup> He insists, "For us, of course, all this is intolerable. We should develop and encourage able and competent Jewish Bible scholars, who can follow strictly scientific methods and who can, in addition, be inspired with full and tender sympathy for their Jewish ancestry, their Jewish religion and their Jewish past; who can reconstruct and reinterpret our Jewish literature, tradition and history from a positively Jewish

<sup>6</sup> "The Foundations of Israel's History," pp. 244-56. Two versions of this paper exist. The first was published in 1915; the second, revised to embody certain modifications of Morgenstern's views, is included in the collection of his works, *As A Mighty Stream*, published in 1949. Unless otherwise noted, references are to the original article.

<sup>7</sup> "Behind Closed Doors," *As A Mighty Stream*, pp. 89 ff.

standpoint, and with full consciousness of the significance of this reconstruction and reinterpretation, not for Christianity, but for our own Judaism."

These statements come from his post-student days, after he had left the field of Assyriology and while he was teaching at the Hebrew Union College, but they reveal his earlier thinking. They evidence the strong and positive love of Judaism which suffuses Morgenstern's writings — and for which, frankly speaking, he has not always been credited by some of his critics. Observing the strictest scientific standards, he is at the same time a man of staunch religious faith and profound Jewish loyalty. The prefatory remarks to his volume, *The Book of Genesis*, voice the theme which pervades his entire research, and I quote at some length because of the insight afforded into his mind and heart.

The present work aims to be a scientific interpretation of Genesis, but an interpretation which is not merely analytic, and therefore largely negative and destructive, but which is also and more pronouncedly, synthetic, constructive and Jewish . . . It operates on the principle that the Bible is a Jewish work throughout, and that it can be understood correctly and authoritatively only when it is interpreted from the standpoint of its Jewish teachings. It proceeds with deep love and reverence for the future of Judaism and its doctrines and practices, and for Jewish tradition and history. But it is animated by equal love and reverence for the future of Judaism, and for the evolution and expansion which its beliefs and teachings must inevitably undergo in the inexorable progress of human thought and knowledge, and in the irresistible compulsion to adapt and apply these teachings and principles to the needs and standards of modern existence, in order that Judaism may continue to be, what it has always been, a true religion of life, by which men may not only die resignedly, but, even more, may live nobly, bravely and usefully."

While we have anticipated our story just a little, the digression has been motivated by the desire to show some of the thinking which, though not formulated perhaps until later in his career, had begun in Germany and which led Morgenstern to those areas of study and activity in which he has worked so diligently. Suffice it to say that during these years of post-graduate study, his life purpose began to form. With increasing eagerness he looked forward to returning to America and to entering the active rabbinate.

Coming back to the United States, he became the rabbi of Congregation *Ahavath Aḥim* in Lafayette, Indiana, serving there for three years. Then learning of a vacancy on the faculty of the Hebrew



Union College, he made formal application for the post and received the appointment. Realizing his inadequacy as a teacher, even after two years of study abroad and in such time as he could spare from his rabbinical duties in Lafayette, he began a period of intensive concentration on the fundamentals of the Hebrew language, the Bible and early Jewish history. Six years elapsed before the publication of his first post-student days' work, "Biblical Theophanies," which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* in 1911 and 1913.

In 1915 the young professor delivered the paper to which reference was made earlier, "The Foundations of Israel's History," before the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and this embroiled him in a controversy of the most far-reaching consequences for American Reform Judaism. Up to this time Reform Judaism had never faced realistically the many questions of redefinition and reinterpretation made necessary by the new, non-traditional approach to the Bible. Despite the fact that the chair of Biblical Exegesis at the Hebrew Union College had been occupied since 1897 by Moses Bottenwieser, a scholar of advanced and even radical views, the modern ideas of Bible study had never been forthrightly presented, as we have seen in Morgenstern's own experience. A student legend, for which no documentation is offered, says that when Professor Bottenwieser was first interviewed by Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise, president of the Hebrew Union College, Wise asked if Bottenwieser believed in biblical criticism. "Only in constructive criticism!" was the reputed answer.

It was Morgenstern who almost single-handedly forced Reform Judaism to take a position in consonance with the spirit of the movement itself. Pointing out that the basic viewpoints of the modern approach to the Bible were already firmly established, and that Reform Judaism, by virtue of its abrogation of many biblical laws, tacitly recognized the evolutionary nature of the biblical materials and the human, composite authorship of the Pentateuch, Morgenstern insisted that Reform could not take a neutral stand and refuse either to deny or affirm the conclusions of biblical science. Reform must undertake, he demanded, the task of reconstructing Jewish history in the light of new, scientific knowledge. He rejected the opinion that this reconstruction was dangerous to faith. He wrote, "We are not destroying the foundations of our Judaism, as many shortsighted and timorous traditionalists fear. We are not questioning the existence of God, nor denying, nor abrogating a single one of the vital, spiritual truths of Judaism. We are merely perfecting our knowledge of Judaism . . ."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> "The Foundations of Israel's History," p. 255.

Morgenstern's views aroused a storm of opposition, especially from the older men of the Conference, who warned against the dangerous consequences of such teaching. Undaunted, Morgenstern pressed his point firmly and ultimately his triumph was complete. The new approach to the Bible was made basic to the curriculum of the Hebrew Union College and was reflected increasingly in the teaching and preaching of its graduates.

The debt of Reform Judaism to Morgenstern on this score is very great. Much of the intellectual honesty, the consistency of philosophy and practice, and the absolute freedom of inquiry and expression that mark Reform Judaism may be credited directly and properly to his influence. To no small degree, because of his courageous leadership, Reform Judaism has been relatively free of the doctrinal and practical confusion which deprives Conservative Judaism, another modernist interpretation of Jewish religion, of real cohesion and unity.

In 1921 Morgenstern was made acting president of the Hebrew Union College, and in 1922 he was elected president, succeeding in that office the esteemed theologian, Kaufmann Kohler. Despite the heavy administrative responsibilities which he now carried, his research continued with unabated intensity, nearly every year seeing at least one major study in print. The recognition of his colleagues in the field of biblical scholarship was demonstrated by his election as president of the American Oriental Society in 1928-29, as president of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in 1941, and by his designation as one of the two American honorary members of the British Society for Old Testament Study.

In addition to his scholarly work, Morgenstern assumed a position of pre-eminence as a philosopher and theoretician of Reform Judaism. In addresses before the faculty and students of the Hebrew Union College and at sessions of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, he probed deeply into the essential nature of the Reform movement. In opposition to those who maintained that Reform Judaism had separated itself from the main stream of Jewish life, he insisted, "Reform Judaism is truly and indisputably historic Judaism."<sup>9</sup> Modern developments, he showed convincingly, are only the latest manifestations of the adjustments that have taken place over and over whenever Judaism has come into contact with a superior culture. Reform Judaism of today, he pointed out, is in the pattern of the K Reformation in the Southern Kingdom of Judah in 899 B. C. E., of the C Reformation in the Northern Kingdom of Israel in 841 B. C. E., of

<sup>9</sup> "The Reform Process in Jewish History," in *As A Mighty Stream*, p. 311.

the Deuteronomic Reformation in 621 B. C. E., and of the Hasidic Reformation in Maccabean times.<sup>10</sup>

The reforming impulse in Judaism, which he shows as going back to early times, has as its purpose the controlling and guiding of the cultural borrowing process which Judaism has always manifested. It is this disciplined acculturation which "alone saves and preserves religions and cultures and stimulates and impels them to further progress and new creation."<sup>11</sup> Reform Judaism, therefore, must always press forward, but with moderation. Morgenstern cautions against extremism, pointing out that the post-Exilic reformers from the time of Ezra onward, who adopted a moderate approach, were much more astute than the uncompromising Deuteronomic reformers whose program was too drastic to be accepted by the people at large.<sup>12</sup>

Drawing upon his profound knowledge of Jewish history, Morgenstern brought much illumination to the debate within and outside Reform Judaism over the issue of Zionism. In this connection his studies in Jewish universalism and particularism were especially relevant. Both impulses, he states repeatedly, are deeply rooted in Jewish thought and practice, but both must be guided by the over-arching truth that "Israel is a people and Judaism a religion, and these two principles are eternally, inseparably linked."<sup>13</sup>

Without accepting the political philosophy of Zionism, Morgenstern was deeply sympathetic to the human need which that movement sought to satisfy. In a lecture before the Central Conference of American Rabbis, delivered in 1947, when the Zionist question was being bitterly debated, he said,

The events of the last fourteen years, and particularly the developments in Central and Eastern Europe during the last two years which have passed since the end of World War II, as they have affected our Jewish brethren, the seeming hopelessness of their lot and the apparent callousness of the entire world thereto, have made of us all who are worthy of the name, Jew, Zionists in a certain sense, in that, since Palestine seems to be the only potential haven of escape and of renewed life and hope for our brethren, we must all desire eagerly and actively to secure Palestine in maximum degree for them and support their migration thither in every proper and practicable way."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Amos Studies*, III, p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> "The Reform Process in Jewish History," *loc. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>12</sup> "The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel," I, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> "Nation, People and Religion," *As A Mighty Stream*, p. 373.

<sup>14</sup> "With History as our Guide," in *C.C.A.R. Yearbook*, 1947.

Recognizing thus the need for some kind of political organization in Palestine, he warned against the danger of narrow and unworthy nationalism that would not sufficiently take cognizance of the religious aspect of Jewish being. "Israel is indeed a people with a religion, a religious people, and basically naught else," he writes.<sup>15</sup>

He further points out that while a nationalistic form of organization might be necessary for that segment of the Jewish people living in Palestine, the fulfillment of Jewish genius and destiny lies less in that country than in other lands where the far greater section of the Jewish people resides.

With amazing prescience he predicted as far back as 1915 the situation which obtains today after the establishment of the State of Israel. Drawing a parallel from the period of Ezra and Nehemiah, he wrote, even before the Balfour Declaration had been promulgated, that only a small minority of Jews would return to the Jewish state. The vast majority, he said, would remain in their present homes, the real center of Jewish life would be in Europe and America, and the future of Judaism as a religion would lie in the hands of Jews of the western continents.<sup>16</sup> Morgenstern could not foresee the Hitlerian and Communist destruction of the European centers of Jewish life, but his views about the limited return to Israel and about the religious importance of American Jewry are strikingly corroborated by the pattern of American Jewish life today.

Under Morgenstern's guidance the Hebrew Union College became a recognized center of creative Jewish learning. His was the privilege of ordaining two hundred and seventy-eight rabbis, and many distinguished scholars served under him as members of the faculty. Since his retirement in 1947 from the active presidency of the Hebrew Union College, he has continued his teaching and his writing with no diminution of scholarly vigor and imagination. In his autobiographical essay published in 1953, he expressed the feeling that he had reached only the threshold of his service. Eventually he hopes to produce a history of Judaism and its institutions during the entire biblical period.<sup>17</sup>

Even this is not his ultimate goal. His later studies, he tells us in that essay, have brought him to the realization of the nature and importance of peripheral Judaism, especially that of Galilee, where many traditions and doctrines that normative Judaism discarded seem to have persisted. Christianity, he feels, was at first only another

<sup>15</sup> "Nation, People and Religion," *loc. cit.*, p. 373.

<sup>16</sup> "The Foundations of Israel's History," pp. 236-37.

<sup>17</sup> *Thirteen Americans: Their Spiritual Autobiographies*, p. 269.

form of peripheral Judaism, and one much closer in antecedents and content to normative Judaism than is usually suspected. While Judaism is in principle a universalistic religion, the circumstances of history have imposed upon it the limitations of nationalism. Christianity, however, is in every sense a universalistic faith. The two religions, says Morgenstern, have a complementary mission: Judaism, to proclaim the eternal truth of the one, living God; Christianity, to win the entire world to this truth. To advance this joint cause of "One God, one world, one humanity, and Judaism, in both its Jewish and its Christian forms, its herald and its guide" — this is the service in which he has sought to be a humble and earnest worker.<sup>18</sup>

One need not agree in all things, whether scientifically or philosophically with Morgenstern, but no one can fail to be deeply impressed with the dedicated idealism and the integrity and purity of mind and heart that have marked his whole life. As a scholar of the first rank, he has not been merely a dusty pedant, isolated in an ivory tower, working upon great materials but concerned only with their form and not their meaning. Beyond the rich harvest of his academic achievement, we can see the man — teacher of faith and wisdom, courageous and far-seeing leader of his generation. For the example and inspiration of his life, his pupils, associates and friends, gratefully recite the traditional blessing, "Barukh attah Adonay, Elohaynu melek ha'olam shehalaq mayhokhmato li-ray'av."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.



# THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE NEGEV

NELSON GLUECK

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion

OUR archaeological explorations of the Negev, continuing for several months each year from 1952 on<sup>1</sup> have shown that there existed a whole series of civilizations in the Negev, separated from one another by extended gaps in time. Despite the difficulties of climate and soil that had to be contended with, all of these civilizations were based on agriculture and animal husbandry and to a greater or lesser degree on trade. The strategic position of the Negev, between Canaan, Egypt and Arabia, lent it from earliest times on an importance which transcended its poverty in good water and soil. The routes of travel through it, followed by Sinuhe, Abraham, the People of the Exodus, the forces of Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, the army and engineers of Uzziah, the caravaneers bringing the incense of Arabia and Somaliland to inland emporia and Mediterranean ports in the Fertile Crescent, attracted settlements, strongholds and agricultural undertakings during many millennia. These historical periods were marked, all popular opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, by no major, permanent climatic changes. Indeed, it can be demonstrated that no climatic changes of drastic nature occurred, at least in that part of the world, during approximately the last ten thousand years.<sup>2</sup>

There was definitive evidence of a Late Chalcolithic civilization in the North and Central Negev. Excavations of sites belonging to this period have been undertaken by Perrot and Dothan immediately outside of Beersheba in the North Negev<sup>3</sup> and we have discovered surface remains of other sites both in the North and Central Negev and take it for granted that still others will be discovered in the Wadi 'Arabah.<sup>4</sup> All these sites were marked by distinctive Chalcolithic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BASOR* 159, p. 3, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *RID*, pp. 7-10; *RJ*, pp. 12, 72, 190; *OSJ*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>3</sup> *RID*, pp. 43-44; Perrot, *IEJ* V, 1955, pp. 17-40, 73-84, 167-88; VI:3, 1956, pp. 163-79; Dothan, *'Atiqot* II, 1959, pp. 1-42; *BASOR* 152, p. 19; 159, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *BA*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 1959, pp. 82-97; *BASOR* 145, p. 15; 152, pp. 19, 24, 38; 159, pp. 8-9; *RID*, pp. 42-50; 57-59, 157.



pottery, which was related to the wares of the Chalcolithic center of Teleilat Ghassul at the northeast end of the Dead Sea.<sup>5</sup>

For almost a thousand years after the disappearance of this Chalcolithic civilization in the Negev, the land lay waste and fallow. The next civilization which manifested itself there in a very extensive and intensive fashion was that of the Middle Bronze I period, which can be dated approximately between the 21st and 19th centuries B. C. It was largely an agricultural civilization, characterized by "beehive" types of stone houses, located often on the slopes of hills above cultivable stretches of ground. It made use of a type of pottery which is largely indistinguishable from that employed in this period elsewhere in the ancient Near East. "Cupmarks" or "cup-holes" of conical shaped depressions in the limestone were found on many of these sites. We are convinced that they were used for the grinding of grain, which still occurs in some modern villages in Basutoland.<sup>6</sup> Believing as we do in the correctness of the historical memories of the biblical stories dealing with Abraham in the Negev, we think that they must be placed within that period. In other words, the time of Abraham cannot, according to this explanation, be placed after the 19th century B. C. There was no civilization whatsoever in the Negev after that until almost another millennium had rolled around. The gap following the destruction of the Middle Bronze I civilization in Sinai and the Negev and elsewhere in the 19th century B. C., lasted in the Negev until the 10th century B. C.

It was not till the time of Solomon, that the military and civil authority of Judah was strong enough to incorporate the Negev tightly within the structure of its kingdom. The length and width of the Negev were crisscrossed with roads marked by fortresses, villages, waystations and watertight cisterns, — the latter had not been known before the Iron Age. Travel and trade flourished. Industry developed in connection with the intensive exploitation of the copper mines in the Wadi 'Arabah, which we rediscovered some years ago and which we were able to date to Solomon's times and later, primarily as a result of the identification of the surface pottery finds on them.<sup>7</sup> The industrial development and burgeoning of trade with foreign countries were demonstrated through the construction by Solomon's men of the port city and copper refining center of Ezion-geber, which we ex-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *RJ*, pp. 233-38.

<sup>6</sup> *BA*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 1959, p. 88, Fig. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *OSJ*, pp. 50-88; *ILN*, July 7, 1934, pp. 26, 36; July 30, 1938, p. 212; Aug. 5, 1939, pp. 246 f.; *RID*, pp. 132 ff.; *BA*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 1959, pp. 92-94, 104.

cavated, and by the great expansion of foreign trade by sea and by land.<sup>8</sup>

The trade relations with Arabia were dramatized by the account of the Queen of Sheba's summit meeting with King Solomon in Jerusalem. The southwestern boundary of Egypt extended to the River of Egypt (the Wadi el-Arish).<sup>9</sup> The sedentary, agricultural settlement of the Negev flourished during the time of the Judaeen kingdom from the time of Solomon on. First of all, public security was established through the construction of forts and the stationing of troops and the development of complex systems of communications.<sup>10</sup> Villages flourished under the protection of hilltop fortresses and agriculture was widely practiced. An intricate system of terracing of the dry stream beds to capture and retain the waters of the winter and spring freshets spread throughout the entire land, being known and utilized also, to be sure, in Judah proper.<sup>11</sup> The Judaeans practiced the art of terracing much more intensively than any of their predecessors, but it was not new with them.<sup>12</sup> Above all, they dotted the Negev with watertight cisterns, enabling villages and flocks and herds to exist where none had previously been possible except during the brief and irregular intervals of rainy seasons. The accounts of Uzziah's activities in the Negev reflect a revitalization of settlement and trade there after the first flush of efflorescence occasioned by Solomon's strength and organizing genius had passed.<sup>13</sup> During the Iron II period of occupation of the Negev, types of pottery were employed there that are common in Judah proper, in addition to coarse hand-made wares, with which we first became familiar from our excavations of Ezion-geber: Elath, and which may be called the pottery of the Kenites and the Rechabites.<sup>14</sup>

The archaeological data or lack of them for the Iron I period in the Negev, preceding the Iron II period commencing with Solomon, make it plain why the people of the Exodus could move at will through the Negev when en route from Kadesh-barnea to Transjordan. The

<sup>8</sup> *OSJ*, pp. 50-113; *BASOR* 159, p. 14, n. 31; *BA*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 1959, pp. 91-94; *RID* pp. 149-79.

<sup>9</sup> Joshua 15:4, 47; Numbers 34:4-5; *RID*, pp. 120-21; 149-53.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *BASOR* 159, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *BASOR* 155, p. 3, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *BASOR* 159, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> II Chron. 26:10; *BASOR* 152, p. 24; 155, p. 3, n. 2; p. 11, Fig. 5; 159, pp. 10-13, and Fig. 4-7; 138, pp. 12-29; *BA*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 1959, pp. 82-97.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *BA*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 1959, p. 93; *BASOR* 145, p. 23; 152, p. 34; 155, pp. 10-12; 159, pp. 11-14; *Smithsonian Report for 1941*, p. 478.

power of Canaan during Middle Bronze II, Late Bronze and Iron I had not been able to penetrate into the Negev, with the result that from the end of Middle Bronze I to the beginning of Iron II no sedentary civilization developed there capable of building and maintaining fortresses and positions of strength enabling them to control the movements of nomads or seminomads throughout the land. There was no central political authority in existence in the Negev from the 19th century to the beginning of the 10th century B. C. which could have prevented the Israelites or any other group from moving about freely there or in Sinai for that matter during that period.

Our previous archaeological exploration of Transjordan revealed, however, that such was not the case when the Israelites attempted to pass through it on the way to the Promised Land. The archaeological data we discovered there agree with the biblical statements that the Israelites found the Edomite and Moabite kingdoms strongly entrenched in southern Transjordan when they arrived there, and were compelled to seek their permission to traverse their territories. This being denied them, they were constrained to circumvent the eastern boundaries of the Edomite and Moabite kingdoms, before turning westward to enter the Promised Land by crossing the Jordan at Gilgal. If the particular Exodus through southern Transjordan had taken place before the 13th century B. C., the Israelites would have found neither Edomite nor Moabite kingdoms in existence, and would not have had to bother to ask for permission to traverse the Royal Road through the length of the center of their territories.<sup>15</sup> In Sinai and in the Negev, the Israelites encountered seminomadic peoples who were friendly and kin to them, such as the Kenites, and who did everything possible to assist their sojourn there and to support them in their quest for the haven of the Promised Land.<sup>16</sup> To sum up, it might be said that the archaeological evidence obtained by our explorations of the Negev and Transjordan indicates that the time of Abraham could not have been later than the 19th century B. C. and the Exodus of the Israelites from Kadesh-barnea and around Edom and Moab could not have taken place before the 13th century B. C., assuming, as we do, that there is historical validity to the biblical account.

Following the destruction of the Judaeen Kingdom by the Babylonians, the Negev returned to a desolate estate, from which, as we have seen, it had periodically been rescued whenever a strong, creative,

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *OSJ*, pp. 146-47; *AASOR* XV, p. 138.

<sup>16</sup> *RID*, pp. 132-45.

political authority appeared, that was able to control the Bedouin population inside and outside of the Negev and Sinai, that appreciated and exploited its geopolitical advantages, and that made it possible for trade and agriculture to flourish and settlements to be established and develop under public security. It soon became evident, in the course of our explorations that the first post-Judaean period of sedentary occupation of the Negev was to be assigned to the Nabataeans. Wherever we have turned in the Negev, during the years of our methodical archaeological exploration of it, we came across manifestation of the creative abilities of the Nabataeans. We soon learned that there was far more to the Nabataean occupancy of the Negev than half a dozen trade emporia strung along the arterial routes that led across the Negev, generally speaking, from east to west, or more specifically from Petra to Ascalon.

We have come across hundreds of Nabataean towns, villages, hamlets, and separate farmsteads, in the Negev, identifiable as Nabataean, among other criteria, by striking pottery remains on the surface of the soil. Intricate systems of water and soil conservation characterized their control of the Wadi 'Arabah, the Negev and Sinai, as well as of other parts of their kingdoms. They had obviously learned much from the descendants of their predecessors, the Judaeans, Edomites and Moabites, but they brought the science of collecting and dispersing water to a height it had never previously achieved in the Wadi 'Arabah and in the Negev and which was never surpassed by any of their contemporaries anywhere. They smoothed hillsides to serve as water catchment slopes and garlanded whole ranges with channels sloping down to cisterns and reservoirs to glean the last possible drop of water from the scarce rains. They understood and utilized highly advanced schemes of water spreading, forcing the earth to act as a sponge and retain the water in suspension to provide moisture for crops planted in areas which knew only from 8 to 4 inches of rain a year. Barren hillsides were curried and combed, with paths artfully arranged between swept up piles of pebbles, as Hebrew University authorities have pointed out, to encourage the flow of rainwater to cultivable fields below.<sup>17</sup> They constructed many dams and built cisterns without number.

There is reason to believe that numerous Nabataean temples existed in Sinai, the Negev and the Wadi 'Arabah, corresponding to what was undoubtedly the case in southern Transjordan and elsewhere in the Nabataean kingdom. We know of the Nabataean temples

<sup>17</sup> *BASOR* 159, p. 7, n. 2.

at Dhiban, Khirbet Tannur, Dhat Ras, Qasr ed-Dherih, Qasr er-Rabbah and Petra in Transjordan, and there are many others there that can be listed as certainly being locations of additional ones, such as Ader, Balu'ah, Khirbet el-Moreighah, Ma'an, Ma'in, el-Lehun, Nakhl, er-Rabbah, and Umm el-Walid,<sup>18</sup> Kerak, Mahaiy, Kh. Brak and Kh. Mesheirfeh, among others.<sup>19</sup> There must have been Nabataean temples at Aila, et-Telah, Bîr Madhkur, Feinân,<sup>20</sup> 'Ain Hosb<sup>21</sup> and Moa,<sup>22</sup> to mention some of the probabilities. Recent excavations have brought new evidence of the existence of a Nabataean temple at 'Abda in the Negev.<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact, we doubt that there was a village of any size in the Nabataean Negev which did not have a temple of its own, even as we believe to have been the case in Transjordan. And under unusual circumstances, whether because of the sanctity of a mountain such as at Jebel Tannur or the presence of a spring as at 'Ain Shellaleh,<sup>24</sup> temples must have been erected to meet them, as they were at these two places. That there were Nabataean temples at the great Nabataean emporia of Nitsanah, Isbeita, Ruheibeh, Khalasah and Kurnub goes without saying, in addition to the one at 'Abda.<sup>25</sup> We shall indicate on another occasion that the Nabataean sculpture of 'Abda, particularly as shown on a small altar there<sup>26</sup> is in exactly the same tradition as that of the third period of Khirbet Tannur in Transjordan.

In the Wadi 'Arabah and throughout the Negev, there is an abundance of fine, typical Nabataean pottery wherever one turns. Years ago we had remarked about the presence, in all probability, of Nabataean pottery kilns at Bîr Madhkur in the Wadi 'Arabah,<sup>27</sup> and had suggested the existence of others too. It comes as no surprise to learn of the discovery of one at 'Abda in recent excavations there.<sup>28</sup> For years, we and others before us had been picking up fragments of fine Nabataean pottery of all kinds on the surface of 'Abda and on related sites in the Negev. One of the richest sources for surface

<sup>18</sup> *AASOR* XIV, pp. 10-12.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Indices of "Explorations in Eastern Palestine," I-IV in *AASOR* XIV, XV, XVIII-XIX, XXV-XXVIII.

<sup>20</sup> *AASOR* XV, pp. 32-37.

<sup>21</sup> *AASOR* XV, pp. 18 and 19.

<sup>22</sup> *BASOR* 138, p. 11, n. 12.

<sup>23</sup> *ILN*, Nov. 26, 1960, pp. 944-47; *RID*, p. 244.

<sup>24</sup> *AASOR* XV, pp. 54-55.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Woolley & Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, p. 111; *RID*, pp. 257-76.

<sup>26</sup> *ILN*, Nov. 26, 1960, p. 945, Fig. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *AASOR* XV, pp. 35-36.

<sup>28</sup> *ILN*, Nov. 26, 1960, p. 944.



Nabataean pottery finds is at the large, much destroyed Nabataean site of Moa on the western side of the Wadi 'Arabah. Moa is in all probability to be identified with Khirbet Awad.<sup>29</sup> At no place in all my explorations of Transjordan and the Negev have I found greater quantities of Nabataean pottery of all kinds than at Moa. They range from large and coarse to fine and painted and to sigillata types. There is little question but that if excavations were undertaken there, Nabataean pottery kilns would be discovered. I am convinced that the sigillata wares were also locally produced by the Nabataeans and not all of them were imported by any means. I am also convinced, as I hope to demonstrate elsewhere, that the finest Nabataean pottery was already in existence well before the end of the first century B. C. At numerous places in the Negev we found Nabataean inscriptions and rock drawings.

The importance of the Negev dwindled considerably and for a time progressively, following the destruction of the political structure of the Nabataean kingdom by the Romans in A. D. 106, and its incorporation into the Roman Province of Arabia. Its decline was briefly arrested during the late Roman period and completely reversed with the efflorescence of the Byzantine Empire. The Negev flourished under Byzantine, Christian rule in at least as intensive a fashion as it had under the Nabataeans, and in some ways even more intensively. Pagan temples gave way everywhere to churches, and we have discovered the remains of literally hundreds of them in the Negev. We have said we believed that there was hardly a village in the Negev which did not possess a Nabataean temple. By the same token, it can be said, that wherever there had once been a pagan temple, there sprang up in the Byzantine period a Christian place of worship. The Nabataeans became Christianized, and only the Jews remained faithful to their own tradition. Among many of the Byzantine cities in the Negev, were undoubtedly synagogues. There is no question but that in the course of time, others of the type of the synagogue at Nirim in the northwestern Negev will be discovered<sup>30</sup> in the Negev. There is evidence of the existence of one at Khalasah.<sup>31</sup> One recalls the open-air Byzantine synagogue of Umm es-Sedeir near Eilat.<sup>32</sup>

We have omitted reference to the prehistoric period of the Negev, which can be traced back to Palaeolithic times. More excavations

<sup>29</sup> *BASOR* 138, p. 11, n. 12.

<sup>30</sup> *RID*, pp. 243-84.

<sup>31</sup> *RID*, p. 280.

<sup>32</sup> *RID*, p. 281.

are required now, particularly of Nabataean and Byzantine sites, to elucidate the relationship of the Negev to Judaea especially in these latter periods. Our explorations have shown that the Negev was never a wasteland, which could not be inhabited; that the climate has not changed in the last ten millennia more or less; that whenever there was a strong central authority and an energetic people, agricultural civilization has been developed there; that it had and has extraordinary economic and strategic importance, which the capable and farseeing have been able to appreciate and exploit; that the prosperity of the kingdom of Judah from the time of Solomon on depended, in large measure, upon its possession and exploitation, that whoever controls it commands access to the markets of Arabia and Egypt and beyond; that it formed one of the most important parts, respectively, of the kingdoms of Judah, of Nabatene, and of the Byzantine empire; that it played a formative role in the history of Israel.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASOR</i>	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>BA</i>	The Biblical Archaeologist
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal
<i>ILN</i>	Illustrated London News
<i>OSJ</i>	Glueck, <i>The Other Side of the Jordan</i> , 1940.
<i>RID</i>	Glueck, <i>Rivers in the Desert</i> , 1959.
<i>RJ</i>	Glueck, <i>The River Jordan</i> , 1946.



## GENESIS 4:26b

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THE half-verse with which this paper deals has in it no unusual words and it presents no great problem in translation. The ensuing summary of exegesis of the verse might be subtitled, a history of reading difficulties into a text.

The verse, after telling that a son Enosh was born also to Seth, states that "then there began the calling on the name of Yahwe." The awkwardness of the translation stems from the MT, where we encounter **אז החל**, a *ho'phal* of **חלל**, meaning "to begin."

The difficulty in our half-verse is scarcely in its meaning, but rather in its implication. First, since Genesis 4:4 had described Cain and Abel as bringing offerings to Yahwe, the suggestion in our verse that only in the time of Seth did the worship of Yahwe begin can perhaps point towards contradiction; modern literary analysts have suggested that two variant traditions of the earliest worship of Yahwe are discernible within Genesis 4. Second, the half-verse, whatever it may mean, is perhaps in surface contradiction with Exod. 6:3 which states that the name of Yahwe was made known only in the time of Moses. The half-verse is in conflict with Exod. 3:14. Third, somewhat similarly, haggadic embellishments in post-biblical times credited the patriarch Abraham with the momentous discovery of the existence of the one true God, and our half-verse, if interpreted naturally, would be in contradiction to that distinctive haggadic motif.

The ancient versions reflect translations which both raise textual questions and which have themselves spawned secondary and tertiary developments. These flower in that exegesis which we moderns are prone to label fanciful. But we shall see that even the most sober and pedantic among modern scholars have succumbed to the far-fetched and the overly ingenious.

Our first field to survey is that of rabbinic exegesis. Targum Onkelos renders our half-verse: "Then men *profaned* the name of God

in their prayers."<sup>1</sup> The Palestinian Targum (Pseudo-Jonathan) proceeds to read the verse as though a missing direct object for לקרא is to be understood: men profaned the name of God by calling *men and idols* by divine names. (Rashi to the verse rephrases the content of the Palestinian Targum, stating more specifically that the giving of divine names to men and idols profaned the name of God.)

Still other bits of rabbinic exegesis are worth noting. One interpretation states that this passage is one of three in which the particle **אז** introduces an account of rebellion.<sup>2</sup> Another view contrasts the fate of Israel, for whom God provided dry land out of the sea, with that of Enosh's generation, upon whom God sent a flood which turned the land into sea. This was not the same as Noah's flood, for this one covered only a third of the earth's surface. Again, the wickedness of the generation of Enosh was such that the Shekhinah, which at Cain's murder of Abel had moved from the first heaven to the second, now moved further from earth, from the second to the third heaven. Enosh's name, we are assured, in early sources means sickness or possibly weakness. A narrative relates that Enosh was asked some questions by his neighbors about his ancestors. In his answer, Enosh alluded to Adam's having been fashioned out of dust. Finding that his replies elicited skepticism, Enosh himself fashioned an image from dust, and when Enosh blew into it, a demon entered, giving the image life. The neighbors promptly declared this "golem" to be their god and they believed in it.

All this exegesis is in keeping with the supposition that הוּחַל must mean profane. By and large the earlier of the rabbinic sources seem by inference to exclude Enosh himself from the charge of idolatry. But Maimonides, writing in the 12th century extends that transgression to include even that worthy.

It is to be noted that insofar as such exegesis or legend is tied to the verse, the bond rests in taking both **אז הוּחַל** and the phrase **קרא בשם יהוה** out of their usual and natural meaning. But, on the other hand, medieval Jewish interpreters of the more literal and rational disposition, such as Ibn Ezra and Sforino, did not succumb to the traditional fancies. Ibn Ezra not only assures us that הוּחַל must mean *began* and not *profaned*, but he proceeds to give a grammatical analysis in his own terminology to show that "profane" is ruled out.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kasher, *חורו שלמה*, II, p. 342, note 159 invites attention to variant readings in Onkelos, since Kimḥi apparently had seen a literal text. But virtually all traditional Jewish commentators interpret the הוּחַל as meaning profane.

<sup>2</sup> The rabbinic material is reproduced conveniently in Kasher, *חורו שלמה*, *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ezra seems to be terming the form a *pu'al*, whereas we should call it a

It is to be observed that Ibn Ezra and Rashi are here not harmonizable. The Jewish tradition subsequent to them, to which we shall return, inherits both the fancies of Rashi and the literal view of Ibn Ezra.

Our second avenue is the LXX and its derivatives. After relating the birth of Enosh, the text tells us, "He οὐτος hoped to call on the name of the Lord God." Three things are to be noted: 1) The emphatic οὐτος, he; 2) The rendering, *hoped*; and 3) the Lord God. It is recalled that *yhwh* was rendered by κύριος and 'elohim by θεός; did the LXX read יהוה אלהים?

The LXX translators took the crucial word as coming from the root יחל, to hope or await. To the question whether a reading different from MT lay before the translators we shall return presently.

As was the case with Jews in the rabbinic tradition, for whom exegesis and legend were concomitant, this Greek rendering begat Graeco-Jewish marvels of development. In Philo and those influenced by him or by his atmosphere, a striking "midrash" is to be found. The identification of Enosh, man, with hope became in Philo's hands a means of pointing to man's distinction over animals; the latter are without hope, but man is not. On an even grander scale, Philo sets forth a view of what we might today call the existential meaning of Scripture. Genesis is for Philo a record of the progress of the soul to perfection. The story of creation in Gen. 2 is somewhat equivalent in his thought to man's "fall," for such is the import of man's being a mixture of dust and of spirit. Philo proceeds, then, to set forth how man can rise. He gives us two triads of biblical characters who, allegorically, represent aspects of man's endowments. The second triad consists of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Allegorically these "Patriarchs" are qualities, indeed graces, and not men, and they are respectively, ability to learn, the intuitive capacity, and training (ἄσκησις). But preliminary to these qualities is the progressing soul's need to possess inner serenity, for which Noah is the allegory. Inner serenity is attainable through repentance, for which Enoch is the sym-

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*hoph'al*; Ibn Ezra's term probably means simply passive. Somewhat less than clearly he adds what seems to be a clinching point that if the word meant profane then the noun would be nearer the verb. Exactly what this last means is not certain; the super-commentaries to Ibn Ezra interpret his comment to signify that were the meaning profane, then the word לקרא would be superfluous. In the absence of a better explanation of this uncertainty of Ibn Ezra, we may as well accept this incongruent explanation. Much clearer than his words is his intent to offer a second and final reason for insisting that הוּחַל means "began."

bol. But repentance, in turn, needs to be preceded by hope — for which Enosh is the symbol. So Enosh, Enoch, and Noah are the first triad.<sup>4</sup> Could this wondrous exegesis even have developed without the LXX rendering of הוֹחַל by *hoped*?

Though the elaborateness of Philo's construction is not always echoed in patristic writings, they not infrequently allude to Enosh as "hope." So the *Recognitions* of Pseudo-Clement (IV, xii), where Philo's Enosh and Enoch seem to have become telescoped.

In Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* vii, 8) the Philonic interpretation of Enosh is alluded to most vividly, and even developed some further. Eusebius tells us: "I think we ought to receive the history of the Hebrews from among the learned of the Hebrews and not from any other source. As the story holds among them, from the beginning before the Flood, from the first creation of mankind and for the following generations there have been a certain number of righteous men beloved of God; one of whom 'hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God.' Now this shows that to none but the Creator of all things he [Enosh] gave the title both of the Lord and God<sup>5</sup> of the universe. For he was persuaded that not only by creative power He well and orderly disposed the whole, but also, like the lord as it were of a great city, was the ruler of the whole, and dispenser, and master of the house, being at once Lord, King, and God. The first to lay to heart the idea and name of this being . . . was the godly man of whom I speak, and who in place of all substance, and title, and abundance . . . 'hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God', . . . having procured Him for a treasure to himself of blessings both of soul and body. In consequence of this it is recorded that he was the first to be called among the Hebrews a 'true man.' At all events he is named Enos, which is 'true man,' by a well applied appellation. ' . . . So Enos is recorded as the first of the beloved of God among the Hebrews, since he first hoped' . . . proving the truly rational faculty of the soul to be capable of knowledge and of understanding the true worship of the Godhead; the first of which would be a proof of the true knowledge of God, and the second of his hope in the God whom he knew."

The third avenue is led into through Aquila, as preserved in Origen.

Aquila presents two major and two minor deviations from the usual LXX reading. Of the major, *οὐτος* is absent, giving way to *τῶ*, "then."

<sup>4</sup> See especially *De Abrahamo*, beginning.

<sup>5</sup> We recall that LXX had rendered יהוה here by *Lord God*.

"Hoped" is restored to "began." Where LXX read ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι, Aquila reads καλεῖσθαι<sup>6</sup> ἐν ὀνόματι; the differences between the two senses may or may not be sharp. Subsequent Latin renderings uniformly take ἐπικαλεῖσθαι as active in sense, but καλεῖσθαι as passive, and I am not completely sure that the distinction is tenable. Thus the LXX would mean; "This one hoped to invoke the name of God"; while Aquila is rendered, "then there began the being named (*vocari*) in the name of God" (as for example, Yehonathan, or any man's name which is theophoric).

Whether the differences are really susceptible of the delicate distinctions is unnecessary for us to decide. Hugo Grotius accepts the distinction between LXX and Aquila as valid, and prefers the sense of Aquila, though indicating that LXX can also be accepted. He cites that Cyril had interpreted our verse in the LXX to mean that men were named with the name of God; he tells us that this overtone is exactly what Aquila was driving at; and he informs us that Irenaeus favored this sense also. If it should be demurred that "to be named in the name of God" is without specific meaning, then we shall see that subsequent commentators go further and specify what Aquila seems only to imply.

Skipping to Luther's age, Luther rendered our passage: "Zu der selbigen Zeit fing man an zu predigen von des Herrn Namen." Note the *predigen*.

In a book called *Recognitio*, published in 1550, which discusses Greek and Hebrew textual variants, written by an Augustinian priest Eugubinus, we get the following comment, which I paraphrase: "תחילתא means 'then began'; it refers to time and not to a person. So too Aquila rendered the Hebrew. I do not know why the LXX renders it, 'this one hoped'; nor is any reason known among us to explain the cause. The text has not become corrupt, for we observe that Gregory Nanzianus alludes to this passage in this way: 'Concerning Faith, Abraham was considered just for his faith. Concerning hope, Enosh first hoped to call on the name of the Lord.'" Perhaps we should single out Eugubinus for special praise in that his inability to explain an uncertainty did not lead him into far-fetched conjectures.

Augustus Pfeiffer, in his *Dubia Vexata* (Dresden, 1679, pp. 55-57) allocates his chapter xvii to our passage. Systematically he gives four numbered paragraphs posing the problem, and then he solves it.

<sup>6</sup> Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* (1821), reproduces Aquila with καλεῖν in place of καλεῖσθαι. He mentions that Clericus (1733), had preferred the sense of "named with the name of God."



As to the problem part, first he cites the LXX, declaring that "hoped to call" is senseless, for הוּחַל is a passive and therefore may not be rendered by the active "hoped." Second, he cites the rendering in the Targum, Rashi, etc., conceding that הוּחַל may really mean profane but, nevertheless, profaned is impossible in this passage, because it is joined with לְקַרָּא; that meaning would be possible, he says, only if we read הוּחַל מְקַרָּא. Third, he cites the very many who interpret the passage (Theodoret, Chamierus, Bertramus) in the sense of being named in God's name. But we should need the *niph'al*, לְהִקְרָא, rather than the *qal*, לְקַרָּא. Grotius had solved the problem in this latter way and had cited Gen. 6:2, the בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, as an example of being named with God's name. But in Gen. 6:2 the fallen angels are בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, not בְּנֵי יְהוָה, so that one Calovius had castigated Grotius for the suggestion. Fourth, Bellarminus had supposed that our passage meant that some finer and more sublime religion had been instituted, namely, that the monastic state had begun, while Jacob Boulduc had transformed Enosh and his group into Carthusians. So far the problem.

Then Pfeiffer sets forth the solution. The true meaning of the half-verse is that it signalizes the solemn introduction of public exercises of invoking God, and of the whole divine cult.

We learn from Samuel Nelson's *Anti-Deistic Bible*, which I have consulted in a German translation from the English — the date of publication of the German is 1766 — that there are three differing interpretations of our half-verse. First, our verse implies that in those days men began *more often* to call upon the name of God and to visit those places where his worship was practiced; second, men began to give themselves divine names and impiously to term themselves divine; third, the offspring of Seth began at that time to separate themselves from the destructive practice of the Cainites and to dedicate themselves to the worship of God. A footnote adds a fourth explanation, attributed to one Teller: men incorporated the name of God in the names which they gave their children so as to separate them from the evil Cainites.

Among modern Jewish scholars, those who work within the framework of liberal suppositions do not reflect the earlier interpretations. But a sampling can indicate that the traditional exegesis has remained alive among traditional scholars. We recall that Rashi and Ibn Ezra had gone in different directions.

Samson Raphael Hirsch, in his translation (Frankfort, 1883), renders "Damals fing man an im Namen Gottes zu verkünden." Yet his comments disclose some unhappiness about the rendering. He men-

tions that the verse could possibly be translated, "Then men began to profane the name of God." But he concludes, poignantly, that the rendering by Rashi is not just.

Hirsch wants his readers to know of an interpretation by his teacher, Bernays, which is, he asserts, certainly the correct one. In Abraham's time the **קרא בשם** was meritorious, for it was the rediscovery of God, a reversion to a better time, coming after God's name had been completely forgotten. The **קרא בשם** of Enosh came at the beginning of man's falling away; first in the evil time of Enosh did it become necessary to proclaim the name of God, for antecedently the situation had existed which Jeremiah 30:34 described as fated to return, when no one would need to be instructed in the knowledge of God. Hence, Enosh marks descent; Abraham ascent. Hirsch goes on to state that **קרא בשם** means more than call or preach; it means a complete devotion and submission to the divine will.

Herbert S. Goldstein, in *Bible Comments for Home Reading*, hearkens back to the putative flood of the days of Enosh. Goldstein tells us that it reached from the Atlantic to Gibraltar and then to Asia Minor, causing the Mediterranean sea to divide Europe from Africa. Then, as though to justify this midrashic comment by natural science, Goldstein adds: "This would harmonize with the scientific account of a big partial flood covering one third of the world." Goldstein gives no reference to his source for the "scientific account." His comment on **קרא בשם** follows Rashi: "They gave appellations to God's created objects. They thought that by revering His servants or officials, they were honoring Him. This would be true," concludes Goldstein, "if God were not omnipresent."

Solomon Goldman, *The Book of Human Destiny* (II, p. 2) paraphrases as follows: It was in the days of Seth's son Enosh that men acquired some conception of the Deity and learned to pray. In his notes Goldman says, "For this interpretation cf. Kimḥi; Luzzatto. Some scholars interpret it to mean that the Four Letter Name was first heard of then."

Joseph Hertz, the late Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, accepts the translation along the lines of Ibn Ezra, but in his notes he suggests an alternate, "Once again men began to call upon God under the name, Lord, which seems to have been forgotten among the descendants of Cain." This rendering Hertz ascribes to one Hoffman, probably David Hoffman, a fine scholar whose attack on the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis is an unhappy and atypical sample of the man's true learning. I was unable to track down the "Hoffman interpretation." Hertz cites only the name of its author.



But these renderings and interpretations need scarcely apologize to the scientific scholars. Kalisch, in *Genesis (Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, 1858, pp. 153-55)* rejects the view of Clericus that then men began to call themselves by the name of God; he also rejects the Targum and the LXX. He states that he "cannot repress a feeling of astonishment that these simple and clear words should have suffered so many forced and often strange interpretations; since we need only take them in their obvious sense in order to arrive at a perfectly satisfactory idea." In contrast with the physical form of worship, sacrifice, displayed by Cain and Abel, "'men began to invoke the name of the Lord,' either in private prayer or in public supplication . . . The first descendant of Seth advances a decided and bold step towards the realm of spirituality . . . he boldly opens the portals of the purest religion."

In Keil and Delitzsch (*Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, Vol. 1, Pentateuch*. Translated by James Martin, pp. 119) we get the assurance that Enosh etymologically means weak, faint, frail, and "designates man from his frail and mortal condition," as contrasted with "the pride and arrogance displayed by the (*sic*) Canaanitish<sup>7</sup> family." They cite from Oehler that the name of God signifies in general "the whole nature of God, by which He attests his personal presence in the relation into which He has entered with man, the divine manifestation, or the whole of the revealed side of the divine nature, which is here turned towards man. They conclude, finally, that the Cainites . . . were laying the foundation of this world: the . . . Sethites began . . . to found and erect the kingdom of God."

The best discussion of the passage, so we are told by Gunkel, is that offered by Dillmann. It is therefore worth noting some of the things which Dillmann says. The word Enosh, according to Dillmann, derives from the root meaning to be weak; Dillmann suggests that weakness describes man in contrast with God. He quotes Ewald approvingly to the effect that the intent of the passage is that man learned to distinguish more strictly between man and God. That is, in the time of Enosh, or already at the time of his birth, man began to call with the name of Yahwe, that means, not merely to name or make use of this name, but to *call upon*, that is, worship him also. Dillmann records a disagreement with Clericus and Ilgen who had thought that the phrase meant to use a theophoric name. But לקרא, says Dillmann, in quoting Knobel, "applies properly to prayer to Yahwe . . . possibly

<sup>7</sup> The German reads *Kainitischen*. How did the translator and the proofreaders, forgivably, slip? Such minor errors are inevitable in ancient and even modern scribes.

also to the proclamation of his name, as in Isa. 12:4." He cites Luther, "to preach of the name of the Lord."

His digression over, Dillmann reverts to Knobel. The expression לקרא בשם "is used also of the Yahwe worship generally, designating that worship as a whole by one of its principal parts." Dillmann proceeds: "Man's knowledge of God is assumed to have been from the beginning (see chapter 2:16), but the solemn adoration of public worship must have had a beginning at some special time; and if we compare how the present formula recurs in chapters 12:8, 13:4, 21:33, 26:5 . . . not only can there be no longer any doubt as to its meaning, it will also be recognized that we have here a notice of the first beginnings of the true religion, whose continuation is afterwards traced in the line of Seth, Shem, Abraham. But with the author [of the verse] the conception of true religion attached itself to the name of Yahwe, hence this formula of his. The finer distinction between essence and name, thing and expression, found in Exod. 3:13 ff., 6:3, is not made by him."

It is entirely consistent with the narrative of C — the symbol by which Dillmann meant what we would usually call J — that the public worship of Yahwe should have begun in the third generation of men. But, says Dillmann, it is apparently less in agreement with vv. 3-5, where Cain and Abel are already represented as offering sacrifices. But this latter beginning was only an isolated prelude, and the proper purpose of 26b is to tell us where and when the worship of Yahwe originated.

While modern scholarship handles the alleged double tradition within Chapter 4 by dividing it into two J sources, such a division was not in Dillmann's mind. The distinction he drew between the approach of Cain and Abel and that of Enosh is the difference between an isolated interlude and a public proclamation. Dillmann describes the rabbinic view which interprets הוּחַל as profaned, as a perverse understanding.<sup>8</sup>

Dillmann tells us furthermore that the reading in consonantal texts was וְהוּחַל, and that the reading אֵן הוּחַל is connected with the interpretation of the Targum. Perhaps this is not clear. But Wellhausen and Skinner clarify it for us.

Skinner, in the *ICC Genesis*, also cites this supposed consonantal text. The emphatic position in which the LXX puts the pronoun οὗτος shows that our text originally read, this one began, וְהוּחַל. I have not found anyone who says so explicitly, but the point seems

<sup>8</sup> The citation is from Stevenson's translation of Dillmann's Genesis.

to be that under the influence of rabbinic exegesis, a desire to reduce the stature of Enosh resulted in a change from *זה החל*, "this one began" into *אז החל*, "then there began." We get from Skinner a restoration of the supposed right text on the basis, in part, of the rendering of the LXX, buttressed by the Targum, even though the LXX and the Targum are hardly in good accord with each other! Parenthetically, Skinner notes only part of Aquila's deviation from LXX.

Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, (1904), p. 71, does not deign to note either the LXX or Targumic renderings of the verse. His treatment is laconic, as if to imply that there are no difficulties. His comment is limited to noting that in 4:26b we are given a "parallel line . . . in contrast to that of Cain . . . and under Enosh the public worship of Jehovah is stated to have been introduced" (p. 71).

Gunkel in *Genesis ad loc.* (5th ed., 1922), opposes a view of Eerdmans which would regard Gen. 4:25-26 as an interpolation from some late quasi-professorial hand. He finds it a usual thing for the ancients to trace the beginnings of their worship to earliest antiquity. The verse is in conflict, Gunkel assures us, with Exod. 3:14 and 6:2; we have no knowledge, he adds, of the basis on which the author attributes the first worship to Enosh. We have here very old reflections about the antiquity of Yahwe-worship; the impression of the verse, that the worship of Yahwe is older than Moses and the people of Israel, is quite correct. He cites extra-biblical names (*Azrijaun* and *Jaubidi*) as relics of the non-Israelite worship of Yahwe. He adds that the immemorial antiquity of the name of Yahwe does not exclude the possibility that only at Moses' time did He become revealed as the national God of Israel.

Furthermore, he continues, this section is very important for source analysis. In earlier sections the source from which this material was drawn uses *אלהים*; the Cain-Abel sage, which uses Yahwe, could not have stood in this same source. Gunkel uses J<sub>e</sub> for the symbol of this Seth-lineage source, and J<sub>j</sub> for the Cain-Abel source. That is, there is no true E source in Genesis 1-11. For *אז החל* Gunkel therefore reads with LXX *זה החל*, with Wellhausen and against Eerdmans (*Alttestamentliche Studien* I, 81).

*קרא בשם*, according to Gunkel, is in general a term of divine worship. In a setting of polytheism, it is understandable that the particular God needs to be called on by a specific name, as at the beginning of many Psalms and even in modern prayers.

Simpson, *Early Tradition of Israel* (pp. 495-96), allocates 4:25 and 26b to J<sub>1</sub>; 26a, he allocates to J<sub>2</sub>, as "... presumably derived from a genealogical tradition more developed than known to J<sub>1</sub>." In his

notes to the passage in *The Interpreter's Bible* I, *ad loc.*, Simpson urges that we follow the LXX. We would render: "He was the man who began the call upon the name of the Lord."

And finally, Mowinckel (*The Two Sources of The Predeuteronomiac Primeval History* (JE) in Gen. 1-11, pp. 44-61) assures us that the E code is indeed found in Gen. 1-11; in his context, he adverts to a circumstance which we have already noted, that LXX reads *κυριου του θεου*.

It is not impossible, says Mowinckel, that the original may have been "בשם אלהים . . . *Kyriou* may have been inserted." Hence, we *do* have E even prior to Gen. 15.<sup>9</sup>

To end where we began, the difficulty is not in the obscurity of the verse, but in its clarity. The LXX is an interpretation, not a translation. Had the scientific scholars recognized this elementary consideration, they would never have seriously proposed their emendations.

Does the verse clash with other verses? As in the Midrash we find Abraham's age of recognizing the deity given variously as one, three, ten, and forty-eight, so Scripture ascribes the beginning of the worship of Yahwe both to Enosh and to Moses; the rabbis take Gen. 12 and 15 as the basis for ascribing the true priority to Abraham. Of course, the verse clashes.<sup>10</sup>

But why emend the text?

<sup>9</sup> On the issue of E, Volz and Rudolph, first to my knowledge suggested that E is an error of the analysts, and that E was not a narrator. In an article to be published in *JBL*, "The Haggada within Scripture," I go beyond them in repudiating E.

<sup>10</sup> In the article mentioned in note 9, I present a view, which I believe to be unanticipated, about the variant forms of Scriptural tradition.



## AMURRITICA\*

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WHEN, in the earlier years of his long career as an Old Testament scholar, the savant to whom the following pages are dedicated pursued Assyriological studies,<sup>1</sup> the origin of the cult of the god Amurru, as known from lists of gods and other Sumerian and Babylonian sources, did not seem to present any major problem: As individuals designated as MAR.TU or, to use the Babylonian equivalent of this Sumerogram, *Amurrûm* ("Amorite") figured in texts dated to the times of the last rulers of Ur and the kings of the so-called First Dynasty of Babylon (about 1894-1595 B. C.), it was generally assumed that the cult of both Amurru and his spouse, the goddess Ašratum, came with Amorite immigrants to Babylonia and the adjacent countries. This assumption was all the more indicated since numerous texts of this epoch — occasionally even a document referring to Amorites<sup>2</sup> — mentioned people whom their typically West Semitic names characterized as immigrants likely to have come from the "Land of the Westerners" (*mât Amurrê*). The fact that, in a votive inscription<sup>3</sup> set up by a worshipper of [Aš]ratum,

\* An excerpt of this study (entitled "Old Assyrian References to Amorites, to Their God and to Their Settlement in the Vicinity of the City of Assur") was communicated at the 166th annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, held at Baltimore on April 9-11, 1956. Lists of the abbreviations used hereafter are found in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD) and in W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I (Wiesbaden, 1959 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> See especially his dissertation on "The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion" which was published in 1905 in vol. 10 of the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names* (Philadelphia, 1905), p. 33; Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> B. M., No. 22454 (latest publication by King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, I [London, 1898], pl. 126 f.; cf. King's transliteration and translation, *ibid.*, III [London, 1900], pp. 195 f.). Since Ašratum was Amurru's spouse (see Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II [Heidelberg, 1925], p. 39 with note 6), and since Amurru was the son of AN.NA (see below, pp. [7] f.), the comparatively recent translation of ll. 1 f. of this text by Ebeling apud Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), p. 338 is to be corrected to "der [Aš]ratum, der Schwiegertochter des Himmels(gottes)."



one of the most prominent bearers of such names, namely king Hammu-rapi, figures as LUGAL MAR.TU "king of the Westerners"<sup>4</sup> was, of course, deemed to point in the same direction.

However, about thirty-five years ago, B. Landsberger<sup>5</sup> and Th. Bauer<sup>6</sup> rejected this view. They proposed to draw a sharp distinction between the aforementioned bearers of West Semitic names for whom they chose the designation "East-Canaanites" and the MAR.TU/*Amurrû* settled in Babylonia and the adjacent lands; the latter, whose native tongue they believed to have been an Akkadian dialect, had come, they asserted, not from the trans-Euphratic lands west of Northern Babylonia but from the trans-Tigridic mountainous region in the northeast of Babylonia. Furthermore, Bauer (*op. cit.*, p. 90) denied any original link between the god Amurru and the *Amurrû*/Amorites, even though it was known that the ancients identified Amurru with two gods of the Aramaeans of Syria, namely with Adad ("Hadad") and Rammân ("Rimmôn") whose identity with each other is, in turn, corroborated by the data furnished by the Old Testament.<sup>7</sup> Instead, Bauer boldly declared that Amurru belonged to the oldest Akkadian pantheon as did, in his opinion, Dagan and other deities whose names figure not infrequently as theophorous elements in the personal names to be designated, according to Landsberger and Bauer, as East-Canaanite.

As can be seen from a detailed review by E. Dhorme<sup>8</sup> which includes (*loc. cit.*, p. 121) a rather lengthy list of other critics, from a critical note by Zimmern,<sup>9</sup> from a short critique in which Thureau-Dangin expressly questioned the admissibility of the thesis of an

<sup>4</sup> Contrary to the translation adopted by Ebeling, *loc. cit.*, the title LUGAL MAR.TU signifies "king of the Amorites" or "king of the Westerners"; see most recently J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957), pp. 176 f. who appropriately refers to the occurrence of the equation LUGAL MAR.TU = *šar-ru A-mur-ri-i* in l. 60 of the lexical list LÚ = *ša*. (See also below, pp. [22] ff.)

<sup>5</sup> ZA 35 (1924), pp. 236 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Ostkanaanäer* (Leipzig, 1926).

<sup>7</sup> For the relevant lists of gods which identify Amurru with Adad *ša abûbe* and Rammân, respectively, see, e. g., Ebeling in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 102. As for an inscription on a seal cylinder which associates Amurru's spouse, Ašratum, with Rammân in such a way as to make it clear that its author saw in her the latter's spouse, see Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier* (Strassburg, 1898), p. 172. For the biblical evidence see Zimmern apud Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*<sup>3</sup> (Berlin, 1903), p. 450.

<sup>8</sup> First published in the *Revue biblique* of 1928, 1930, and 1931 and subsequently reprinted in *Recueil Edouard Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), pp. 81-165.

<sup>9</sup> ZA 37 (1927), p. 141.



East-Tigridic homeland of the MAR.TU/*Amurrû*<sup>10</sup> and from an article of the present writer,<sup>11</sup> the majority of Assyriologists either rejected this new interpretation of the sources or deliberately abstained from endorsing it.<sup>12</sup> If there is, nonetheless, even at present no agreement in regard to the origin of the MAR.TU/*Amurru* cult and the historic rôle played by the MAR.TU/*Amurrû* in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, this is largely due to two facts, namely (1) to the failure of various scholars to acquaint themselves sufficiently with the relevant data furnished by the Old Assyrian sources and (2) to the unqualified assumption that the term *Amurrû* was used by the sedentary population of Babylonia not as the designation of a nation or a group of tribes but as an expression for "bedouin."<sup>13</sup> Hence it seems appropriate to demonstrate that the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe not only shed some light on the cult of Amurru and on the history of the Amorites and their settlements in both Assyria and Babylonia but also disprove the contention that the onomastic material to be found in these sources be entirely free from any West Semitic admixture.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> RA XXIV (1927), p. 49. Incidentally, whereas Thureau-Dangin (*ibid.*) was at first inclined to accept the proposal to discard the term "Amorites" as a designation of the bearers of the West Semitic names, subsequent remarks of his (see, e. g., RA XXXIV [1937], p. 137) show that he soon reverted to the usual terminology.

<sup>11</sup> ZA 38 (1929), pp. 243-72. See also Gadd, RA XXIII (1926), p. 66, note 42 and Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria* (London, 1928), pp. 176 f.

<sup>12</sup> This being so, it is difficult to see how D. O. Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 34 could state that "man die MAR. TU gewöhnlich im Osttigrisland lokalisierte."

<sup>13</sup> The idea of rendering the term *Amurrû* "Westerner" by "bedouin" was repeatedly advanced by Landsberger. See especially JCS 8 (1954), p. 56, note 103 where he expressed himself as follows: "Fehl am Platze ist die Benennung Amurru, sowohl für die altbabylonischen wie für diese späten Ostkanaanäer [scil. of the Alalah texts]; niemals haben sie sich selbst Amurru genannt, noch wurden sie von anderen so bezeichnet. [Scheinbare Ausnahme: Kültepe-Brief CCT 2, 49a 13 f.: *a-na A-mu-ri-en ša Ni-iḫ-ri-a*; aber dies wäre auch das einzige Beispiel, wo Personen ausser durch ihren Wohnort noch durch ihre Nationalität gekennzeichnet würden nach Schema: "Akkader von Sippar," deshalb schlage ich auch für diese Stelle die Bedeutung "Beduine" vor.]" The same idea recurs on p. 135 of his *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon*, III (Roma, 1955) in as much as "Amoriter, Beduine" figures there as German translation of Sumerian *a-ri* and Akkadian *a-mur-ru-u*. As can be seen from his remarks in JCS 9 (1955), p. 123, Landsberger even defines as "bedouins" Amorites (DUMU.MEŠ *A-mu-ur-ri-i*; on this "double plural" see below, p. [9], note 52) who are described as owners of big cattle!

<sup>14</sup> In a footnote found on p. 33 of the aforementioned article in JCS 8 (1954), this contention of Landsberger appears in the following form: "Unter den Assyriernamen von Kültepe ist nicht der mindeste ostkan. Einschlag nachzuweisen; wie überhaupt Ostkanaanäer in so früher Zeit ein Anachronismus wären."

A first piece of evidence to the effect that there were devoted worshippers of Amurru among the Assyrians of the late twentieth and early nineteenth pre-Christian century who left us the Kültepe tablets comes from the occurrence in these texts of the personal name MAR.TU-*e-nam*<sup>15</sup> which, as can be seen from the important variant spelling *A-mu-ra-am-e-[n]am*,<sup>16</sup> signifies "Behold Amurru (who is with us)!"<sup>17</sup> Other names expressing dedication to his cult are *Puzur-Amurrim*<sup>18</sup> and *Amurru(m)-bâni*.<sup>19</sup> One of the bearers of the latter name was the son of a certain *Ma-na-na*.<sup>20</sup> As there is general agreement on the West Semitic character of the name *Mananâ*, and as the

<sup>15</sup> MAR.TU-*e-nam* figures in the address of a letter which, according to a transliteration by Landsberger, runs as follows: <sup>1</sup>*a-na Ma-nu-um-ki-A-šûr I-na-a* <sup>2</sup>[. . .] *ur-Sû-in ù MAR.TU-e-nam* <sup>3</sup>[*qî-b*] *i-ma um-ma Û-šur-ša-A-šûr-ma*. I am greatly obliged to Professors B. Landsberger and I. J. Gelb for having given me access to the files of the Chicago Oriental Institute which contain transliterations of this letter and of many other unpublished Kültepe texts.

<sup>16</sup> See CCT II 22, 6<sup>b</sup> ff.: *šubâtî* <sup>1</sup>*l. A ù emâram* <sup>2</sup>*ša iš-tù Ni-iḫ-ri-a A-mu-ra-am-e-[n]am* <sup>3</sup>*ú-šé-bi-lá-ku-nu-ii-ni*. The identity of MAR.TU-*ennam* and *Amurram-ennam* follows with certainty from a comparison of ll. 1 f. of CCT II 22 with the first three lines of the letter cited in the preceding footnote.

<sup>17</sup> Since *Amurram* is accusative, the CAD (vol. 4, p. 170<sup>b</sup>) is obviously wrong in seeing vocatives in the first elements of the Old Babylonian names <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš-ennam*, *Bêl-ennam* and *DINGIR-ennam* with which, incidentally, the frequent Old Assyrian name *A-šur-e-nam* (e. g., EL 151, 13; 245, 54; TC III 110, 1; BIN VI 62, 4; cf. KTS 60<sup>d</sup>, 4; *A-šur-e-na-am*) and its variants *A-šur-en-nam* (BIN VI 270, 2; VAT 9285, 17 [see HUCA XXVII (1956), p. 33, note 115]) and *A-šûr-e-na* (KBo IX 35, 21) as well as the Old Assyrian occurrence of <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš-en-nam* (TC II 35, x+2) ought to have been mentioned. (Note also VAT 13527, 4 f.: *um-ma* <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš-e-na-ma*.) On the supposition that, for the sake of greater stress of the divine name, *Šamaš-ennam* etc. was sometimes substituted for *Ennam-Šamaš* etc., the name *Amurram-ennam* proves the correctness of the view of Dhorme, BA VI, 3 (1907), p. 69 who was the first to attribute to *ennam* and *enna* the signification of *ecce*, thus tacitly identifying *ennam* and its variants with <sup>𐎶</sup> <sup>𐎶</sup> which, as will be remembered, is always followed by a noun (or pronominal suffix) in the accusative. (On the identity of <sup>𐎶</sup> <sup>𐎶</sup> and Hebrew <sup>הנה</sup> see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*<sup>28</sup> [Leipzig, 1909], § 147, sub 2; on the cognate Old Akkadian *enna* see Landsberger apud von Soden, ZA 41 [1933], p. 99, note 1.)

<sup>18</sup> In accordance with the Old Assyrian scribal habits, the second element of this name is sometimes written with the determinative for god (see, e. g., EL 83, 1; 88, 4) and at other times without it (EL 309, A 1; B 3).

<sup>19</sup> Note the variant spellings *A-mu-ru-ba-ni* (EL 224, 14), MAR.TU-*ba-ni* (EL 170, 3; 206, 19; CCT V 16<sup>b</sup>, 2, etc.) and <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU-*ba-ni* (e. g., EL 17, 8; 26, 5; 154, 21).

<sup>20</sup> See EL 176, 2; other occurrences of *Ma-na-na*: EL 42, B 3; 206, 3; TC III 233, B 1.

year dates recently published by M. Rutten<sup>21</sup> bear witness to the Amurru worship of king Mananâ of Kiš, it would appear that at least one of the numerous Assyrians who, to judge by the theophorous element of their Akkadian names, were worshippers of Amurru<sup>22</sup> was of West Semitic extraction. This conclusion is borne out by the emergence from the Kültepe texts of quite a few names either easily recognizable as West Semitic and hence to be classified with *Mananâ* or definable as hybrid names sharing with *Amurram-ennam*, *Puzur-Amurrim* and *Amurru-bâni* the peculiarity of substituting the name of a West Semitic deity<sup>23</sup> for that of an Akkadian one in an Akkadian personal name. Striking examples of West Semitic names figuring in the Kültepe texts are *Ili<sub>5</sub>-ma-da-ar*,<sup>24</sup> *Bi-ni-ma-ĥu-um*<sup>25</sup> with its variant *Bu-ni-ma-ĥu-um*,<sup>26</sup> *Pá-ki-lá*<sup>27</sup> and *Elâ-(i)li*.<sup>28</sup> As for the hybrid Akkado-West Semitic names, our attention is attracted, on the one

<sup>21</sup> *RA* LII (1958), p. 212.

<sup>22</sup> It is worthwhile recalling in this connection that *MAH* 15962, i. e. an Old Assyrian document to be regarded as more or less contemporary with the bulk of the Kültepe texts (see most recently J. Lewy in *Studia biblica et orientalia*, III [Roma, 1959], pp. 225 f.), is dated to the eponymy of a certain *Qiš-Amurrim*; cf. Gelb and Sollberger, *JNES* XVI (1957), p. 175.

<sup>23</sup> For evidence which corroborates the usual definition of Amurru as a West Semitic deity see below, pp. [8] ff.

<sup>24</sup> This name occurs in the fragmentary letter *WAG* 48/1466; see *Orientalia* 26 (1957), p. 28, note 4. Its second element is also found in the name of a certain *ZU-ma-ta-ar* who figures in two unpublished Kültepe texts as father of one *Amur-Aššur*. (On the theophorous element *ZU* = *Šin* see *KTBI*, pp. 20 f.) Cf. also *A-bi-ma-dar* (Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 10). For an explanation of *Ili<sub>5</sub>-ma-da/tá-ar*, which is based on the spelling *Ī-lī-ma-ta-ar* found in Babylonian sources, see I. J. Gelb, *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie VIII, vol. XIII, fasc. 3-4 (Marzo-Aprile 1958), p. 147.

<sup>25</sup> *CCT* IV 13<sup>a</sup>, 6; 26; 31. On the name element *binu/binâ/bunu/bunâ* "son" see Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 and 72; Dossin, *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, II (Paris, 1939), pp. 982 f.; Goetze, *BASOR* 95 (1944), p. 19; Gelb, *loc. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> *TC* III 96, 8. That the same person is referred to as *Bu-ni-ma-ĥu-um* and *Bi-ni-ma-ĥu-um* is obvious because the letters *TC* III 96 and *CCT* IV 13<sup>a</sup> are parts of one and the same correspondence of Aššur-kâšid with Aššur-na'da.

<sup>27</sup> See *TC* III 74, 18: *a-na Šu-Ku-bi<sub>4</sub>-im mēr Pá-ki-lá*. A comparison of the names *Su-mu-la-î-lî* (*UCP* X, p. 109, No. 34, l. 2) and *[S]u-mu-lî-[e]l* (Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 39) points to monophthongization to *i* of *a* and *'i* in internal Sandhi position. Hence we need hardly hesitate to see in *Pá-ki-lá* a normal variant of *Pa-ka-i-la* (Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 37). Cf. also my remarks in *ZA* 38 (1929), p. 267 concerning *An-ma-na-i-la* and *An-ma-ni-la*.

<sup>28</sup> On the signification of this name, which occurs in the variant spellings *E-lá-lî* or *E-la-lî* (*TC* II 3, 21; *TC* III 1, 2; 110, 2; 111, 3; *EL* 28, 13; 41, 17 etc., etc.), *E-lá-lî* (*EL* 172, 12 and in unpublished documents) and *AN-î-lî* (*EL* 16, 10), see *EL* I, p. 18, note a.

hand, by *E-ni-Ba-ša-ta*<sup>29</sup> and its variant *E-na-Ba-ša-ta*<sup>30</sup> "Fruit of (the goddess) *Bāšatā*"<sup>31</sup> and, on the other hand, by *Ma-nu-um-ba-lu-um-A-na*,<sup>32</sup> *En-um-A-na*,<sup>33</sup> *A-na-lí*,<sup>34</sup> *Puzur-A-na*<sup>35</sup> and <sup>(f)</sup>*Ša-at-A-*

<sup>29</sup> KTS 47<sup>c</sup>, 1. ICK 113, 10 offers, instead of *E-ni-ba-ša-ta*, the variant *E-ni-ba-ša-at* which substitutes the status absolutus *Bāšat* for the status emphaticus *Bāšatā*. This use of both the status absolutus and the status emphaticus of the name of an Old West Semitic goddess has a parallel in the cuneiform sources of the Old Babylonian period which relate to the West Semitic goddess 'Anat. The latter figures in l. 15 of the so-called Tablette du Panthéon de Mari (published and discussed by Dossin, *Studia Mariana* [Leiden, 1950], pp. 41 ff.) as <sup>d</sup>*Ha-na-at* as she also does in references to the town named after her <sup>d</sup>*Ha-na-at*<sup>KI</sup> (see Dossin, *Syria* XX [1939], p. 106 and cf. *ARM* I 56, 9), but in the name of *Zi-im-ri-Ha-na-ta*, the PA MAR. TU mentioned in ll. 16 f. of the much-discussed letter Bu. 8-5-12, 5 (CT IV 1 f.; Ungnad, VAB 6, No. 238), her name appears in the status emphaticus as it does in the name *Mu-ti-A-n[a]-ta* (CT VIII 17<sup>c</sup>, 15; see most recently Dossin, *ARMT* IV [1951], p. 132). Stamm, *MVAeG* 44 (1939), p. 175, note 3 seems to have been unaware of this well-known fact when he denied the Amorite character of the name element *Bāšatā*.

<sup>30</sup> This variant, in which the status constructus *i/enab* takes the place of the status constructus *i/enib* "fruit of," occurs in an unpublished text (see *EL* II, p. 171, note; ICK 63, 2 and 116, 3 offer *E-na-ba-ša-at* instead of *E-na-ba-ša-ta*). The indiscriminate use of the status constructi *i/enab* and *i/enib* is not unique; cf. *me-ḫa-ar-kà* (TC III 90, 11) and *me-ḫi-ir-kà* (CCT II 38, 7).

<sup>31</sup> For earlier attempts at analyzing the name *E-ni-Ba-ša-ta* and its variants see J. Lewy, *EL* II, p. 171, note and Landsberger apud Stamm, *loc. cit.*, p. 369. These attempts were more or less futile because it was not seen that *E-na-Ba-ša-ta* is a typically Old Assyrian Sandhi writing of *Enab-Bāšatā* to be compared with writings such as *qá-ra(-)bi-tim* for *qarab bītim* and *Mi-šu-rabi* (*EL* 323, 10; 324, 3 etc.) for *Mi-šur-ra-bi* (TC III 84, 8; cf. *BIN* IV 24, 4: *Mi-šur-rabi*). Once this is realized, it becomes obvious that *Eni/ab-Bāšatā* belongs in the same category of names as Old Babylonian *I-ni-ib-Ištar* (LC 73, 37) and *In-bi-ì-lí-šu* (LC 1, 25; 141, 17 etc.), Old Assyrian *In-ba-A-šur* (EL 82, 22) and *In-bi-Ištar* (TC III 60, 1; 65, 1 etc.), Old Akkadian *En-bu-ilim* (HSS X 146, 15; 155 IV 15, etc.) and *En-bi-Ištar* (Ungnad, *MVAG* 20, 2 [1916], p. 39). In view of the Old Babylonian name *Ba-aš-ili* (VS VII 49, 14; 134, 40; *YBT* II 107, 1), and because the tablet *Leiden* No. 1000 (published by Böhl, *Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche verzameling van spijkerschrift-inscripties*, II [Amsterdam, 1934], pp. 3 ff.) mentions <sup>d</sup>*Sin*'s children *Ba-šum* and *Ba-aš-tum*, it is also manifest that, against Stamm, *loc. cit.*, p. 175, the "Old Assyrian" name *E-ni-ba-áš* (*Col.* 18, 10; *TC* 25, 13 ff.; *EL* 24, 3; 315, 22) belongs under the personal names just enumerated and means "Fruit of (the god) Bāš." Stamm's interpretation of this latter name and the arguments adduced by him in its support (*ibid.*, note 3) are all the less convincing since it is, of course, quite possible that one and the same Aššur-tāb named one of his children Enib-Bāš and another one Enib-Bāšat. As for the signification of *bāšum*, see *EL* II, p. 171, note.

<sup>32</sup> CCT III 31, 12.

<sup>33</sup> ICK 138, 17.

<sup>34</sup> As *ilī* "my god" is a name element common to Akkadian and Old West Semitic, the classification of *A-na-lí* (*I* 490, 25; *TC* III 187, x+5; *BIN* VI 203, 5; 10 etc.) with the hybrid names here under discussion remains somewhat arbitrary. As for the evidence which enables us to read not *A-na-ni* but *A-na-lí*, see presently.

<sup>35</sup> For some of the references see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 11, note 47.

*na*.<sup>36</sup> The first of these hybrid names is noteworthy because its theophoric element has the typical form of an Aramaic status emphaticus and recurs in its Hebrew form in the biblical names *אִישִׁיבֶשֶׁת* and *מַפִּיבֶשֶׁת*; the latter five names are suggestive because of the occurrence in the letter *BIN* IV 61 of a *Puzur-A-na* whose father was one of the various bearers of the aforementioned West Semitic name *Elâ-(i)lî* and, in particular, because other Kültepe texts mention, inter alia, a *kumrum* (Uḫ. ME) *ša A-na*<sup>37</sup> and an "oath by *A-na*."<sup>38</sup>

In assuming that the data pertaining to the cult of *A-na* concern an Old West Semitic god, and not, as has been taken for granted,<sup>39</sup> an unknown "Anatolian" deity, we base ourselves on *CBS* 1805 and *CBS* 1808, two interrelated Old Babylonian letters addressed to a certain Luštamar.<sup>40</sup> As these letters were written on behalf of the daughter<sup>41</sup> or daughters<sup>42</sup> of a bearer of the West Semitic name *Ia-šî-lî* (variant *Ia-šî-AN*, i. e. *Ia-šî-îlî*<sup>43</sup>) and as the legend of the seal impression on the envelope of *CBS* 1805 reads <sup>1</sup>*Warad-<sup>d</sup>Sîn* <sup>2</sup>*mâr An-na-îlî* <sup>3</sup>*warad* <sup>d</sup>*Amurrim*, it is manifest that these letters are concerned with, and originated among, persons of West Semitic extraction at least one of whom was a worshipper of Amurru. Moreover, in addition to strongly suggesting that *A-na* is a typically Old Assyrian "defective" spelling of *Anna* and to removing any reasonable doubt as to the correctness of our reading of the last sign of the "Old Assyrian" name *A-na-lî*, that seal legend makes it clear that the cults of Amurru and Anna were closely linked. This is not surprising since quite a few seal inscriptions from the Old Babylonian period define Amurru as the son of *An-na*.<sup>44</sup> To be sure, L. Delaporte and other savants who saw in AN.NA a Sumerogram of Akkadian *Anum* rendered these legends by "Amurru, the son of Anum." But while it is obvious

<sup>36</sup> *TC* III 220, A 4; B 3; *ICK* 9, 3 etc.

<sup>37</sup> See *TC* III 181, 8. On Uḫ. ME and its equivalent *kumrum* "priest" see *AHDO* II (1938), p. 124.

<sup>38</sup> See *ICK* 32, 10 ff.: *i-zi-zu-ma ni-iš* <sup>11</sup>*A-šûr ni-iš* *A-na* <sup>12</sup>*ni-iš ru-ba-im* <sup>13</sup>*it-mu-û-ma* . . . . On the contents of *ICK* 32 see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), pp. 3-5.

<sup>39</sup> See Landsberger, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 293; J. Lewy, *HUCA* XXVII (1956), pp. 10 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Both letters were published, transliterated and translated by Ungnad, *PBS* VII (Philadelphia, 1915), pl. XXXIII f. and pp. 25 ff. sub Nos. 46 and 47; for translations into German see Ungnad, *ABPh*, pp. 30 f.

<sup>41</sup> See *CBS* 1805, ll. 4 and 7: *mârat Ia-šî-lî*.

<sup>42</sup> See *CBS* 1808, ll. 4 and 14: *mârât*<sup>MES</sup> *Ia-šî-AN*.

<sup>43</sup> See the preceding quotations from *CBS* 1805 and *CBS* 1808.

<sup>44</sup> See, e. g., L. Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des cylindres orientaux*, II (Paris, 1923), pl. 79, fig. 2 and p. 125, No. A 317; H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pl. XXVIII, seal e.



that the ancients came to identify Anna with Anum just as they identified Amurru with Adad,<sup>45</sup> it cannot well be assumed that this identification was readily accepted by the people of West Semitic extraction. In fact, the Kültepe texts make it virtually certain that, in the period here under discussion, people still distinguished between Amurru's father Anna and Anum.<sup>46</sup> For the defective spelling *A-na* which alternates with *En-na* and *E-na*<sup>47</sup> but never with AN.NA shows that the idea of regarding AN.NA as a Sumerogram for Anum did not occur to the Old Assyrian scribes of the twentieth and nineteenth century.

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We are now prepared to establish and evaluate the significant lineage of one of the bearers of the aforementioned hybrid name Puzur-Anna whose occupation, viz. caravan-leader, is revealed by the Kültepe document *Liv.* 14 = *EL* 159. In this contract by which Puzur-Anna secured the services of one Šû-Ištar, there figures as one of the witnesses to the agreement a certain *Idi-Adad mēr Aššur-ṭāb*. As the letters *CCT* IV 16<sup>c</sup> <sup>48</sup> and *BIN* VI 71<sup>a</sup> <sup>49</sup> mention a caravan-leader

<sup>45</sup> These identifications may well have been the ultimate cause of the transformation by Šamši-Adad I of the Adad temple at Aššur into a double temple dedicated to Anum and Adad. (Thus according to *Assur* 12780 + 12794; cf. Meissner in *AOB*, I, p. 17, note 2 and Weidner, *Afo* 15 [1945-1951], p. 94.)

<sup>46</sup> We are inclined to explain this phenomenon by the assumption that when, a few centuries prior to the period of the Kültepe texts, Sumerians or Akkadians came to the western lands of the Fertile Crescent and acquainted the people of these regions with the script of Babylonia and its civilization, the priests of the Western Semites learned to designate the "Heaven" by the Sumerian term *Anna* and that those of their descendents who subsequently migrated to, and settled in, Babylonia and Assyria were not immediately ready to substitute the Akkadianized form *Anum* for *Anna*.

<sup>47</sup> Note the significant variant spellings of the names of the following two persons: *Puzur-A-na mēr E-li-a* (*CCT* V 19<sup>c</sup>, 20) = *Puzur-E-na mēr E-li-a* (*EL* 107, A 11; B 1); *Puzur-A-na mēr En-u[m-A-šur]* (*ATHE* 24, B 5) = *Puzur-En-na mēr En-na-A-šur* (*ATHE* 24, A 41). Two further variant spellings of the latter person's name are found in unpublished texts, viz. *Puzur-A-na mēr En-nam-A-šur* and *Puzur-E-na mēr En-um-A-šur*.

<sup>48</sup> See ll. 24<sup>b</sup> ff.: 1 <sup>sub</sup>ât *A-bar-ni-am* <sup>25</sup>*Puzur-A-na mēr I-dî-dAdad* <sup>26</sup>*na-áš-am iš-tí šî-ip-ri-im* <sup>27</sup>*ša kà-ri-im šé-bi-lá-nim* <sup>28</sup>2 *maná'ên kaspam Puzur-A-na mēr* <sup>29</sup>*I-dî-dAdad i-na e-lá-i-šu-ma* <sup>30</sup>*i-ša-qá-lam*.

<sup>49</sup> See ll. 5 ff.: *a-na-kam* 15 <sup>2/3</sup> *maná'ê 4 šîqlî* <sup>6</sup>*kaspam i-nu-mè a-na a-lim* <sup>KI</sup> <sup>7</sup>*li-ku a-na Puzur-A-na mēr I-dî-dAdad* <sup>8</sup>*a-dî-in-ma a-na a-lim* <sup>KI</sup> <sup>9</sup>*a šî-mi-im ša-a-mi-im* <sup>10</sup>*[ú-bi-ilš]*.

*Puzur-Anna mēr Idi-Adad*,<sup>50</sup> and as dozens of Kültepe tablets prove that, whenever possible, the contracting parties chose their witnesses among their relatives, we realize that this witness, Idi-Adad, son of Aššur-ṭâb, was Puzur-Anna's father. Since, on the other hand, many Assyrians are known to have been using seals they had inherited from their fathers,<sup>51</sup> the three identical seal impressions on the envelope of *Liv.* 14 the legend of which begins with the name *A-šûr-[ṭâb]* were obviously made with a seal cut for, and previously owned by, Puzur-Anna's grandfather, Aššur-ṭâb. Whereas on virtually every seal legend known from the Kültepe texts the owner's name is followed by a regular patronym, the inscription of Aššur-ṭâb's seal adds to his name the two words DUMU MAR.TU. This implies that Puzur-Anna's grandfather used to be called by his contemporaries "Aššur-ṭâb, the Amorite,"<sup>52</sup> for the numerous cases in which, in an Old Assyrian letter or document, a man's name is followed not by the patronym but by a *nisba* derived from a toponym<sup>53</sup> or by an equivalent of such a

<sup>50</sup> It is interesting to note that the same man figures in l. 3 of a document unearthed in 1950 and partially published by Nimet Özgüç, *Belleten* 65, fig. 36. This document was obviously written in Mâma, i. e. in one of the towns through which the caravans passed when journeying from Uršu to Kaniš; see *Orientalia* 21 (1952), pp. 288 f. (A supplementary article in which I adduced reasons for identifying Mâma with Comana Cataoniae is to appear in the *Festschrift* for H. Th. Bossert.)

<sup>51</sup> That many an Old Assyrian merchant possessed and used a seal cylinder which he had inherited from his father or grandfather has been manifest for many years. Direct evidence to this effect comes now from the document *ICK* 12 in which the testator, *Ili-bâni mēr Iâa*, wills that his son *Iâa* "shall take my seal."

<sup>52</sup> Old Babylonian locutions such as DUMU *I-da-ma-ra-aš* (Böhl Collection, No. 1851; see Böhl, *BiOr* VIII [1951], pl. II, No. 1 and p. 54; for the corresponding femininum DUMU.SAL *I-da-ma-ra-aš*<sup>KI</sup> see *VS* XVI 80, 1 and cf. P. Kraus, *MVAeG* 35, 2 [1931], p. 47), DUMU *E-mu-ut-ba-lum*<sup>KI</sup> (see §§ 18' f. of the so-called Babylonian Seisachtheia cited below, pp. [36] f.), DUMU.MEŠ SU.BIR<sub>4</sub><sup>KI</sup> (*VS* XVI 17, 6; cf. P. Kraus, *loc. cit.*, p. 15) and *mârû*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ma-tim* (*CH*, § 280) make it manifest that DUMU MAR.TU defines a man as a native of the Western Country, Amurrum. (That Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian agree in the usage of such terms follows from the context in which DUMU.[SAL] *Wa-aḥ-šu-ša-na*, i. e. *mer[al] Waḥšušana*, figures in l. 21 of the Old Assyrian letter *BIN* VI 104; see *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV [1950], p. 374, note 48.) This being so, and since MAR.TU is Sumerogram of both *Amurriû* and *Amurrum* (cf. below, pp. [20] ff.), the term DUMU MAR.TU "Amorite" as figuring in the seal legend here under discussion is to be defined as singular of the aforementioned "double plural" DUMU.MEŠ *A-mur-ri-i* which occurs in *RFH* 11 (= *KU*, No. 1770), a document from Warad-Sin's second year published by Meek, *AJSL* 33 (1916-1917), pp. 208 and 227.

<sup>53</sup> Cf., e. g., *A-šur-ṭâb Ḫa-wi-li-um* (*ICK* 89, 4; as for the town of *Ḫawilum*, see Thureau-Dangin, *RA* IX [1912], pp. 1 f.); *A-šur-ṭâb Ši-ma-lâ-i-um* (*Cont.* 9, 15 f.; cf. *EL* I, p. 35, note b); *maḥar Puzur-Ištar Ta-ad-mu-ri-im* (*EL* 303, A 16 f.; cf. *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV [1950], p. 369, note 19); *I-dî-Ku-bu-um Tê-ga-ra-ma-û-um*



nisba<sup>54</sup> attest the habit of distinguishing the bearer of a frequent name from his namesakes by a reference to the city or country from which he came or where he had his permanent residence.<sup>55</sup> Puzur-Anna, the son of Idi-Adad, thus turns out to have been the grandson of a man who was born in Amurru<sup>56</sup> and who, therefore, can be assumed to have been a worshipper of West Semitic gods. Consequently, the data provided by *Liv.* 14 suggest once more that the Assyrian pantheon, as revealed by the theophorous names found in the Kültepe tablets and by occasional occurrences in the same source material of priestly titles such as *kumrum ša A-na*,<sup>57</sup> includes deities of immigrants from the "Western Land" who, while, of course, paying homage to Aššur as the supreme god and divine ruler of their "new country,"<sup>58</sup> continued to venerate the gods of their ancestors.

(*BIN* VI 136, 11 f.); *a-na Qú-ur-qú-ra-n[im] Tal-ḫa-dí-e-im* (*BIN* VI 237, 6 f.; on the town of *Talḫad* see for the present *Orientalia* 21 [1952], p. 395 with note 4 and p. 425); *iš-tí me-er-e Ī-lí-áš-ra-ni Ga-sú-ri-i[im]* (*TC* III 173, 6 f.; cf. *JAOS* 58 [1938], p. 459); *išti Pè-ru-a Da-da-ni-a-i-im* (*TC* III 181, 14).

<sup>54</sup> Cf., inter alia, *[a]-na Pè-ru-a ša Da-da-ni-a* (*BIN* VI 269, y+4); *maḫar Pè-ru-a ša Kà-nu-a* (*EL* 6, 20); *maḫar E-lá-li-iš-kà ša Kà-nu-e* (see *EL* 6, 18 f. and cf. *Symbolae Hrozny*, IV, p. 391, note 122); *a Šu-Be-lim ša Ši-ma-la* (*TC* III 202, 22 f.); *A-mur-A-šur ša A-za-am-ri-im* (*KTHahn* 36, 1 f.; on the variant *ša Ḫa-za-am-ri-im* see *KTHahn*, p. 47); *Ili-ba-ni ša Ta-wi-ni-a* (*KTS* 3<sup>b</sup>, 3 f.); *maḫar Ta-li-a [š]a Sú-ba-ri-im* "before Talia from Subartum" (*MAH* 16206, 13 f.).

<sup>55</sup> This habit is also traceable in Old Babylonian sources such as the record *LC* 109 = *KU*, No. 1302 which enumerates fifteen persons. As was duly noted by Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 170, the name *A-ḫi-Ma-ra-aš* which precedes here the nisba *A-mur-ru-ú* is Old West Semitic as is the name of the person listed in the preceding line.

<sup>56</sup> The possibility that he was given the Assyrian name Aššur-tāb while still living in Amurru cannot be denied since a man from Palmyra is known to have borne the Akkadian name *Puzur-Ištar* (see above, note 53). In other words, it is not improbable that, for some reason unknown to us, Aššur-tāb's parents paid homage to Aššur while residing in the West Country. It is in order to mention in this connection that an unpublished list of witnesses from Kültepe which reads <sup>1</sup>*maḫar A-dí-lá-at 2mêr Šu-da-a 3maḫar Pu-ta-a 4maḫar mêr A-mu-ri-tim* acquaints us with a woman born in Amurru whose son obviously had the legal status of a free Assyrian. The matronym *mêr Amurritim* (<*Amurritim*), the legal and social implications of which need not be discussed here, is not without parallel; see especially the Old Babylonian record *CT* VIII 32<sup>b</sup> (= *KU*, No. 760; cf. Meissner, *ZA* 18 [1904-5], pp. 393 f.) from the twenty-first (*sic*) year of Samsu-iluna which adds *mâr Ka-ni-ši-tum* "the son of the woman from Kaniš" to the name and professional title *kaparrum* "shepherd-boy" of a certain *mA-na-tum*. See also below, p. [40].

<sup>57</sup> See above, p. [7].

<sup>58</sup> Cf. my remarks in *RHR* CX (1934), pp. 51 ff. where I mentioned some of the biblical and extra-biblical data which prove that both mighty conquerors eager to expand their dominions and less powerful tribes or families who hoped to settle

In order to corroborate this conclusion and, in particular, to show how families characterized as descendants of Western Semites by the name of one or the other among their members continued to be worshippers of Amurrum and were known as such, we turn to the correspondence of Innâa, the son of Elâ-(i)li,<sup>59</sup> who was established as a businessman at Kaniš, while his wife, Tarâm-Kubi, lived in the city of Aššur.<sup>60</sup> Whereas other traders affirmed the truthfulness of their statements by means of the formulas *Aššur lâ idi*<sup>61</sup> and *Aššur liṭṭul*,<sup>62</sup> Innâa used for the same purpose the three exclamations *Aššur u Amurrum lidiâ*,<sup>63</sup> *Aššur u Amurrum ilâ . . . . . liṭṭulâ*<sup>64</sup> or *Aššur u Amurrum ili abîa liṭṭulâ*,<sup>65</sup> the last of which precludes any doubt that Amurrum was the god of his ancestors.<sup>66</sup>

It stands to reason that, as a rule, Innâa used the solemn exclamation in which he invoked, in addition to Aššur, the "god of my father"

down in foreign parts were expected to, and actually did, recognize the deities and, in particular, the supreme god of the country to which they came. The religious situation thus necessarily confronting people ready to settle down in an environment not familiar to them is properly summarized by the ancient author who, in verse 15 of the last chapter of the Hexateuch, attributed to Joshua the words: "However, if you find it obnoxious to serve Jahweh, choose today whom you will serve, whether the gods your fathers worshipped . . . . or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you are (now) living . . . . ."

<sup>59</sup> On this name see above, p. [5], note 28.

<sup>60</sup> See *EL* 138, 4 ff. and cf. *CCT* III 23<sup>b</sup>, 1; 24, 1 f. etc.

<sup>61</sup> See *CCT* IV 49<sup>a</sup>, 29; *ICK* 177, 38; *TC* II 23, 14 and note the occurrence in *TC* II 32, 15 and *ICK* 63, 43 of the exclamation *ilum lâ idi*.

<sup>62</sup> See *BIN* IV 63, 9 f.; *TC* III 32, 20; 87, 17; *BIN* VI 12, 18 f.; 74, 33; *ICK* 177, 28; *Ališar* 47, x+3 and cf. *RHR* CX (1934), pp. 51 ff. where I discussed, inter alia, the formulas *Aššur liṭṭul*, *Aššur u Ilaprat liṭṭulâ*, *Aššur u ilka liṭṭulâ*, *Aššur u il abîka liṭṭulâ*, *Aššur u Ilaprat il abîni liṭṭulâ*. (Contrary to my remarks in *Orientalia* 19 [1950], p. 25, note 3 in fine, *BIN* IV 32, 26<sup>b</sup> f. is certainly to be read *A-šûr û i-lu-ku-nu* [l]i-tù-<lâ>; cf. *BIN* IV 33, 12 f.)

<sup>63</sup> See *MAH* 16210, 8 ff.: *A-šûr û Amurrum li-dî-a* <sup>9</sup>e-<lâ> *ša ša-tim i-š-ti-in* <sup>10</sup>šî-ip-tám i-na še-ri-šu [lá] <sup>11</sup>al-qî-û mî-ma kaspam 1 <sup>12</sup>šiqlam [lá ak]-bu-sú-kâ and note that these lines make it possible to restore the heavily damaged first lines of the small fragment *CBS* 4082 = *KTP* 33. On *šattim ištî/ên* see *Symbolae Hrozný*, II (1949), pp. 110 ff.

<sup>64</sup> See *BIN* VI 99, 5<sup>b</sup> ff.: *mî-na[m]* <sup>6</sup>ma-da-tim <sup>7</sup>lu-lâ-pî-ta-ku-nu-í <sup>8</sup>*A-šûr ú A-[mu-ru-um]* <sup>9</sup>i-lá [ . . . . ] <sup>10</sup>li-tù-[lá]. Whether the last word in l. 9 was a(!)-[bi-ni] or b[e-li-a] can hardly be made out. It is also doubtful whether *BIN* VI 99 was written by Innâa mēr Elâ-(i)li or a namesake of his.

<sup>65</sup> See *CCT* V 1<sup>a</sup>, 31<sup>b</sup> ff.: *A-šûr* <sup>32</sup>û <sup>d</sup>*Amurrum i-li a-bi-a* <sup>33</sup>li-tù-lá mî-ma lá e-pu-šu-šu-ni.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Garelli, *JSS* III (1958), pp. 299 f. whose survey of the variants of the formulas here under discussion includes valuable references to letters written by persons other than Innâa and his correspondents.

in letters to persons who were likewise worshippers of Amurru. That this was actually so, and that the number of Assyrians who saw in Amurru the god of their ancestors was larger than it might seem, follows from a comparison of *CCT V 1<sup>a</sup>*, the Innâa letter just quoted, with an unpublished letter in the Archaeological Museum at Ankara<sup>67</sup> which one Aššur-na'da addressed to Ikuppia, Ennam-Aššur and Šumi-abia. While it is an open question whether this Aššur-na'da is identical with the Aššur-na'da who figures among the six addressees of Innâa's letter, there is little doubt about the identity of two of the addressees of each of the two letters, *CCT V 1<sup>a</sup>* being addressed to Ennam-Aššur, Ikuppia, Šû-Ĥubur, Šukatum, Aššur-na'da and Kuzizi. Hence it is significant that Aššur-na'da affirmed the truth of a statement by means of the formula "Aššur and Amurru, the god of our father, both surely know,"<sup>68</sup> i. e. by a formula which characterizes his correspondents as his coreligionists. On the supposition that the third addressee of *CCT V 1<sup>a</sup>* was identical with that Šû-Ĥubur with whom one of the most prominent merchants of Kaniš, *Pûšu-kên mêr Sînea*, maintained close relations, he can also be included among the worshippers of Amurru whom we can trace at Aššur and Kaniš. In fact, even as the letters *BIN IV 32* and *33* leave no doubt that Pûšu-kên and Šû-Ĥubur revered the same deities,<sup>69</sup> Pûšu-kên's use in another letter<sup>70</sup> of the formula *[A-š]ûr û Ištar kâ-ku-bu-um [li-tù]-la* indirectly evidences his dedication to the cult of Amurru. This

<sup>67</sup> No. 2806. I am greatly obliged to Professor Emin Bilgiç for the kindness with which he permitted me to transliterate his handcopy of this letter. My thanks are also due to Professor Benno Landsberger who gave me access to his transliteration of the same text.

<sup>68</sup> See Ankara 2806, ll. 38<sup>b</sup> f.: *A-šûr* (erasure) <sup>39</sup>û <sup>d</sup>*Amurru* *i-li a-bi-ni* <sup>40</sup>lu *i-dî-a a šê-er na-ru-qâ-kâ* <sup>41</sup>û-ša-zi-za-ku-ni *a-ḫi-um* <sup>42</sup>pu-ru-i *û-lâ iš-ku-un* <sup>43</sup>a-ta *i-na kâ-ar* <sup>44</sup>kâ-ar *pu-ru-i ta-âš-ta-na-kân*. Note that the beginning of this passage permits the restoration of the damaged lines x+17 f. of *KTS 41<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>69</sup> Ll. 12 f. of *BIN IV 33* show that, when writing to Šû-Ĥubur and the latter's associate, Aššur-imitti, Pûšu-kên used the formula *A-šûr û i-lu-ku-nu li-tù-lâ* "let both Aššur and your god look on (as witnesses)!" Upon first approach, this formula might be deemed to imply that Pûšu-kên did not partake in the cult of the deity referred to in the expression "your god." But knowing from the wording of the address of *BIN IV 33* that Aššur-imitti and Šû-Ĥubur were Pûšu-kên's superiors whom he had to treat courteously, we realize that, here as well as in *BIN IV 32*, 26 f., he intentionally substituted *ilukunu* for *iluni* just as, according to *TC 31*, 9 f., Pûšu-kên's son, Aššur-muttabil, likewise avoided *iluni* when, in addressing his father, he used the formula <sup>d</sup>*A-šûr* <sup>10</sup>û *ûl-kâ li-tù-lâ*. Cf. *Isaiah 37*, 4 where, in a respectful message to the prophet, king Hezekiah speaks of "Jahweh, thy god" without, of course, wishing to imply that he was not dedicated to the cult of Jahweh.

<sup>70</sup> See *BIN VI 55*, 5 f.

follows from the occurrence in a Kültepe text of the fuller formula "let Aššur, Amurru, and the Ištar star, the gods of our fathers, look on (as witnesses)"<sup>71</sup> as well as from the fact that <sup>d</sup>Amurru and <sup>d</sup>Ištar kakkubu figure together in a Late Middle Assyrian list of the quantities of cedar balsam to be allotted to the deities of the Aššur temple and its various chapels.<sup>72</sup> For in the light of the close association of Ištar kakkubum with Amurru, which is the common characteristic of these pieces of evidence, we are led to the conclusion that the worshippers of the Ištar star were wont to revere Amurru.

The fact that, according to rev., col. II, l. x+9 of a source such as the so-called explanatory list of gods K. 2109 + K. 8944 + K. 13689,<sup>73</sup> <sup>d</sup>Ištar kakkabu was identified with <sup>d</sup>NIN.GÜN.AN.NA,<sup>74</sup> i. e. with "The Iridescent Lord of Heaven,"<sup>75</sup> enables us to test the validity of this conclusion by putting to use the references to the latter deity which occur in the legends of certain seal impressions found on various Old Babylonian contracts. There is, for instance, a seal legend on a contract-tablet from Tell Šifr which, in characterizing a certain Izkur-Ea as a servant of the "Amorite god" and of <sup>d</sup>Nin-gün-an-na,<sup>76</sup> suggests once more that the worship of Ištar kakkabum was a concomitant of the Amurru cult. Three seal impressions on

<sup>71</sup> See CCT V 22<sup>c</sup>, 7 ff.: A-šur Amurru<sup>um</sup> <sup>8</sup>ù Ištar kà-ku-bu-um <sup>9</sup>i[li]<sup>li</sup> a-ba-e-ni <sup>10</sup>li-tù-lá. (On the basis of a collation done by me in 1957, I regard the reading A[N]<sup>li</sup>, i. e. <sup>9</sup>i[li]<sup>li</sup>, as more likely than the conjecture <sup>9</sup>i-l<sup>li</sup>, proposed by Deller, *Orientalia* 27 [1958], p. 63; as for the use of the status constructus singularis *ili* instead of the corresponding dualis *ilá*, cf. *maḥar 2 me-er um-mi-a-ni* [TC III 110, 13] and my remark in *AHDO* II [1938], p. 137, note 4.) CCT V 22<sup>c</sup> being the "second sheet" of a letter the beginning of which is lost, we do not know who used this formula.

<sup>72</sup> See KAV 78, ll. 21 f.: 1 qa . . . <sup>d</sup>Amurru <sup>22</sup>ù <sup>d</sup>Ištar kakkubu.

<sup>73</sup> Published by King in CT XXV, 31; see also Pinches, *PSBA* 31 (1909), pl. III and p. 22.

<sup>74</sup> See also *II R* 59, 20 e f.

<sup>75</sup> On *gün* and *gün.gün* = š/tit'aru "shining," "displaying a variety of colors"; "iridescent" see Falkenstein, *ZA* 44 (1938), pp. 4 ff.; von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik* (Roma, 1952), p. 29. That the first element of the name <sup>d</sup>Nin-gün-an-na may be rendered by "Lord" follows from l. 31 of the Rīm-Sîn inscription published in *UET* I, No. 140; additional reasons for assuming that in the sources to be cited presently Nin-gün-an-na denotes a god and not a goddess will be found below.

<sup>76</sup> See Ch.-F. Jean, *Tell Šifr* (Paris, 1931), No. 72a (= Strassmaier, *Die altbabylonischen Verträge aus Warka* [Berlin, 1881], No. 61), seal 1: <sup>1</sup>Iz-kur-Ē-a <sup>2</sup>mâr Pi-ir-ḫu-um <sup>3</sup>warad <sup>d</sup>AN.MAR.TU <sup>4</sup>ù <sup>d</sup>NIN.GÜN(!).AN.NA. A cognate legend which reads <sup>1</sup>Ī-lī-i-qī-ša-am <sup>2</sup>mâr <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-im-gur-an-ni <sup>3</sup>warad <sup>d</sup>NIN.GÜN.AN.NA <sup>4</sup>ù <sup>d</sup>AN.MAR.TU figures on an impression made with a seal cylinder in the Brett Collection; see the photograph published by von der Osten, *Oriental Institute Publications*, XXXVII (Chicago, 1936), pl. VIII, No. 75.

VAT 6675,<sup>77</sup> a contract from Kiš<sup>78</sup> dated to the 9th year of Apil-Sîn, corroborate this inference since their legends characterize two of the persons concerned as *warad* <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU and a third as *warad* <sup>d</sup>Nin-gùn-an-na.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, a seal impression on LB 1035<sup>80</sup> describes the son of one *Warad*-<sup>d</sup>Amurrim as a servant of <sup>d</sup>Nin-gùn-an-na and <sup>d</sup>Kab-ta.<sup>81</sup> The latter association of two deities which recurs, inter alia, on seal legends communicated by Delaporte<sup>82</sup> and Goetze<sup>83</sup> is elucidated, on the one hand, by the aforementioned fragment of an explanatory list of gods and the hymn *Sm.* 954<sup>84</sup> and, on the other hand, by the reverse of the much-discussed astronomical or astrological fragment K. 5990.<sup>85</sup>

After identifying, in the line quoted above, Nin-gùn-an-na with Ištar kakkabu, the first of these three sources states in rev., col. II, l. x+19 that <sup>d</sup>Kabtâ was identical with Ištar kakkabu. Hence it is clear that in the opinion of the Babylonians the people who called themselves servants of Nin-gùn-an-na and Kabtâ actually addressed their prayers to one and the same deity. On the other hand, we learn

<sup>77</sup> Published by Figulla, *VS XIII*, Nos. 3 and 3<sup>a</sup>; for an imperfect translation see *KU*, VI, No. 1596.

<sup>78</sup> That, contrary to Figulla's statement, *op. cit.*, p. III, this sales contract originated at Kiš or its environs can be inferred from the clause in ll. 15 ff. which expressly states that the parties concerned swore by Marduk, Zababa and Apil-Sîn not to sue each other. This conclusion is confirmed by the proceedings in court VAT 6646 (*VS XIII*, No. 7 = *KU*, VI, No. 1750) according to which the judgment in a law-suit of the same parties was rendered by the judges of the Zababa temple in the sixth year of Sîn-muballiṭ. It is also confirmed by the contents of *AO* 4480 (*LC*, No. 65 = *KU*, V, No. 1092) which concerns the same partition as VAT 6646. Note that both *AO* 4480 and VAT 6675 mention the field of a woman called *Amurritum* "The Amorite (woman)" and that some of the witnesses enumerated in *AO* 4480 recur as such in VAT 6646.

<sup>79</sup> Note that the list of witnesses at the end of this contract comprises bearers of typically West Semitic names such as *A-bi-ma-dar* and *I-ši-a-šar*. As for the woman named *Amurritum*, see the preceding footnote.

<sup>80</sup> For a transliteration and translation of this contract see Leemans, *Legal and Economic Records from the Kingdom of Larsa* (Leiden, 1954), pp. 7 f.

<sup>81</sup> It is worth while noting in this connection that the rare formula <sup>d</sup>Šamaš *u* <sup>d</sup>Nin-gùn-an-na *ana dâriâtîm liballiṭûka* occurs in a letter addressed by a certain Šamaš-liwwir to one Nûr-Kabtâ; see *CT XXIX*, 29 f. = *VAB* 6, No. 203. In the Kiš contract *AO* 19645 (published by Rutten, *RA LIII* [1959], pp. 93 f.), another Nûr-Kabtâ appears in the company of a certain *Iaḥzib-el*.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 122 ff. sub A.287 and A.334.

<sup>83</sup> *JCS* 4 (1950), p. 116.

<sup>84</sup> Published by Delitzsch, *AL<sup>3</sup>* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 134 ff.; for a transliteration and translation see, inter alia, Jensen, *KB VI*, 2, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Published in *III R* 53, No. 2 and republished by Virolleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéenne*, fasc. 3 (Paris, 1908), p. 16, No. VIII.



from the succeeding two lines (ll. x+20 f.) that <sup>d</sup>*Kabtâ* was a designation of the "Deity of the Evening." This latter piece of information is supplemented by *Sm.* 954; for by attributing to the "light of heaven which rises brilliantly like fire" (l. 1) the exclamation "Ištar, the goddess of the evening, am I!"<sup>86</sup> this hymn defines the designation "Deity of the Evening" as a name describing Ištar as a planetary goddess visible in the evening. *K.* 5990, finally, in which the planet Venus figures as the "Star Dilbat" as it does in numerous astrological and astronomical texts, tells us that at or after sunset, i. e. as evening star, Venus was regarded as a female deity, but before or at sunrise, i. e. as morning star, as a male.<sup>87</sup> As was repeatedly noted,<sup>88</sup> in drawing this distinction between a male and a female Ištar defined as morning star and evening star, respectively, *K.* 5990 acquaints us with a concept obviously going back to an early epoch in which people had noted a conspicuous similarity between the former and the latter star but had not yet realized that the brilliant heavenly body, which is at certain times visible after sunset and at other times before sunrise and even in broad daylight,<sup>89</sup> is the same planet, Venus. Consequently, the dedication of the Amurru worshippers to two distinct divinities each of whom the Babylonians defined as Ištar kakkabu is not as strange as it might seem. But it shows that their, or their ancestors', knowledge of the courses of the stars was comparatively limited.

The sources just quoted furnish, in fact, some data which make it evident that the cult of Nin-gùn-an-na and Kabtâ differed from the cult of the planetary Ištar as practised by Babylonia's population at the time of the arrival of the Amorite immigrants. Immediately after ascribing to Ištar the aforecited words "Ištar, the goddess of the evening, am I!" the author of *Sm.* 954 has her exclaim "Ištar, the goddess of the morning,<sup>90</sup> am I!"<sup>91</sup> Hence he can safely be supposed to have been fully aware of the identity of morning and evening star. The same is true of the writer who, according to the fragmentary incantation *K.* 8930,<sup>92</sup> began a prayer to the "[Star Dil]bat" with the

<sup>86</sup> See obv., l. 38: <sup>d</sup>*Ištar i-lat ši-me-tan ana-ku.*

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Zimmern in *KAT*<sup>3</sup>, p. 423; Pinches, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>88</sup> See *Orientalia* 17 (1948), p. 148 and cf. H. Lewy, *Symbolae Hrozný*, II (Praha, 1949), p. 40, note 60.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Fotheringham in Langdon and Fotheringham, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (Oxford and London, 1928), p. 29; (Kugler-) Schaumberger, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, 3. *Ergänzungsheft* (Münster, 1935), p. 290.

<sup>90</sup> Literally, "mornings"; cf. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 635a.

<sup>91</sup> See obv., l. 40: <sup>d</sup>*Ištar i-lat še-re-e-ti ana-ku.*

<sup>92</sup> Published by L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London, 1896), No. 39.

vocative [*Išt*]ar *kakkabê*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *i-lat šèr-[ti]*;<sup>93</sup> for in calling Venus not *Ištar kakkabu* but rather *Ištar kakkabê*<sup>94</sup> he shows, on the one hand, his familiarity with the old distinction people had once drawn between morning and evening star and, on the other hand, his acquaintance with the observations which resulted in the realization of the identity of the two stars.<sup>95</sup> The learned author of *K. 5990* who, as we have seen, recorded that the "Star Dilbat" was regarded as a female at sunset and at sunrise as a male, exhibits the same advanced knowledge when, after identifying the former with *Ištar* of Akkad and the latter with *Ištar* of Uruk, he goes on to tell us that at sunset Dilbat was called the "Lady of the Gods" (*bêlit ilâni*), whereas *Ištar kakkabê*<sup>MEŠ</sup> was her name at sunrise. To be sure, we have no means of determining the century or centuries in which the three sources just quoted may have originated. But the fact that *Ni 2487*,<sup>96</sup> a song celebrating the *ἑρὸς γάμος* of king Iddin-Dagan of Isin (ca. 1979–1959 B. C.), praises the "Star Dilbat"<sup>97</sup> as both the goddess rising in the evening<sup>98</sup> and the "Lady of the Morning"<sup>99</sup> furnishes a significant terminus ante quem for the observation that Venus is the same luminary no matter whether she shines in the evening or in the morning.

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<sup>93</sup> Thus with Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Helsingforsiae, 1938), p. 17 as against van Proosdij, *L. W. King's Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (Leiden, 1952), p. 126 and Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung"* (Berlin, 1953), pp. 126 f.

<sup>94</sup> It would appear that, in the expression "Ištar of the stars," the plural *kakkabê* stands for the obsolete dual *\*kakkabên*.

<sup>95</sup> By the same token, the compilers of the above-mentioned explanatory list *K. 2109+K. 8944+K. 13689* and of *II R 59* (see above, p. [13], note 74) showed their erudition in avoiding the use of the designation *Ištar kakkabê*<sup>MEŠ</sup> (<*\*Ištar kakkabên*) in the aforequoted statements in which they dealt with Nin-gün-an-na and Kabtâ.

<sup>96</sup> *Ni 2487* was published by Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Upland, Pa. 1924), No. 1; latest translation by Falkenstein in Falkenstein und von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich und Stuttgart, 1953), pp. 90 ff. (For the duplicates see Falkenstein, *ibid.*, p. 367.)

<sup>97</sup> See l. 133.

<sup>98</sup> See l. 11; cf. ll. 83; 85; 88; 108; 220; 223.

<sup>99</sup> According to the plausible suggestion of Falkenstein, *ZA* 47 (1942), p. 202 sub 28, thus in l. 22. Falkenstein's suggestion seems to be supported by the fact that Akkadian *ankullu* "glow," "heat" figures in the lists of synonyms after *akukûtu* which sometimes signifies "aurora"; cf. *CAD*, vol. 7, p. 228a and von Soden, *HWB*, p. 30b.



Returning after this digression to the Kültepe texts, we cannot fail to observe that at least some of Innâa's correspondents knew of his devotion to the god of his ancestors and alluded to it in their messages. In the letter *BIN VI 97*, addressed to him by Bur-Aššur, there occurs the exclamation <sup>20</sup>"Aššur and Amu[rr]um, your god, — <sup>21</sup>also Aššur's lion <sup>22</sup>(by) whom I swore to you<sup>100</sup> — let them take notice of me (when I say that) <sup>24</sup>I did not obtain <sup>23</sup>from the banker any silver and <sup>25</sup>did not give (it) <sup>24</sup>to an[ybody]!"<sup>101</sup> Since Amurrum is here defined as Innâa's god, it is obvious that the same deity is referred to when one of Innâa's correspondents uses the words *A-šur ù il<sub>5</sub>-kà li-t[ù-lá]* as does, according to collation, the writer of *TC 20* in l. 46.<sup>102</sup> This reasoning applies, of course, also to the letter *CCT IV 14<sup>b</sup>* in which a certain Damiq-pî-Aššur informed Innâa of his recovery from sickness in the

<sup>100</sup> As for Bûr-Aššur's invocation of the "lion (*piriqum*) of Aššur," see *Orientalia* 19 (1950), p. 25, note 3.

<sup>101</sup> *A-šur ù dAmu[rr]um il<sub>5</sub>-kà* <sup>21</sup>*pi-ri-qú-um ša {ša} A-šur* <sup>22</sup>*a at-ma-a-ku-ni li-dí-a-ni* <sup>23</sup>*kašpam mî-ma iš-tí tám-kà-ri-[i]m* <sup>24</sup>*lá al-qí-ú-ma a-na m[a-ma-an]* <sup>25</sup>*lá a-dí-nu-ni*. My former rendering (*loc. cit.*) of *li-dí-a-ni* was incompatible with a cognate passage in *CCT III 16<sup>b</sup> + 17<sup>a</sup>* in which *idâum* figures likewise with a personal object as it does in the personal names *Ilî-idanni* and *Nabû-idanni* quoted from younger sources in the *CAD*, vol. 7, p. 27 sub e. The Old Assyrian passage runs as follows: <sup>14</sup>*A-šur-ma ú i-il<sub>5</sub>-kà* <sup>15</sup>*a-wi-lam i-tí-dí-ma* <sup>16</sup>*ú kašpum a qá-tí-a ma-qí-il-ma* <sup>17</sup>*a-dí ûmim<sup>mî-im</sup>* <sup>18</sup>*a-nim šu* (thus according to collation) *-ta-bu-a-tí* <sup>14</sup>"Aššur or your god <sup>15</sup>took notice of the gentleman and (hence) <sup>16</sup>also silver has come [lit., "fallen"] in my hand and (thus) <sup>18</sup>you have been paid [lit., "satisfied"] <sup>17</sup>up to <sup>18</sup>this <sup>17</sup>day!" — The use of a dual such as *lidiâ* in an exclamation in which three deities are invoked is the rule; cf. above, *passim* and the comments of Landsberger und Balkan, *Belleten* XIV, No. 54 (April 1950), p. 259 on ll. 24 f., 50–52 and 73 f. of the Irišum inscription from Kültepe. It must, however, also be noted that ll. 28<sup>b</sup> f. of the damaged letter *CCT IV 50<sup>b</sup>* seem to read *A-šur ù* <sup>29</sup>[ . . . . *li*]-*tù-lu*. Whereas here the use of the plural *liṭṭulû* was hardly required by the context, it was fully justified in l. 6 of an unpublished letter which was dispatched by one Idi-Ištar to *um-mî-a-ni-a* (l. 1) and ll. 3 ff. of which read as follows: <sup>2</sup>*ta-âš-pu-ra-nim* <sup>4</sup>*um-ma a-tù-nu-ma* <sup>5</sup>*A-šur ù i-lu-ni* <sup>6</sup>*li-tù-lu a-na kašpi<sup>pî-kà</sup>* <sup>7</sup>*kašpim I šiqlim* <sup>8</sup>*lá ni-tá-pi-ú*. As ll. 5–8<sup>a</sup> quote a message from Idi-Ištar's *ummi'ânû*, and as the *ummi'ânû* of the businessmen established at Kaniš were usually a large group of financiers living at Aššur, it can safely be assumed that *i-lu-ni* (l. 5) means here "our gods" and alludes to the various ancestral deities of the men to whom Idi-Ištar was indebted. In other words, the use of the plural *liṭṭulû* was here logical because, while united in the worship of Assyria's supreme deity, Idi-Aššur's *ummi'ânû* were dedicated to different family gods. Whereas one of them was probably Ilaprat in whom, according to the wording of ll. 15–16<sup>a</sup> of our text (*A-šur ù dIlaprat li-tù-lá*), Idi-Ištar venerated the god of his own ancestors, Amurrum may well have been among the ancestral gods of his creditors.

<sup>102</sup> My former conclusion that Innâa's ancestral god was Ilaprat was reached at a time when the formula *Aššur u Amurrum liṭṭulû* had not yet appeared in his correspondence. It is invalidated by the new evidence.

following terms: "Aššur and your god took (me by) my hand and hence I got well."<sup>103</sup>

Another letter addressed to Innâa acquaints us with a town named <sup>d</sup>*Amurrum*<sup>um</sup> which can safely be supposed to have been inhabited by worshippers of the god Amurru; for in the early periods of their history, the Semitic nations were more or less wont to designate a town or a town-quarter by the name of the deity to whose cult its population was dedicated.<sup>104</sup> The letter in question is *CCT* III 25, one of the messages dispatched by Innâa's aforementioned wife, Tarâm-Kubi.<sup>105</sup> After discussing certain affairs which do not bear on our topic, and after urging her husband to come and "see Aššur's eye" (i. e. to pay homage to him in Assyria's capital city<sup>106</sup>) so that, from then on, she would be able to live with Innâa,<sup>107</sup> she

<sup>103</sup> See ll. 8 f.: *A-šur ù il-gà qá-ti 9i-ša-áb-tù-ma áš-ti-lim*. An interesting counterpart of this phrase is found in letters the writers of which believed to have been neglected by the deities and expressed their feelings of helplessness either in the short formula *A-šur i-ta-ad-a-ni* "Aššur let [literally, "threw"] me down," which occurs in *ATHE* 65, 29, or in its fuller variant *A-šur ú il-kà i-ta-ad-a-ni* "Aššur and your god both let me down," which figures in ll. 34<sup>b</sup> f. of the letter *S.* 561, recently published by Kennedy et Garelli, *JCS* 14 (1960), pp. 6 ff. sub No. 4. Since *S.* 561 is addressed to a man known to us as a worshipper of Amurru, namely to Pâšu-kên (see above, pp. [12] f.), *ilka* here again refers to this deity.

<sup>104</sup> The best-known examples of this habit, which was not limited to the Semitic peoples, are Aššur and Šâlêm (<Šalim), the old name of the city of Jerusalem. As for the latter, see J. Lewy, *RHR* CX (1934), pp. 60 f.; Nyberg, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 35 (1938), p. 352. As regards Aššur, the habit under discussion explains why both <sup>d</sup>*A-šur* and *A-šur*<sup>KI</sup> appear in the Old Assyrian sources as designations of the god Aššur (see *HUCA* XXVII [1956], p. 28, note III<sup>a</sup>). By the same token, *a-lúm*<sup>KI</sup> <sup>d</sup>*A-šur* became a designation of the city of Aššur which, as will be recalled, figures in the Old Akkadian texts from Gasur/Nuzi as *A-šur*<sup>KI</sup>. Therefore, and since, on the other hand, the Old Assyrian scribes considered it more or less unnecessary to characterize town names as such by means of the determinative KI, the occurrence in the letters here to be quoted of a toponym <sup>d</sup>*MAR.TU*<sup>um</sup> is not surprising.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. above, p. [11] with note 60.

<sup>106</sup> See my *KTBI*, p. 26; von Soden, *HWB*, p. 41a.

<sup>107</sup> See *CCT* III 25, ll. 22<sup>b</sup> ff.: *a-pu-tum ki-ma 23tu-p-pá-am ta-áš-me-ú al-kam-ma 24e-in A-šur ili-kà ù li(-)bi4-ti-kà 25a-mu-ur ú a-dí ba-al-tá-ku* (thus according to collation) *-ni 26e-ni-kà lá-mu-ur* "Please, as soon as 23you hear the tablet (read before you), come here and 25see 24the eye of Aššur, your god, and (see) your house; 26and, as long as I am alive, 26may I see your eyes!" (As for the use of *li(-)bi4-ti-kà* in lieu of *libbi bîtika* or, rather, *lib bîtika*, compare the frequent occurrences of *qá-ra(-)bîtim* and *qí-ra(-)bîtim* instead of *qarab bîtim* and *qirab bîtim*.) — It is not without interest to compare this passage with the contents of the letter *CCT* III 24 in which Tarâm-Kubi asserts, inter alia, that when setting out (for Anatolia), Innâa had left her penniless in Aššur. However, two of her letters to Innâa (see *CCT* III 23<sup>b</sup>, 3 ff.;

wrote, inter alia, as follows: "(As for) the linen cloth and the belt <sup>28</sup>which Šû-Kubum's son <sup>29</sup>transported <sup>28</sup>to Amurru, <sup>108</sup> <sup>29</sup>they are in his house. <sup>109</sup> <sup>30</sup>Send him a tablet (instructing him that) <sup>31</sup>he shall deliver <sup>30</sup>the linen cloth <sup>31</sup>and the belt so that <sup>32</sup>they may be <sup>31</sup>in <sup>32</sup>your house!" <sup>110</sup> As Tarâm-Kubi's request concerns not the "transportation" (*wabâlum*) but the "delivery" (*nadânum*) to Innâa's house of the objects mentioned in ll. 27 and 30 f., it would appear that the place named <sup>d</sup>*Amurru<sup>um</sup>* was not far from Innâa's house at Aššur. Therefore, and because, as was just recalled, the names of deities were given not only to capital cities but also to town-quarters or suburbs of the larger settlements,<sup>111</sup> we are led to the conclusion that

CCT III 24, 7<sup>b</sup> f.), as well as the document EL 138, include evidence to the effect that she received at Aššur considerable amounts of silver and gold which her husband sent her from Anatolia.

<sup>108</sup> The placing of *ana* <sup>d</sup>*Amurrim<sup>im</sup>* not within but, instead, before the subordinate clause introduced by the relative pronoun (ll. 28–29<sup>a</sup>; see presently, note 110) invites a comparison with constructions such as *ana kišeršim aššêrika inâme allikanni* (EL 284, 25<sup>b</sup> f.). As I noted in *WdO* II (1954–1959), p. 435 with notes 7 and 8, such cases of a more or less abnormal order of the words are due to a speaker's or writer's desire to bring out clearly what he wants to emphasize.

<sup>109</sup> As can be seen from ll. 34 ff. of the letter here under discussion as well as from l. 11 of the letter BIN IV 91 which belongs to the same correspondence, the "son of Šû-Kubum" who transported the linen cloth and the belt to his own house at <sup>d</sup>*Amurru<sup>um</sup>* was one Elâ-(i)li. Since, as was mentioned above, p. [11], Innâa's father was one of the bearers of this significant name, and since, according to numerous Kültepe texts, many a boy was named after his deceased grandfather, "Šû-Kubum's son" may well have been a nephew of Innâa's. It goes almost without saying that this inference is supported by the emergence in *TuM* I 25<sup>f</sup>, 9 f. and CCT V 26<sup>c</sup>, x+3 (collations J. Lewy and P. Garelli) of a *Šû-Kubum mēr E-lâ-lî*.

<sup>110</sup> See CCT III 25, ll. 27<sup>b</sup> ff.: *ki-ta-am ú iš* (thus according to collation) *-ra-am* <sup>28</sup>*a-na* <sup>d</sup>*Amurrim<sup>im</sup>* *ša mēr Šu-Ku-bi-im* <sup>29</sup>*ub-lâ-ni i-na bîlîbi-lî-šu-ma i-ba-šî* <sup>30</sup>*up-pâ-am šê-bi-lâ-šu-ma ki-ta-a-am* <sup>31</sup>*û iš* (thus acc. to coll.) *-ra-am li-dî-in-ma i-na* <sup>32</sup>*bi-tî-kâ li-bi-šî*. For *išrum* (plural *išrâtum*) "belt" see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 34, note 117.

<sup>111</sup> So far as the Semites in the western regions of the Ancient Near East are concerned, this habit is illustrated, inter alia, by the Bod-'Aštart Inscription A which lists among the town-quarters or suburbs of Sidon שָׁמַם רָמָם; as was observed by Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, V (Paris, 1903), pp. 230 ff. and other savants, this toponym is identical with the name of the god mentioned by Sanchunyâtôn-Philo Byblius as Σαμυροῦμος ὁ καὶ Ὑψοῦράνιος. As regards the Western Semites who migrated to, and settled in, the eastern lands of the Fertile Crescent, the same habit is revealed by the fact that the Old Babylonian sources mention a Sippar<sup>KI</sup> Amnânium and a Sippar<sup>KI</sup> Iaḫrurum (for the variant spellings see Ungnad, *VAB* 6, p. 437); as was implied by Ungnad, who called them "besondere Teile Sippars," these settlements were obviously distinguished from the city of Sippar as such, i. e. from what the Assyrian royal inscriptions call *Sippar*

the center of Amurru worship referred to in Tarâm-Kubi's letter was located in the immediate vicinity of the Assyrian metropolis.<sup>112</sup>

Since the Old Assyrian sources offer instances of the use of a town name as designation of its population,<sup>113</sup> we shall not, on the

ša Šamaš, and from Sippar<sup>KI</sup> dA-nu-ni-tum (Assyrian variant: <sup>â</sup>iSippar ša dA-nu-ni-te). Edzard, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 f. explains the emergence in the Old Babylonian sources of the names Sippar Amnānum and Sippar Iaḥrurum by the assumption that parts of the "nomadic" tribes figuring in the Mari texts as Amnānum (or Amnānū) and Iaḥurru (or Iaḥrurū) settled down "bei Sippar" and gave their new settlements their tribal names. It cannot, however, escape our attention that Iaḥrurum has the typical form of an Old West Semitic divine name and might even be synonymous with the "Arabic" divine name ʾيَٰحُ ( "He helps") which, in turn, has been identified with the Edomite tribal name יְעוֹז by W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, I (Cambridge, 1889), p. 42, note 4; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin und Leipzig, 1927), pp. 21 f.; Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906), pp. 351 f. and others. Moreover, the younger Akkadian sources refer to the town-quarters or suburbs here under discussion as Sip-par ša dA[m]-na-nu (see HUCA XVIII [1944], p. 471, note 221) and Sippar<sup>KI</sup> dA-ru-ru (K. 2801, rev. 44 [see now Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* (Graz, 1956), p. 84] and cf. further II R 50, 64 a b), thus pointing to a tradition according to which Amnānum and Iaḥrurum, when serving as elements of place names, were divine names. The correctness of this tradition is obvious because the occurrence in the Old Babylonian sources of personal names such as Mu-ut-Am-na-an, Su-mu-Am-na-nu-um and [Su-mu-I]a-aḥ-ru-ra (for the references see Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 38 f.) compels us to admit that either of the two names here under discussion denoted a deity. In other words, Amnān and Iaḥrura turn out to belong to the large group of Old West Semitic proper names which had the function of designating both a god or deified heros eponyms and the tribe dedicated to his cult. Amnān(um) can even be said to have combined with these two functions that of a geographical name. For in consideration of the country name māt dA-šur, on the one hand, and of the occurrence in the Bible of בית יהוה as a designation of the territory possessed by the worshippers of Jahweh, on the other hand, LUGAL Am-na-nu-um, the well-known title of king Sîn-kāšid, may well be deemed to refer to an area in the vicinity of Uruk which, being occupied by parts of the Amnānum tribe, was named after the tribe's deity as was the tribe itself. In other words, the name Amnān has as many aspects as has the name dMAR.TU which, as we shall see presently when discussing the term GAL dMAR.TU, denotes not only the god Amurru and a town but even the "Amorites." — As for a western ma-at Am-na-ni-im, mentioned together with Tuttul and Abattum and, accordingly, to be located not far from the mouth of the River Balīḥ (cf. H. Lewy, *Orientalia* 27 [1958], pp. 9 ff.), see below, p. [24].

<sup>112</sup> Whether or not it lay at the place where Tiglath-Pileser I rebuilt a temple of dAmurru (see col. VI, ll. 86 ff. of his Prism Inscr.) remains, of course, uncertain.

<sup>113</sup> A characteristic example of this use of place names so familiar from the Mari texts and the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions is found in the unpublished Kültepe letter Ka 1053 which, thanks to the liberality of the administration and the cuneiformists of the Istanbul Museum, I could study in 1958. Ll. 27<sup>b</sup> ff. of this letter read šu-ul-mu-um i-na <sup>28</sup>Bu-ru-uš-ḥa-dim Ū-lá-ma <sup>29</sup>ma-mi-tám iš-ti Bu-ru-uš-ḥa-dim

other hand, err in assuming that the name <sup>d</sup>*Amurrum*<sup>um</sup> not only defines the town or suburb so called as a place dedicated to the cult of Amurru but also characterizes its inhabitants as Amorites. This assumption is supported by the fact that in certain Old Babylonian sources, namely in the Sippar document VAT 843 and its envelope, VAT 842,<sup>114</sup> and in a brick inscription from Tell Harmal,<sup>115</sup> the title GAL MAR.TU "commander of the Amorites," "commander of the Amorite soldiers"<sup>116</sup> appears in the spellings GAL <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU and *ra-bi* <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU, respectively. For these spellings show that the collective *Amurru* "the Amorites," previously known mainly from the date formulas in *1 šanat Šar-kà-lî-šar-ri Amurram*<sup>2m</sup> in *Ba-sa-ar šadê*<sup>117</sup> and *šattum ša Li-pî-it-Ištar A-mu-ru-um iṭ-ru-du-uš*,<sup>118</sup> could be provided with the determinative for "god."<sup>119</sup> We arrive at the same conclusion when noting that the frequent title PA MAR.TU,

<sup>80</sup>*il<sub>5</sub>-té-qé* "There is peace in Buruṣhaddum; Ullama accepted (now) the oath from Buruṣhaddum." (On the idiom *mamītam laqā'um išti X* see *Orientalia* 26 [1957], p. 28, note 5. As for an instructive instance in which not only the ruler but the whole population of a city-state entered into a sworn agreement with another power, see ll. x+4 and x+10 [<sup>m</sup>*La-ab-ú ù <sup>dl</sup>Tu-ni-ip*] of KUB III 21=Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, II [Leipzig, 1923], pp. 138 ff. and cf. the observations of Korošec, *Hehthitische Staatsverträge* [Leipzig, 1931], p. 57. On the location of Ullama in relation to Buruṣhaddum see *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kıtahı*, I [Ankara, 1947], pp. 13 f.)

<sup>114</sup> Latest publication by Ungnad, *VS IX*, Nos. 142 and 143; cf. the remarks of Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen* (Leipzig, 1917), pp. 146 f.

<sup>115</sup> Published by Sidney Smith, *Sumer II* (1946), p. 20. The inscription reads: <sup>1d</sup>*Sin-ga-mi-il* <sup>2ra-bi</sup> AN MAR.TU <sup>3ša</sup> *Di-ni-ik-tim*<sup>KI</sup> <sup>4mâr</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Sin-še-mi* "<sup>1</sup>Sin-gâmil, <sup>2</sup>commander of the Amorites (stationed) <sup>3</sup>at Diniktum, <sup>4</sup>the son of Sin-šemi." The location MAR.TU *ša Diniktum*, i. e., literally, "the Amorite of Diniktum," is to be compared with the Old Assyrian reference to *Amurrên ša Nihria* to be discussed below, pp. [36] ff.

<sup>116</sup> As for the high rank of the officers designated by this title, see Thureau-Dangin, *RA XXXVIII* (1941), p. 42, note 7 and Kupper, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 f. The proof, considered lacking by Kupper, that such officers served in Babylonia is now supplied by MAH 16194 (published by Szlechter, *Tablettes juridiques de la I<sup>re</sup> dynastie de Babylone* [Paris, 1958], pl. XXVIII and p. 56); for the GAL MAR.TU who figures in l. 4 of this document used a seal designating him as a *warad Sa-am-su-i-lu-na*.

<sup>117</sup> For the reference and for a variant in which MAR.TU is left without the complement *am* see Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 149, note 3.

<sup>118</sup> For the reference see now Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 166, who is likewise of the opinion that *Amurru* is here a collective to be rendered by "the Amorites."

<sup>119</sup> In this connection, it is interesting to note that KAV 217, i. e. a document in which the city of Aššur figures as <sup>dl</sup>*dA-šur* (l. x+9), has in ll. x+10 ff. <sup>dl</sup>*dA-šur-a-ia* (plural: <sup>dl</sup>*dA-šur-a-ia*<sup>MEŠ</sup>) instead of the usual Middle Assyrian <sup>awēl</sup>*Aš-šu-ra-(a)-ia-ú* (KAV I, col. VI, l. 40; KAV 6, x+20).



which we read *wakil Amurrim*,<sup>120</sup> occurs occasionally<sup>121</sup> in the spelling PA <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU.

Since the collective *Amurrum* recurs in phonetic spelling in the Old Babylonian title *a-bi A-mu-ur-ri-im*,<sup>122</sup> and since the well-known interchange of the titles *a-bu E-mu-ut-ba-la* and AD.DA *E-mu-ut-ba-la*,<sup>123</sup> as well as a lexical source,<sup>124</sup> leaves no doubt about the interchangeability of the titles *abum* and AD.DA, there arises at this point the question whether the full titles *abu Amurrim* and AD.DA KUR.MAR.TU<sup>125</sup> (rare variant: AD.DA MAR.TU<sup>126</sup>) were likewise interchangeable. An affirmative answer to this question depends, of course, on the admissibility of the assumption that not only MAR.TU

<sup>120</sup> According to Landsberger, *JCS* 9 (1955), p. 122, note 11, this reading is incompatible with the occurrence in the letter *TCL* VII = *RA* XXI (1924), pp. 11 f., No. 11 (*sic*) of PA MAR.TU.MEŠ-šu-nu. Since he failed to give his reasons for rejecting Thureau-Dangin's transliteration of the Sumerogram, we can but guess that Landsberger considers it impossible that the plural of *wakil Amurrim* was *wakil Amurrê*. In our opinion, this possibility is incontestable since, e.g., Old Assyrian uses, besides the "double plural" *mer'û ummî'ânî* attested in *VAT* 9223, 17<sup>b</sup> ff. (3 *me-er-e um-mî-a-nî* . . . . *ša-áb-ta*) and in *Oxford* 426, 16 (*maḥar 3 mer'ê(!)me-er-e um-mî-a-nî*), the plural *mêr* (or *mêra*) *ummî'ânî* at least as frequently as the plural *mer'û ummî'ânim*; cf. *TC* II 48, x+6 ff. (*iš-tî me-ra um-mî-a-nî pî-iq-da-ma* . . . *lu-ub-lu-nim*) and *TC* III 36, 16 (*maḥar 5 mêr um-mî-a-nî*), on the one hand, and *BIN* VI 54, x+6 f. (*ša 3 mer'ême-er-e um-mî-a-nim*), on the other hand, and cf. *AHDO* II (1938), p. 137, notes 4 and 5. (Compare also the data gathered by Finet, *L'accadien des lettres de Mari* [Bruxelles, 1956], p. 81 and the remarks of H. Lewy, *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* [Bruxelles, 1955], p. 278, note 1; von Soden, *HWB*, p. 134b s.v. *bîl šarri*.) Therefore, and because, as we shall state presently in greater detail than above, p. [9], note 52, the plural *Amurrû* (<*Amurrîû*) interchanges with the old collective *Amurrum*, we do not hesitate to regard *wakil Amurrim* and *wakil Amurrî/ê* as the Akkadian equivalents of PA MAR.TU and PA MAR.TU.MEŠ.

<sup>121</sup> Namely in the enumeration of witnesses of the document *AO* 2673 (= *LC* 237) which records a donation of king Išar-Lim of Ḫana to a deserving official (cf. J. Lewy, *Eretz Israel* V [1958], pp. 23\* ff.). Whereas Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 193, note 1 minimizes the testimony of this source, we regard it as highly significant that the *wakil Amurrim* mentioned therein was named Iggid-Lim and that he figures here before a royal prince and other dignitaries likewise listed as witnesses.

<sup>122</sup> Thus in *UET* V 62 after the prepositions *ana* (ll. 11; 15; 25) and *balum* (l. 22); cf. Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 175. To judge by the cognate title *abu Emûtbâlâ* (see presently), the nominative is likely to have been *abu Amurrim*.

<sup>123</sup> For the references see now Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 178, note 1 and Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles* (New Heaven, 1957), pp. 109 f.

<sup>124</sup> See *K.* 2051 (latest publication by Langdon, *RA* XIV [1917], pp. 85 f.), rev., col. IV, l. 15: AD.DA \* *a-bu*.

<sup>125</sup> For the references see Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 84, note 3 and cf. Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 174, note 1; p. 175, note 2.

<sup>126</sup> *PBS* VIII 1, No. 79; cf. Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 174.



but also KUR.MAR.TU was a Sumerogram for the collective *Amurru* and its equivalent *Amurrû* < *Amurrû*. In order to prove the correctness of this assumption we list and interpret some significant Babylonian forms and Sumerograms of the collective *Akkadûm* > *Akkadûm* > *Akkadû* and the plural *Akkadû* > *Akkadû*.<sup>127</sup> As will be remembered, the lexical sources differ in their rendering of Sumerian URI or URI.KI from the bilingual inscriptions of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon. In equating LUGAL.KI.IN.GI.URI.KI with *šar-ru KUR Šu-me-ri Ak-di-e*,<sup>128</sup> the former use the plural (*Akkadû* >) *Akdû*, but the royal inscriptions which translate, e. g., NIGIN.KI.EN.GI.KI.URI by *na-ap-ḫa-ar ma-at Šu-me-ri-im ù Ak-ka-di-im*<sup>129</sup> prefer the collective *Akkadûm* < *Akkadûm*<sup>130</sup> to the plural form.<sup>131</sup> When turning from the royal inscriptions to the Erra Epic which happens to refer repeatedly to "the Akkadian," we notice that one of its copies has URI.KI where another one writes phonetically *Ak-ka-du-ú*.<sup>132</sup> We further gather that, in the sentence *akû Akkadû danna Sutû lišamqit*,<sup>133</sup> KUR.URI.KI served as Sumerogram

<sup>127</sup> For a much fuller documentation which, if used as a list of references, is still useful see the dissertation of O. E. Toffteen, *Researches in Assyrian and Babylonian Geography* (Chicago, 1908), pp. 24 ff. and 39.

<sup>128</sup> See col. I, l. 57 of the list LÚ=ša (ed. Meissner, *Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch*, I [Chicago, 1931], pp. 78 ff.). On *Ak-di-e* < *Akkadîê* (> *Akkadî/ê*) see most recently J. Lewy, *Orientalia* 29 (1960), p. 43 with notes 4 and 5 and note Old Assyrian *Ak(!)-di-ú-tim* < *Akkadûtim* (*BIN VI* 75, 15).

<sup>129</sup> See l. 34 of the Sumerian and ll. 38<sup>b</sup> f. of the Babylonian version of Samsuiluna's "bilinguis B" as reconstructed by Thureau-Dangin, *RA XXXIX* (1942-44), pp. 6 ff.

<sup>130</sup> An Old Babylonian example of the typical use as collective of the singular form *Akkadûm* is found in ll. 20 f. of the letter *ARM VI*, No. 76: [*ki-ma*] *šar Ha-na*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *at-ta* [*ù š*] *a-ni-iš šar Ak-ka-di-im at-ta*; cf. H. Lewy, *Orientalia* 25 (1956), p. 351 with note 1; Edzard, *op. cit.*, p. 37, note 159.

<sup>131</sup> In the title *šarru mât Šu-me-ri u Ak-ka-di-i* (variant URI.KI), the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, in turn, prefer the plural *Akkadû*; see, e. g., l. 23 of Esarhaddon *As Bb A* (ed. Borger, p. 80).

<sup>132</sup> See *IB 212* (ed. Gössmann, *Das Era-Epos* [Würzburg, 1956], pp. 104 ff.), col. IV, l. 5 (*ar-ka URI.KI li-it-bi-e-ma*), on the one hand, and *K. 2619* (ed. Harper, *BA II* [1894], pp. 477 ff.), col. IV, l. 17 (*ù ar-ka Ak-ka-du-ú lit-ba-am-ma*), on the other. Another passage in which URI.KI is clearly Sumerogram for the collective *Akkadû* (or its byform *Akkadaia*) and, accordingly, to be rendered by "the Akkadian(s)" is found in rev., l. 11 of *K. 159* (published by Klauber, *Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit* [Leipzig, 1913], pp. 103 f. and pl. 56 f.).

<sup>133</sup> See *K. 1282* (ed. Harper, *loc. cit.*, pp. 491 ff.), obv., l. 28; for the restoration of the damaged beginning and end of the line (and the unessential variants) see Gössmann, *op. cit.*, p. 35, l. 27, whose transliteration of KUR.URI.KI is, however, inexact and incompatible with the context.

of the same singularic form *Akkadû*. The epistolary sources, in turn, show that either of these Sumerograms was also used in expressing the plural *Akkadû* (<*Akkadiû*) so that, e. g., LUGAL KUR *Ak-ka-di-i* "king of the Akkadians" (Harper, *ABL*, No. 1236, rev. 1) alternates here with LUGAL URI.KI (e. g., *ABL*, Nos. 1109, 7; 1134, 11; 1214, rev. 15) as well as with LUGAL šá KUR.URI.KI (*ABL*, No. 1146, rev. 2). The Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian sources do not seem to indicate why the scribes could permit themselves such an indiscriminate use of the two Sumerograms here under discussion. But various pieces of evidence, to be gleaned in part from the Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions, make it possible to see in this interchange the ultimate result of a peculiarity of the Akkadian language, to wit, the existence of nisba forms provided with a prefixed *mât* "land" which coalesced with the "ordinary" nisba forms in *-îum*, etc. The origin of such "prefixed" nisba forms, which call for a comparison with vocables such as English "Icelander" and "Highlander" or German "Irländer," and "Rheinländer," is elucidated by the occurrence in the Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian sources of a very large number of country names such as *ma-at Kà-ni-iš*,<sup>134</sup> *ma-at Za-al-pá*,<sup>135</sup> *ma-at Am-na-ni-im*,<sup>136</sup> *ma-a-at Qa-ab-ra-a*<sup>KI</sup>,<sup>137</sup> *ma-a-at Ha-la-ab*<sup>KI</sup>,<sup>138</sup> etc. The spellings *ma-at* and *ma-a-at* leave no doubt that the first element of these names was pronounced. The same is obviously true of the less numerous country names which, in distinction from them, consisted not of *mât* and a proper name but of *mât* and an appellative noun as do, e. g., *Mât tâmtim* "The Sealand" and *Mât amurrim* "The Westland." Hence it was but natural that nisba forms derived from such geographical names began likewise with *mât*. The variants found in cognate passages or duplicates show, however, that these "prefixed" nisba forms were not always used: Several copies of an inscription of Shalmaneser I write *ummân<sup>an</sup> Ha-at-ti-i*, whereas only two copies of the same record offer in the same passage *ummân<sup>an</sup>*

<sup>134</sup> For the reference see most recently *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 45, note 163.

<sup>135</sup> First attested in ll. 13 f. of the Kültepe text *kt c/k* 91. I am greatly obliged to Professor Kemal Balkan of the University of Ankara for having shown me his transliteration of this unpublished text and for his generous permission to quote it. See also Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-Hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish* (Ankara, 1957), p. 58.

<sup>136</sup> See col. III, l. 7 of the Iaḥdun-Lim inscription published by Dossin, *Syria* XXXII (1955), pp. 4 ff.

<sup>137</sup> See *ARM* I, No. 135, 16 and col. III, l. 2 of the inscription on the stela AO 2776. (On the latter passage see most recently von Soden, *Orientalia* 22 [1953], p. 256 and H. Lewy, *WdO* II [1954-1959], p. 441, note 3.)

<sup>138</sup> See *ARM* V, No. 63, 12 f.

KUR *Ḥa-at-ti-i* or *ummân*<sup>139</sup> KUR *Ḥa-ti-i*,<sup>139</sup> thus giving preference to the "prefixed" nisba form subsequently met with in the epistolary sources in contexts such as KUR *A-mur-ru-u* KUR *Ḥa-at-tu-u* ù KUR *Su-tu-u*.<sup>140</sup> To be sure, on first approach, these variants merely seem to imply that the two expressions for "the Hittite army"<sup>141</sup> were equally acceptable.<sup>142</sup> However, as already intimated, the pronunciation of the two synonymous expressions was not necessarily the same.<sup>143</sup> Hence it is likely that in many an instance stylistic considerations, the requirements of metre and the like made for the use of the one or the other of the two synonyms.<sup>144</sup> In other words, we may well suppose that it was sometimes deemed necessary to indicate in writing that the "prefixed" nisba was intended. The method to do

<sup>139</sup> See *AOB*, I, p. 116, l. 21 with note d1. The inscriptions of Shalmaneser's son and successor, Tukulti-Ninurta I (ed. Weidner, *AfO*, *Beiheft* 12 [Graz, 1959]), which relate the deportation of Hittites, furnish the same characteristic variants: obv., l. 23 of No. 17 speaks of *šābē*<sup>MES</sup> *Ḥa-ti-i* but col. II, l. 28 of No. 16 of *šābē*<sup>MES</sup> KUR *Ḥa-at-ti-i*. Numerous passages in the inscriptions of Adad-narâri I, Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I show much the same freedom in the use of the "ordinary" and "prefixed" gentilics *Qutû* and KUR *Qutû*; compare especially Shalmaneser *AOB*, I, p. 134, l. 12 (*um-ma-an Qu-ti-i*) and Tuk. Nin., No. 6, obv., l. 7 (*um-ma-na-at Qu-ti-i*) with Tuk. Nin., No. 1, col. III, ll. 14 f. and No. 14, obv., l. 9 (*um-ma-na-at KUR Qu-ti-i*; the latter form coincides, of course, with *mât Qu-ti-i* "Land of the Qutû"). But it would appear that the "prefixed" nisba was carefully avoided in enumerations such as *ummân Kaš-ši-i Qu-ti-i Lu-ul-lu-mi-i* ù *Šu-ba-ri-i* (*AOB*, I, pp. 56 ff.).

<sup>140</sup> See Harper, *ABL*, No. 629, 21 f. and cf. No. 337, 14 f.

<sup>141</sup> Note that the second of the two synonyms corresponds exactly to the locution *ummân* KUR URI.KI repeatedly found in the Babylonian chronicles; see especially B.M., No. 21901 (ed. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* [London, 1956], pl. IX ff. and pp. 54 ff.), obv., ll. 1; 11; 13; B.M., No. 22047 (*ibid.*, pl. XIII f. and pp. 64 ff.), ll. 26 and 28 and cf., inter alia, B.M., No. 35382 (ed. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* [London, 1924], pl. XI ff. and pp. 110 ff.), col. III, l. 13; B.M., No. 34660 (*ibid.*, pl. XV f. and pp. 140 ff.), obv., l. 10.

<sup>142</sup> A third variant (found on *Assur* 890; see Messerschmidt, *KAH* I, p. 74\*) seems to be *ummân* KUR *Ḥa-at-ti*, i. e. literally, "the army of the country of Hattu(m)." As for the occurrence of *ma-at Ḥa-at-te*<sup>KI</sup> in the Idri-mi inscription, see *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV (1950), p. 366, note 2.

<sup>143</sup> That KUR = *mât* was frequently pronounced can be inferred from the fact that, according to l. 2 of the Old Aramaic letter found at Aššur, במתכדי was an equivalent of the frequent *ina* KUR URI.KI; cf. Lidzbarski, *ZA* 31 (1917/1918), p. 196 and *WVDOG* 38 (1921), p. 7. That is was by no means always pronounced is corroborated by the variant spellings *mAk-ka-da-a-a* (Harper, *ABL*, No. 1353, 5), *mKUR* URI-[a-a] (Johns, *ADD*, I, No. 394, 1) and *mURI-a-a* (*ibid.*, Nos. 391, 6; 392, 5) of the personal name which figures as אכדי in the Aramaic document *V4* 7499 published by Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 16 sub 2.

<sup>144</sup> Note the absence of KUR before *A-mur-ri-i* in col. II, l. 23 of the so-called Verse Account of Nabonidus (ed. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. V ff. and pp. 83 ff.).

so was then the prefixing of KUR, no matter whether one wrote phonetically *Ak-ka-du-ù*<sup>145</sup> or made use of the Sumerograms URI or URI.KI; for, as was observed by Thureau-Dangin,<sup>146</sup> Sumerian KUR came to be used in the sense of Akkadian *mâtum* some time prior to the reign of Samsu-iluna. As this means that the habit of prefixing KUR = *mât* to country names and their gentilic derivatives originated in the period in which the Sumerogram URU "town" begins to appear before place names, it stands to reason that the same principles guided the scribes in dealing with either of these so-called determinatives. The correctness of this assumption is all the more obvious since either of them was, above all, a convenient means of precluding doubts as to whether, in its particular context, a name designated a city or the territory known by the same name.<sup>147</sup> When now trying to determine how and to which extent the Old Babylonian scribes made use of the method of characterizing a town name as such by prefixing URU or its archaic equivalent URU.KI, we find that some of them practised it consistently, whereas others either ignored it or used it sporadically. Thus the two place names referred to in the name of Rîm-Sîn's 17th regnal year figure in the relevant documents in the following combinations: (1) URU.KI *Im-gur-dGibil* ù URU.KI *Zi-ib-na-tum*,<sup>148</sup> (2) URU *Im-gur-dGibil*<sup>KI</sup> ù URU *Zi-ib-na-a-tum*,<sup>149</sup> (3) *Im-gur-dGibil*<sup>KI</sup> ù *Zi-ib-na-tum*<sup>KI</sup>,<sup>150</sup> (4) *Im-gur-dGibil*<sup>KI</sup> ù URU.KI *Zi-ib-na-tum*.<sup>151</sup> By the same token, the town of Našarum appears in the name of Rîm-Sîn's 15th year as (1) URU.KI *Na-ša-ru-um*,<sup>152</sup> (2) URU *Na-ša-rum*<sup>153</sup> and (3) *Na-ša-rum*.<sup>154</sup> These and several

<sup>145</sup> Cf. the Late Middle Assyrian locution *iš-tu âl Bâbili* <sup>KI</sup> *ša* (var. *Bâb-ili šá*) *Mât-ak-ka-di-i* (KAH II 73, 6; Broken Obelisk [ed. Budge and King], col. IV, l. 38).

<sup>146</sup> *La chronologie de la première dynastie babylonienne* (Paris, 1942), p. 17, note 3.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. above, p. [24]; on the difficulties confronting us sometimes in instances in which the ancient scribes considered it unnecessary to indicate whether a particular geographical name denoted a capital city or rather the territory dominated by, and named after, it see also *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV (1950), p. 366 ff.

<sup>148</sup> See YOS V, No. 107, ll. 21 f.

<sup>149</sup> AO 6766 (see Thureau-Dangin, RA XV [1918], p. 30; TCL X, No. 47); see also YOS VIII, No. 50, ll. 25 ff.: [U]RU *Im-gur-dGibil*<sup>KI</sup> [ù] URU *Zi-ib-na-tum*<sup>KI</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> Thus on the case of VAT 7714 (= VS XIII, No. 94a).

<sup>151</sup> Thus on the inner tablet of VS XIII, No. 94 and on AO 6358 A and B (see Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30 f.; TCL X, No. 46).

<sup>152</sup> AO 6374 A (see Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, p. 29; TCL X, No. 41 A); see also YOS V, No. 238, l. 8.

<sup>153</sup> AO 6394 A and B (see Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, p. 29; TCL X, No. 40 A and B); see also YOS V, No. 236, l. 4.

<sup>154</sup> UET I, pl. LIII and p. 69, No. 266, l. 5.

analogous variant writings<sup>155</sup> prove that the Old Babylonian use of the so-called determinative URU was not governed by strict rules, unless *âlum* or the construct state *âl* was part of a place name and hence always pronounced.<sup>156</sup> In the light of this fact, we realize that the above-described methods of writing the collective *Akkadûm* and the plural *Akkadû* perpetuate the habits of the early epoch during which it was left to the individual scribe to decide whether or not he wanted to make use of the "determinative" KUR = *mât*. Hence there remains no room for any doubt that, when occurring in the princely titles mentioned above, p. [22], MAR.TU and KUR.MAR.TU are variant writings of the collective *Amurrum*. In other words, it is legitimate to identify the title AD.DA KUR.MAR.TU with the epithet *abu A-mu-ur-ri-im* which, as was stated before, signifies "Father of the Amorites." Accordingly, we dismiss as unwarranted both Landsberger's unsubstantiated assertion, referred to above, p. [2] with note 5, that KUR.MAR.TU denotes a mountain range called by the Akkadians *šadû Amurrê*<sup>157</sup> and to be looked for in the

<sup>155</sup> Note that AO 10237, the quasi-duplicate of the prologue of Hammu-rapi's Law Code (published by Nougayrol, *RA* XLV [1951], pp. 73 ff.), has *Ki*<sup>KI</sup> where the stela (II 59) has URU *Ki*<sup>KI</sup>. In the document LC, No. 65 (=KU, No. 1092), the town Qarnânûm figures in l. 18 as *Qar-na-nu-um*<sup>KI</sup> and in l. 38 as URU *Qar-na-nu-um*<sup>KI</sup>. The town of *A-ku-uš*<sup>KI</sup>, mentioned as such in the name of Sumu-il's 4th year as recorded in col. I, l. 49 of the chronological prism AO 7025 (cf. Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, p. 5), appears elsewhere as URU.KI *A-ku-uš* (see UET I, pl. LII and p. 65, No. 242). Cf. further *Qa-ba-ra*<sup>KI</sup> and URU.KI *Qâ-ab-ra* in the various documents mentioning the name of the last year of king Daduša of Ešnunna (see Leemans, *RA* XLIX [1955], p. 202; Simmons, *JCS* 13 [1959], pp. 80 ff.; on *ma-a-at Qa-ab-ra-a*<sup>KI</sup> see above, p. [24]).

<sup>156</sup> A name of this kind was *Âl-bâšî* "Sandville" which figures in the lists of year names and other Old Babylonian sources as URU-*ba-ši*<sup>KI</sup> (B.M., No. 92702 [ed. King, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 217 ff., No. 101], col. III, l. 21), URU-*ba-šu*<sup>KI</sup> (B.M., No. 16924 [see King, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 228 ff., No. 102], col. I, l. 8; VS XIII, Nos. 15 and 16; BE VI 1, No. 18), URU-*ba-šu* (BE VI 2, No. 72; VAB 6, No. 233, ll. 5 f.) and *âlum*<sup>KI</sup> *ša ba-ši* (PBS VII, No. 130, l. 30). Cf. also *ina a-li* URU-*ba-šu*<sup>KI</sup> (VAB 6, No. 158, l. 33).

<sup>157</sup> Landsberger's reference to the equation KUR.MAR.TU.KI = KUR *A-mur-ri-e* (II R 50, 57 c d), which was uncritically repeated by Edzard, *op. cit.*, p. 30, note 126, cannot, of course, be accepted as a proof of the correctness of his interpretation of KUR.MAR.TU. To take it for granted that KUR means in this case as much as *šadû* is all the less admissible since an astrological forecast (K. 864, published in part in III R 59, No. 7 and in toto by Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* [London, 1900], No. 98) provides the Sumerograms MÂŠ.ANŠE and KUR.MAR.TU.KI with the glosses *bu-u-li* and *ma-at A-mur-ri-e*, a fact, incidentally, which strongly supports our view that KUR.MAR.TU.KI and KUR.URI.KI belong in the same class of Sumerograms. Landsberger's additional contention (ZA 35 [1924], p. 236) that KUR.SU.BIR<sub>4</sub>



Pušt-i-Kūh region and Bauer's thesis (*op. cit.*, pp. 84 f.) that the title AD.DA KUR.MAR.TU links a prince so designated to a "Westgebirge"<sup>158</sup> to be located north of Babylonia in the vicinity of the east-Tigridic country which figures in the Old Babylonian sources as the "land" (MA.DA), and not the mountains, of Iamûtbâlum.<sup>159</sup>

In line with Landsberger's aforementioned contention that *Amurru* (<*Amurrûm*) means "bedouin,"<sup>160</sup> it has been proposed to render the title *abu Amurrim* or, rather, its Sumerograms AD.DA MAR.TU and AD.DA KUR.MAR.TU by "Beduinenscheich"<sup>161</sup> or "Schech des Beduinenlandes."<sup>162</sup> Although it is true that the leaders of half-nomads such as the Ḫana people and the Idamaras tribe used to be designated as *abbû* "fathers,"<sup>163</sup> these renderings are hardly compatible with the historical data relating to the best-known bearers of the title, Kudur-Mabuk, the "father of Emûtbâlâ/Iamûtbâlum," and king Ḫammu-rapi of Babylon.<sup>164</sup> As can be seen from the name

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(see *II R* 50, 60 c d: KUR.SU.BIR<sub>4</sub>.KI = KUR *Su-bar-ti*) also designates a mountain range remains likewise unproved and highly questionable because the name of Ḫammu-rapi's 32nd year speaks of MA.DA SU.BIR<sub>4</sub>.KI, just as the Mari letters refer to *ma-a-at Šu-bar-tim* (cf. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* [Chicago, 1944], p. 42; Finet in *ARMT* XV, p. 134).

<sup>158</sup> The improbability of the assumption that a prince called himself "father" of a mountain range seems to have been felt by Bauer; for he took pains to minimize the evidence in consideration of which Weidner had equated AD.DA with *abu* "father." As for Bauer's erroneous assumption (*op. cit.*, p. 84, note 3 in fine) that KUR.MAR.TU.KI occurs *alway*s in a "Sumerian context," see the preceding footnote and note that *K. 864* had been quoted, as early as 1881, by Delitzsch on p. 271 of his monograph "*Wo lag das Paradies?*"

<sup>159</sup> See the date formula *IV R* 35, No. 8 and cf. the name of Ḫammu-rapi's 31st year as established by Pinches (see Weidner, *Afo* XI [1936-37], p. 358, note 1) and Poebel, *OLZ* 16 (1913), col. 390. As for the tribe (and its heros eponymos) after which the country of Iamûtbâlum was named, see now Kupper, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 f.; 216 f. On the presence of members of the tribe far to the west of the East-Tigridic country of Iamûtbâlum, namely in the region of Tirqa, see also H. Lewy, *Orientalia* 27 (1958), p. 3, note 2 in fine.

<sup>160</sup> See above, p. [3] with note 13.

<sup>161</sup> See Edzard, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>162</sup> See Falkenstein, *ZA* 53 (1959), p. 281 who, apparently being unaware of the occurrence of the above-discussed variant spelling AD.DA MAR.TU, rejects Edzard's translation because it "omits KUR." If I understand him correctly, Falkenstein is inclined to define MAR.TU/*Amurru*m as a designation of Akkadian-speaking nomads who did not give up their way of life when and after the Akkadians settled in Babylonia and the adjacent regions.

<sup>163</sup> See Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954), p. 35, note 26; Dossin, *Syria* XXXII (1955), p. 27.

<sup>164</sup> The restoration [*Ḫa-am-m*]u-ra-pi AD.DA(!) KUR.MAR.TU in a fragmentary inscription from Kiš published by De Genouillac, *Premières recherches*



of Kudur-Mabuk's father and the names of Hammu-rapi's father and grandfather, both belonged to families long since assimilated to the populations among which their ancestors had settled down.<sup>165</sup> In agreement with this evidence, their inscriptions show that they were thoroughly familiar with the civilization and traditions of Babylonia's sedentary population which is known to have looked with contempt and aversion at nomadic life and habits.<sup>166</sup> Hence they cannot well be supposed to have assumed princely titles describing them as uncivilized recent immigrants given to nomadic life or as rulers of a country dominated by uncultured nomads.<sup>167</sup> But since the title AD.DA MAR.TU and the cognate title borne by Hammu-rapi and his third successor, to which we shall turn presently, affirmed their links with their Amorite subjects (as did the West Semitic names of Hammu-rapi and his five successors), it is reasonable to assume that the title here under discussion and Kudur-Mabuk's title "Father of Emûtbâlâ" expressed their bearers' solicitude for the Western Semites over whom they ruled. On the other hand, it is a well-established fact that, throughout the centuries, "father" was a term for overlord and protector just as "son" was frequently used in the sense of vassal and protégé.<sup>168</sup> Therefore, and because the so-called Babylonian Seisachtheia leaves little doubt that ultimately Babylonia's Amorite inhabitants had the same prerogatives as their Akkadian fellow citizens,<sup>169</sup> it does not seem to be too daring to conclude that the title

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*archéologiques à Kich*, I (Paris, 1924), pl. 9 sub B. 53 was proposed by Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 84, note 3. It is plausible in view of the cognate titles of Hammu-rapi's discussed below, pp. [30] f.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. the remarks of J. Lewy, *ZA* 38 (1929), p. 270 with note 3 and Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXVII (1940), pp. 79 f.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Falkenstein, *Compte rendu de la seconde rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Paris, 1951), p. 17; Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Edzard, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

<sup>167</sup> Note how, in the above-cited letter ARM VI, No. 76, Hammu-rapi's contemporary, king Zimri-Lim, is told that he would dishonor himself in the eyes of his Akkadian subjects if, behaving like his half-nomadic soldiers, he would publicly ride a horse instead of traveling in a chariot or on mule-back.

<sup>168</sup> Old Babylonian examples of this terminology are found in the Mari letters ARM II, Nos. 39 and 63; cf. the observations of H. Lewy, *Orientalia* 25 (1956), p. 349, note 3 and p. 344, note 1. On II Reg. 16.7, the significant biblical passage in which the king of Judah calls himself the son of the Assyrian ruler whose protection he wishes to secure, see *Orientalia* 21 (1952), p. 414, note 3. As for some relevant Old Assyrian occurrences of *abum* "father" and *mer'um* "son," see *ibid.*, 26 (1957), p. 28 with note 4 and pp. 31 f. and cf. the passage quoted by Bilgiç, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* VI 5 (1948), p. 507, note 87 sub C 1 from the letter of a highranking "Anatolian" to one Innâa.

<sup>169</sup> See below, pp. [36] f.

"Father of the Amorites" meant as much as "Protector of the Amorites."

As was repeatedly noted, the title just discussed is closely related to the aforementioned title LUGAL MAR.TU, given Ḥammu-rapi in the dedicatory inscription B. M., No. 22454,<sup>170</sup> as well as to the fuller epithet LUGAL DA.GA.AN KUR.MAR.TU which appears in his brick inscription from Kiš among his other royal attributes.<sup>171</sup> The latter title was recently rendered by "Roi de la totalité du pays d'Amurru"<sup>172</sup> and "König des ganzen Westlandes."<sup>173</sup> The inadequacy of these translations is apparent because Ḥammu-rapi's realm did not include the "Western Country."<sup>174</sup> A more satisfactory rendering is suggested by the following data: (1) As was demonstrated above, in a context such as the present one, KUR.MAR.TU and its variant KUR.MAR.TU.KI may be regarded as Sumerograms of the pluralic nisba form KUR *Amurrû* (<*Amurriû*) "Westlanders." (2) The lexical list LÚ = *ša* actually equates the shorter title LUGAL MAR.TU with *šar-ru A-mur-ri-i*.<sup>175</sup> (3) The Old Babylonian sources men-

<sup>170</sup> Cf. above, p. [1] with note 3.

<sup>171</sup> This inscription which cannot be later than Ḥammu-rapi's 35th year was published by Langdon, *Excavations at Kish*, I (Paris, 1924), pl. XXXIV, No. 3 and pp. 14 f., who thought that the title means "king of all the land of Amurrû." On one or several — more or less fragmentary — duplicates, one of which has LUGAL DA.GA.AN KI.MAR.TU instead of LUGAL DA.GA.AN KUR.MAR.TU, see De Genouillac, *op. cit.*, II (1925), p. 29 sub P. 207 and pl. XXII and Borger, *Orientalia* 27 (1958), p. 407. On the occurrence, in an inscription of Ammiditana, of the variant LUGAL DA.GA.AN KUR.MAR.TU.KI see Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 84, note 3 and Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>172</sup> See Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>173</sup> See Borger, *loc. cit.*, p. 408.

<sup>174</sup> According to the well-known passage quoted by Dossin, *Syria* XIX (1938), p. 117 from a letter of Itur-Asdum, the governor of Naḥur, Ḥammu-rapi was not considered particularly powerful, the number of vassals or allies whose troops were at his disposal being but equal to each of those of the kings of Larsa, Ešnunna and Qatna and inferior to those of king Iarīm-Lim of Iamḥad/Aleppo. Whereas the names of Ḥammu-rapi's regnal years report his subsequent great victories over Larsa and Ešnunna and, finally, for his 32nd year, the subjugation of Mari, they mention for the years prior to the temple restoration reported in the brick inscription from Kiš no successful war against Amurru or any other land west of Mari. This fact is all the more conspicuous since a "land" of Amurru, which comprised Ḥašḥar, and princes of Amurru figure in unpublished documents from Mari (see Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 179 with note 1).

<sup>175</sup> Cf. above, p. [2], note 4. For the rendering of MAR.TU by the genitivus pluralis of the nisba *Amurrûm* (<*Amurriûm*) see also l. 18 of the XIIIth tablet of the series ḤAR-ra = *ḫubullum*: UDU MAR.TU = *im-me-ri A-mur-ri-i*. Contrary to Oppenheim, *JNES* IV (1945), p. 157, I am inclined to attribute to the Sumero-

tion places designated either as URU.KI MAR.TU<sup>176</sup> or as A.GÂR A-mu-ur-ri-i<sup>KI</sup>.<sup>177</sup> Since these places were located within Babylonia, it can be assumed that the titles LUGAL MAR.TU and LUGAL DA.GA.AN KUR.MAR.TU referred to Amorites settled within Hammurabi's dominions. That an interpretation which takes these facts into consideration is superior to those proposed by the aforementioned translators becomes obvious when it is remembered that DA.GA.AN is the Sumerogram of *kullatum*<sup>178</sup>; for from Middle Assyrian locutions such as *kûl-lat* KUR *Pap-ḫi-e*<sup>MES</sup> "all the Paphîû"<sup>179</sup> and *kûl-lat* KUR *Qu-ma-ni-i* "all the Qumânû"<sup>180</sup> it is learned that *kullatum* used to be constructed with nisba forms such as KUR *Amurrû*. Therefore we shall not err in concluding that LUGAL DA.GA.AN KUR.MAR.TU represents the Sumerian translation of Akkadian *šarru kullat Amurrê* and signifies "king of all the Amorites (within our realm)."

The Išbi-Erra year date just quoted is not the only Old Babylonian source which attests the existence within Babylonia of a town characterized by its name URU.KI MAR.TU as an Amorite settlement. For it cannot be doubted that Feigin<sup>181</sup> was right in attributing the signification "The Amorite City" to the seemingly obscure place name URU(!) *Ma-ar-ti(!)*<sup>KI</sup> which occurs in a record from Hammurabi's 31st year.<sup>182</sup> As was pointed out by Feigin, the gloss <sup>d</sup>AN.MAR.TU = <sup>d</sup>*Ilum Amurrûm* "The Amorite God"<sup>183</sup> which appears in small

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gram the same signification as to its Akkadian equivalent, viz., "sheep bred by [literally, "of"] Westerners," i. e. "sheep of the race originally at home in Amurru."

<sup>176</sup> Thus in the name given the year "x+2" of king Išbi-Erra of Isin; see most recently Edzard, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>177</sup> Thus in l. 1 of the Sippar document 88-5-12, 47 (= VAB 5, No. 269); l. 21 has A-mu-ur-ri-i.

<sup>178</sup> See Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XI (1914), p. 153.

<sup>179</sup> See Tiglath-Pileser I, Prism (ed. Budge-King), col. III, l. 47.

<sup>180</sup> See *ibid.*, col. V, l. 82.

<sup>181</sup> *AJSL* 51 (1934-35), pp. 22 ff. See also Edzard, *op. cit.*, p. 23, note 94 where VS VIII is a misprint for VS XIII.

<sup>182</sup> VS XIII, No. 13 (= KU, No. 1856).

<sup>183</sup> In consideration of the solemn expression *ilu Aš-šu-ru-û* "The Assyrian God" which occurs in col. V, ll. 89 f. of Aššur-nâšir-apli's "Great Monolith" as an epithet or alternative name of the god Aššur, we are inclined to assume with Ebeling, *RLA*, I (1932), p. 101 that *Ilum Amurrûm* was the Akkadian equivalent of <sup>d</sup>AN.MAR.TU. However, a reading <sup>d</sup>*Il Amurrê* cannot be ruled out because there occur in the letters from Kültepe phrases such as *ili ummi'ânî*, *ilû aḫḫuttim* (<*aḫḫâtum*) and *il ebaruttim* (<*ebarûtum*); see, e. g., VAT 9253, 20<sup>b</sup> f. (*î-lî um-mî-a-nî i-ra-dî-kà*); *ATHE* 38, 12 f. (*A-šur ú ilu<sup>u</sup> a-ḫu-tim li-tù-lá*); *KTS* 4<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>b</sup> ff. (*A-šur ù il<sup>u</sup> e-ba-ru-tim li-tù-lá*); on this passage see my remarks in *RHR* CX [1934], p. 53, note

script beneath the end of the line terminating in *Ma-ar-ti*<sup>KI</sup> served the purpose of correcting the mistake absent-mindedly committed by the scribe in writing *ma-ar-ti*<sup>KI</sup> instead of MAR.TU.KI. As this method of correcting the error implies that a town named URU MAR.TU.KI or *Âl-Amurrê* was ipso facto regarded as a place of the "Amorite God," the Babylonian document here under discussion supports our previous conclusion that the town-quarter or suburb of Aššur which figures as <sup>d</sup>*Amurru*<sup>um</sup> in the above-discussed letter CCT III 25 (see pp. [18] ff.) was both a center of Amurru worship and a locality inhabited by Amorites.

In order to gather additional information on this Amorite settlement, we turn to some interrelated reports on an action taken at this place by one Šallim-aḥum, who used to live in Aššur,<sup>184</sup> in a matter concerning a certain Ilaprat-bâni who, while being in business in Anatolia, maintained close relations with the former as well as with Pûšu-kên, the aforementioned merchant of Aššur and Kaniš.<sup>185</sup> In the initial lines of CCT II 3, the first letter here to be quoted, Šallim-aḥum reports his action to Pûšu-kên in the following concise terms: "As regards <sup>3</sup>the (debt) of Ilaprat-bâni to whom you granted credit and <sup>4</sup>(about whom) you wrote me, in (accordance with) your instruction <sup>6</sup>I sold <sup>5</sup>the merchandise at <sup>d</sup>Amurru<sup>186</sup> <sup>6</sup>and took my money. A rest of the money, <sup>7</sup>(namely) 5/6 of a mina and 1 1/4 shekels, I left as a rest for me and <sup>8</sup>wrote you as follows: <sup>9</sup>He may pay to you, and (then) <sup>10</sup>give him <sup>9</sup>his (promissory) note!»<sup>187</sup>

To be sure, this brief report on a sale of merchandise (*luqûtum*) furnishes no direct evidence as to the location of <sup>d</sup>Amurru in the immediate vicinity of the Assyrian capital city. But the second

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59 and cf. the somewhat inconsistent transliterations and translations proposed by the *CAD*, vol. 7, pp. 7b and 97a).

<sup>184</sup> This can be seen, inter alia, from the contents of his letters CCT II 2 and 4<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>185</sup> This is learned, inter alia, from the document *EL* 176 and letters such as *BIN* IV 61 (see *EL* I, pp. 220 f.), *L* 29-560 (see *Orientalia* 26 [1957], p. 19), *TC* 26 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 22), *BIN* VI 53; for a reference to Ilaprat-bâni's representatives at Aššur see *TC* III 36, 23 ff.

<sup>186</sup> Literally, "in the heart of <sup>d</sup>Amurru." Just as the Old Assyrian letters here under discussion offer *i(n) libbi* <sup>d</sup>*Amurrim* instead of *ina* <sup>d</sup>*Amurrim*, the Old Babylonian sources prefer sometimes *ina libbi Sippar*<sup>KI</sup> to *ina Sippar*<sup>KI</sup>; see, e. g., l. 14 of the document *Bu.* 91-5-9, 700 (*KU*, No. 1709).

<sup>187</sup> See CCT II 3, ll. 2b ff.: *a šu-mi* <sup>3</sup>*ša* <sup>d</sup>*Ilaprat-ba-ni* *ša ta-qí-pu-šu-ma* <sup>4</sup>*ta-dš-pu-ra-ma i-na té-er-ti-kà* <sup>5</sup>*lu-qú-tám i li-bi* <sup>d</sup>*Amurrim* <sup>6</sup>*a-dí-in-ma kaspi*<sup>187</sup> <sup>7</sup>*al-qí ši-tí kaspi* <sup>7</sup>*5/6 mand'em* <sup>1</sup>*1/4 šiqlam a-ši-tám-ma* <sup>8</sup>*dš-pu-ra-kum um-ma a-na-ku-ma* <sup>9</sup>*li-iš-qú-lá-ku-ma* <sup>10</sup>*tup-pu-šu* <sup>10</sup>*dí-in-šu-um*.

of two other reports on the same sale which are found in *TC* III 20<sup>188</sup> links it very significantly with the shipment to Aššur of 20 minas of silver,<sup>189</sup> at the same time making it clear that <sup>d</sup>Amurrum was the

<sup>188</sup> The reasons for which this letter of Šallim-aḥum comprises two reports on the same transaction are rather obvious: Above all, Šallim-aḥum wished to tell Pūšu-kên that, and in which manner, he complied with instructions received from the latter when Ilaprat-bâni had failed to pay his debt (see ll. 3-18). In ll. 22 ff., on the other hand, Šallim-aḥum wished to show Pūšu-kên how he might notify Ilaprat-bâni of the sale at Amurrum of the merchandise he had ordered at Aššur. The first of the two reports, which gives some details found neither in *CCT* II 3 nor in *TC* III 20, ll. 22-28, runs as follows: <sup>3</sup>a šu-mi ša <sup>4</sup>Ilaprat-ba-ni <sup>5</sup>a ta-áš-pu-ra-ni <sup>6</sup>i <-na> <sup>7</sup>umim<sup>m2</sup>-im ša <sup>8</sup>up-pá-am <sup>9</sup>u-la-pi-ta-ku-ni <sup>10</sup>umū<sup>mu</sup>-šu <sup>11</sup>ma-al-ú annakam za-ku-a-am <sup>12</sup>ša-a-ma išti Dan-A-šūr Puzur-A-šūr <sup>13</sup>a li-bi <sup>14</sup>dAmurrim lu-ši-ma <sup>15</sup>a-na e-ta-li-ti-šu (thus against CAD, vol. 4, p. 383a!) <sup>16</sup>annakam <sup>17</sup>li-iš-ba-at Dan-A-šūr <sup>18</sup>ma <-ra>-aš-ma <sup>19</sup>la ú-ši En-um-A-šūr té-er-ti <sup>20</sup>a šé-ri-kà i-ra-dí ù Puzur-A-šūr <sup>21</sup>iš-ti-šu ú-ši-ma i ša mer'em <sup>22</sup>šu-e-em a <-na> e-ta-lu-ti-šu annakam <sup>23</sup>En-um-A-šūr iš-ba-at-ma <sup>24</sup>a-na Puzur-A-šūr i-dí-ma <sup>25</sup>20 mand'ê maṭi 6 1/4 šiqli al-qí.

Although these lines bespeak themselves, the following comments might prove useful: L.7: That the metal designated as *annukum za-ku-um* used to be shipped from Aššur to Anatolia is corroborated by the contract *EL* 93 and the fragmentary letter *BIN* VI 262. — L.8: For the imperativus singularis *ša-a-ma* (consisting of *šām* "buy!" and *-ma*) see, e. g., *TC* III 102, 12; *CCT* II 1, 12. — Dan-Aššur was a son of Šallim-aḥum; see *TC* III 167, 24; 190, 13. — To judge by *CCT* II 1, Puzur-Aššur was one of the trusted associates or employees of his whom Pūšu-kên used to send to Aššur with orders to accompany the caravans carrying to Anatolia the goods he had ordered at Aššur. — L.12: Ennum-Aššur, who "went out" to Amurrum because Dan-Aššur was sick, was the latter's brother; see, for instance, *CCT* IV 33<sup>a</sup>, 22 f. (*En-um-A-šūr mēr Šál-ma-ḥi-im*) and cf. the passage cited in *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV (Praha, 1950), p. 374, note 47 from *VAT* 9230. — *Tērti* "my order" denotes here "the goods I am ordered to supply." — L.15: *šu-e-em*, so far a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, seems to be a contracted genitive of *šu'a'um* (> *šuwá'um*) "his" comparable with the rare accusative *šuwám*; for the latter see *Orientalia* 15 (1946), p. 407 with note 2. Supposing that *mer'um šu'um* designates a son of Ilaprat-bâni, we attribute therefore to *išša mer'em šu'em* . . . . *išbat* the signification "(out) of that (merchandise which was in the possession) of his son . . . . he seized."

<sup>189</sup> The significance of this fact leaps to the eye when it is recalled (1) that merchants in business in Anatolia used to send such large amounts of silver to agents in Aššur with instructions to purchase there merchandise (*luqátum*) consisting mainly of lead and textiles, and (2) that, as a rule, these goods were then shipped to the men who ordered them for resale at Kaniš or other trade centers in Anatolia; cf. *JAOS* 78 (1958), pp. 91 ff. If, in the case here under scrutiny, the *luqátum* was not shipped to Ilaprat-bâni but sold at Amurrum (see *CCT* II 3, ll. 5 f.; *TC* III 20, ll. 13<sup>b</sup>-18), this was obviously due to the fact that the 20 minas sent to Aššur were not Ilaprat-bâni's property but had been advanced to him by Pūšu-kên (see *CCT* II 3, l. 3<sup>b</sup>) who, incidentally, used the precaution of having them shipped to his own agents in Aššur (see *TC* III 20, ll. 22 ff. and cf. the references to Ilaprat-bâni's indebtedness in *TC* III 20, ll. 6<sup>b</sup> f. and 25). In accordance with Pūšu-kên's afore-



place where the big caravans destined to carry goods from Aššur to Anatolia were assembled.<sup>190</sup> Being prepared by Šallim-aḥum in a form which would permit Pūšu-kên to copy and dispatch it as a letter addressed by himself to Ilaprat-bâni to whichever place he would happen to stay,<sup>191</sup> this particular report is worded as follows: “<sup>22</sup>(As for) the 20 minas, your silver, which <sup>24</sup>I sent <sup>22</sup>to <sup>23</sup>the city to my representatives,<sup>192</sup> <sup>24</sup>the merchandise was ready to go out<sup>193</sup> and, <sup>25</sup>since you had failed to pay your debt in time,<sup>194</sup> <sup>26</sup>Šallim-aḥum <sup>27</sup>sold (it) <sup>26</sup>on his own authority at <sup>d</sup>Amurru and <sup>28</sup>received 20 minas less 6 and 1/4 shekels of silver. <sup>30</sup>Send me <sup>29</sup>the rest of his silver, (namely) 5/6 of a mina and 1 1/4 shekels, <sup>30</sup>and (then) let me give you your (promissory) note and (then) <sup>31</sup>invalidate<sup>195</sup> (it)!”<sup>196</sup> As was just intimated, the contents of these lines are important because they imply that the merchandise which was to be shipped to Anatolia was

mentioned instructions (see *CCT* II 3, l. 4<sup>b</sup> and cf. *TC* III 20, ll. 3–11<sup>a</sup> [above, note 188]), Šallim-aḥum therefore sent a son of his to Amurru who seized there the lead ready for shipment to Anatolia and sold it to one Puzur-Aššur for 20 minas less 6 1/4 shekels (see *TC* III 20, ll. 13<sup>b</sup>–18 and 26–28).

<sup>190</sup> On the size of these caravans see *JAOS* 78 (1958), pp. 92 f.

<sup>191</sup> See *TC* III 20, ll. 19 ff.: *ši-ti kaspi<sup>b</sup>-a 5/6 manâ'em 1 1/4 šiqlam* <sup>20</sup>*a-ma-kam li-qî û a-ša-ar* <sup>21</sup>*wa-âš-bu šu-pu-ur-šu-um* “(As for) the rest of my money, (namely) 5/6 of a mina and 1 1/4 shekels, <sup>20</sup>cash [lit., “take”] (it) there [i. e. at Kaniš]. Also <sup>21</sup>write him <sup>20</sup>(to) the place where <sup>21</sup>he sojourns [lit., “is sitting”] (the following letter).” Cf. the above-quoted lines 2<sup>b</sup> ff. of *CCT* II 3.

<sup>192</sup> As can be seen, e. g., from the letters *TC* II 11 and *VAT* 9251, which I discussed briefly in *Orientalia* 19 (1950), p. 33 with note 1, Šallim-aḥum and his sons and associates were not the only men who figure in Pūšu-kên's correspondence as his agents in the Assyrian capital.

<sup>193</sup> That the present *uṣṣâma* means here as much as “(it) was ready to go out,” “(it) was ready to depart” is confirmed by other instances in which a I 1 preterite is preceded by a present; cf. especially *EL* 254, ll. 1–3. The use of *wasâ'um* “to depart” with reference to *luqûtum* shipped or to be shipped from Aššur is well attested, inter alia, by *VAT* 9262, a letter sent to Pušu-kên and a certain Aššur-idi by Aššur-mâlik and one Šallim-Aššur who figures as Pūšu-kên's representative at Aššur in the above-mentioned letters *TC* II 11 and *VAT* 9251. The pertinent lines 3<sup>b</sup> ff. of that letter run as follows: *a-na Pu-šu-ki-in qî-bi-ma* <sup>4</sup>*Ilum-mu-ta-bi-il<sub>3</sub> iṣti ḥa-ra-nim* <sup>5</sup>*i-ta-ša-am û* <sup>d</sup>*Adad-ba-ni û Kâ-as-lûm* <sup>6</sup>*iṣti ba-ti-qî-e i-ta-aṣ-û-nim* <sup>7</sup>*lu-qû-tum i-ta-aṣ-a-kum*.

<sup>194</sup> Literally, “since your days are full”; cf. the remarks of H. Lewy, *JAOS* 67 (1947), p. 307 with note 11.

<sup>195</sup> Literally, “kill (it).”

<sup>196</sup> For the reader's convenience, we transliterate the Assyrian text: <sup>22</sup>*20 manâ'ê kasap<sup>a</sup>-kâ ša a-na* <sup>23a</sup>*lim<sup>KI</sup> a šê-er ša ki-ma i-a-ti* <sup>24</sup>*û-šê-bi<sub>4</sub>-lu lu-qû-tum ú-ša-ma* <sup>25</sup>*ki-ma ûmû<sup>mu</sup>-kâ ma-al-û-ni* <sup>26a</sup>*na e-ta-lu-ti-šu Ša-lim-a-ḥu-um* <sup>27i</sup>*li-bi<sub>4</sub>* <sup>d</sup>*Amurrim i-dî-ma* <sup>28</sup>*20 manâ'ê maṭi 6 1/4 šiqlî kaspam il<sub>3</sub>-tê-qê* <sup>29</sup>*ši-ti kaspi<sup>b</sup>-šu 5/6 manâ'em 1 1/4 šiqlam* <sup>30</sup>*šê-bi<sub>4</sub>-lam-ma ṭup-pá-kâ lá-dí-na-ku-ma* <sup>31</sup>*du-uk*.



stored at Amurru, obviously waiting for the sumpters<sup>197</sup> and the ass-drivers of the caravan which was to carry it to its destination.

One of the letters which Šallim-aḥum used to dispatch from Aššur to his associates at Kaniš in order to report that a consignment of goods to be sold in Asia Minor had left or was about to leave for its destination includes, aside from instructions relating to its sale, the following statement: "In addition to the lead of his hand<sup>198</sup> — that of Idi-Ištar's son — I gave copper equivalent to 5 minas of lead<sup>199</sup> to the Amorite; and the latter deposited it for his caravan."<sup>200</sup> We learn here (1) that, in connection with his activities as exporter, a businessman residing at Aššur availed himself of the services of a man designated as an Amorite and (2) that the latter had to do with caravans. In other words, this letter points to the actual presence of Amorites at or in the neighborhood of the locality where, according to the aforescussed letters, the caravans carrying goods from Aššur to Asia Minor were assembled and which its very name <sup>d</sup>Amurru

<sup>197</sup> On these pack-animals see below, pp. [42] ff.

<sup>198</sup> As was repeatedly stated (see, e. g., *Orientalia* 21 [1952], p. 421, note 4), "lead of the hand" was the designation of small amounts of lead given as viaticum to reliable employees and their helpers who, being charged with the task of accompanying a consignment of textiles and/or "lead under seals," travelled with a caravan to Anatolia. Since, however, in certain regions west of Assyria copper served as currency, travellers and caravans were also provided with minor amounts of this metal; see *loc. cit.*, pp. 421 ff.

<sup>199</sup> Literally, "of 5 minas of lead the copper," i. e. "the copper obtained for 5 minas of lead."

<sup>200</sup> See *CCT* II 4<sup>b</sup>+5<sup>a</sup>, ll. 18 ff.: *a še-er annak<sup>ak</sup> qá-ti-šu* <sup>19</sup>*ša mēr I-dī-Ištar ša 5 mand'ē* <sup>20</sup>*annakim eri'am a-na A-mu-ri-im* <sup>21</sup>*a-dī-in ū šu-ut* <sup>22</sup>*a-na elliti<sup>i</sup>-šu* <sup>23</sup>*iš-ku-un-šu*. Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 183 with note 3, doubts that we are entitled to see in the words *a-na A-mu-ri-im* a reference to an Amorite; in his judgment, it would be preferable to regard them as the dative of a hypocoristic personal name *Amurum*. Such a skeptical approach to the passage here under examination is illusory because of the occurrence of the unambiguous plural *Amurrē* in a cognate passage of another Old Assyrian letter to which I called attention as early as 1930 in *EL* I, p. 148, note a. This passage of *CCT* IV 1<sup>b</sup> reads as follows: <sup>21</sup>*ši-im eri'im ša a-na* <sup>22</sup>*A-mu-ri-e áš-qú-lu* <sup>23</sup>*i-na tuḫ-pi-im* <sup>24</sup>*iš-ti tap-pá-e-a lá-pi-il*. Moreover, that hypocoristic name \**Amurum* does not occur in the ample Old Assyrian onomastic material so far published. A glance at the context of the three passages listed in the antiquated publication on which Kupper relied in this respect would have sufficed to show him that two of them, viz. *BIN* VI 189, 12 and x+10, mention *kaspum Amurrūm* and that *BIN* IV 87, 11 f. omits the word *kaspum*; this abridgment of a current locution was but natural because no Assyrian could be in doubt about the signification of 3 *mand'ē Amurrām* in a context which deals with various amounts of silver received or disbursed. See also below, pp. [39] f.

characterized as both a place of Amurru worship and a locality inhabited by Amorites.

That this apparent connection of an Amorite with a caravan terminal cannot well be attributed to a mere coincidence follows from the fact that the letter *CCT* II 49<sup>a</sup> characterizes two Amorites as people from Niḥria, i. e. from a place known to have been an important caravan station on one of the trade routes that linked Aššur with the emporia of Central Anatolia.<sup>201</sup> The pertinent passage, already briefly mentioned above, p. [3], note 13 and p. [21], note 115, reads as follows: <sup>13</sup>ú [a]-na A-mu-ri-en <sup>14</sup>ša Ni-iḥ-ri-a <sup>15</sup>kaspam 1/3 manâ'em <sup>16</sup>ha-bu-lá-ku "Also [t]o two Amorites <sup>14</sup>of Niḥria <sup>16</sup>I owe <sup>15</sup>silver (in the amount of) 1/3 of a mina." Besides defining Niḥria as one of the trade centers where Amorites were living, it thus proves that the latter were in a position and willing to grant a loan to a travelling Assyrian businessman who was short of funds.<sup>202</sup>

These data point, of course, to the possibility that the social status and, particularly, the commercial activities of the Amorite population of Assyria were similar to those of the Amorites of Babylonia as attested for the time of king Ammi-šaduqa (about 1646–1626 B. C.) by the so-called Babylonian Seisachtheia. For among the various sections of this royal decree which mention both Akkadians (<sup>awêl</sup> Akkadû) and Amorites (<sup>awêl</sup> Amurrû) in such a manner as to

<sup>201</sup> The occurrence in *EL* 210 of the term *kârum Naḥria* (variants: *Naḥiria* and *Niḥaria*) characterizes Niḥria as a major emporium; cf. *JAOS* 78 (1958), p. 90 with note 7. To the Old Assyrian references for Niḥria which were listed in *Orientalia* 21 (1952), p. 404, note 2 in fine add *CCT* IV 36<sup>b</sup>, 3 (read *a-na Ni-[iḥ]-ri-a*; collations Lewy and Garelli). As for the approximate location of Niḥria see *Orientalia* 21, p. 407, note 2; Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 183. An unpublished source, the Kültepe tablet *MAH* 16158, most obligingly made accessible to me by Edmond Sollberger, permits me to go a step further and tentatively to suggest that Niḥria lay on the Tigris because this typical list of expenses of a traveller reads in ll. 8<sup>b</sup> ff. as follows: 3 šiqli annakam <sup>9</sup>za-am-ru-ta-am ù sâ-ḥe-er-tâm <sup>10</sup>a-na bît ub-ri a-dî-in <sup>11</sup>i-na Ḥu-ru-ub-ša ki-ra-am <sup>12</sup>a-na ma-sû-î-ni al-qî-ma <sup>13</sup>12 šiqli annakam áš-qúl-ma <sup>14</sup>8 šiqli annakam <sup>15</sup>a-na a-ḥu ru-ba-im <sup>16</sup>a-dî-in 1/3 manâ'em annakam <sup>17</sup>a-na qâ-šî-im <sup>18</sup>ša Ni-iḥ-ri-a <sup>19</sup>áš-qû-ul 12 šiqli annakam <sup>20</sup>a-na ma-sû-î-ni <sup>21</sup>12 šiqli annakam a-na kâ-ri-im <sup>22</sup>1/2 manâ'em maṭi 2 šiqli annakam <sup>23</sup>i-nu-mi qâ-ša-am <sup>24</sup>ú-šê-ri-bu ak-ri-ma(?) <sup>25</sup>4 za-am-ru-tim <sup>26</sup>a-na ki-ra-tim <sup>27</sup>i-na Šî-na-ri-ḥi-im(?) <sup>28</sup>a-dî-in <sup>29</sup>2/3 manâ'em [x] šiqli annakam <sup>30</sup>i-na Ū-la-ma <sup>31</sup>áš-qúl. On masu'um "deep-drawing ship" (ll. 12 and 20) see *Orientalia* 21, pp. 274 f. and note that Abru (see *ibid.*, p. 275, note 1: *a-na ma-sû-e-em* ša Áb-ri-im) figures in l. 3 of *MAH* 16158.

<sup>202</sup> That the writer of the letter *CCT* II 49<sup>a</sup> was short of money while on a trip follows from ll. 3 ff. of his message; for a discussion of these lines see *Orientalia* 29 (1960), pp. 24 f.

indicate that both were granted equal rights,<sup>203</sup> there are two<sup>204</sup> which, in referring to the habit of financing commercial enterprises through loans of "grain, silver or merchandise," characterize Akkadians and Amorites ready to undertake business trips as the recipients of such loans.

For obvious reasons, we abstain from airing the question whether or not it may reasonably be assumed that the people of Babylonia were willing to finance business trips of *bedouins* by granting them long-term loans of grain, silver or other commodities which, if not repaid at the date agreed upon, became interest-bearing loans.<sup>205</sup> Instead, we turn to the aforementioned assertion of a reputed Assyriologist who, apparently assuming that *Amurrûm* denotes always a "bedouin," denied the possibility of attributing to the words *Amurrên ša Niḫria* just cited, together with their context, from the Old Assyrian letter *CCT II 49<sup>a</sup>* the signification "two Amorite residents of Niḫria"; "two Amorites from Niḫria." As we have noted,<sup>206</sup> he rejects this translation on the supposition that there are no further instances in which individuals are identified by both an ethnic term indicating their nationality and the name of the town where they were living or permanently stationed. However, it so happens that the Old Assyrian traders, who, as a rule, designated the "natives" of Asia Minor by a term serving in lieu of the name of a nation, viz., by the term *nuâû*, "barbarians," had occasionally reasons for distinguishing the *nuâû* of a particular Anatolian town from those of the others. In doing so, they used, of course, the above-discussed convenient method by which they distinguished namesakes from each other.<sup>207</sup> In other words, they added to the term *nuâûm* or its plural *nuâû* either a town name preceded by *ša* or a nisba derived from the name of a town. Instances of this habit are found in the document *Ka 443*, in which the genitive *ša Luḫusuddia*<sup>208</sup> is added to the genitive *ša nuâim*, and in the letter

<sup>203</sup> Cf. the remarks of F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon* (Leiden, 1958), p. 188; Kupper, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 f.

<sup>204</sup> The sections 6' and 7' according to the numeration adopted by Kraus, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>205</sup> See section 7' of Ammi-šaduqa's decree.

<sup>206</sup> See above, p. [3], note 13.

<sup>207</sup> See above, pp. [9] f. with notes 53 and 54.

<sup>208</sup> On the variant forms of the place name Luḫusuddia see J. Lewy, *Orientalia* 21 (1952), pp. 291 f. and G. R. Meyer, *MIO I* (1953), p. 109, note 4. For a proposal to locate this important town not in the Cilician plain but rather at Karahöyük or Izgın see my article "Old Assyrian Evidence concerning Kuššara and its Location" which is to appear in the Bossert *Festschrift*.

*BIN* IV 48, which makes use of the nisba *Ḥurramaîû*. *Ka* 443 acknowledges a payment in these terms: "1As for the silver of the barbarian 2of Luḥusuddia 3whom Aššur-bêl-awâtîm 4has (now) met, 5Aššur-bêl-awâtîm 6has been sated with the silver."<sup>209</sup> In the letter *BIN* IV 48, a proposal to transport a consignment of lead either by natives of *Ḥurrama*<sup>210</sup> or by "the boys," i. e. by the Assyrian employees of the well-known businessman who made the proposal, is phrased as follows: " . . . . . And then 18either 19Ḥurra-mae-an 18barbarians 20may bring in 19all the lead, 1 talent each, 21or 22they may make 21packages, (weighing) 10 minas each 22or 15 minas each, and (then) 23the boys 24may bring in (these packages) 23in (their) laps . . . . ."<sup>211</sup> In fact, there is nothing unusual in the Old Assyrian method of indicating the native town of individuals of foreign nationality. An Old Babylonian contract from Ammi-ditana's fourth year begins with the much-discussed statement "One slave-girl named Um-mi-Ḥepit, a Subarian woman (from) the town of Šatni."<sup>212</sup> Following the same formulary, the initial lines of another contract which dates from the twenty-first year of the same king run as follows: "One slave, a Subarian named Agab[ . . . ] (from) the town of Ašlakkâ."<sup>213</sup> A few generations earlier, the Mari texts used expressions such as DUMU *ia-mi-na-a ša ḥa-*

<sup>209</sup> This is the Assyrian text of *Ka* 443, ll. 1-6: *kaspam ša nu-a-im 2ša Lu-ḥu-sú-dí-a 3ša A-šur-be-el-a-wa(!)-tim 4e-ta-WA-ru 5A-šur-be-el-a-wa(!)-tim 6kaspam ša-bu*. It will be noted that l. 4 offers a new Old Assyrian instance of the use of the sign *WA/WI/WU* for *AM* (= *AW*) and *IM* (= *IW*). Cf. the alternate spellings *A-šur-ni-WA-ri* and *A-šur-ni-im-ri*, to which I called attention in *KTBI*, p. 23, note 1, and the substitution of *Ta-am-ni-a* for *Ta-WI-ni-a* (see J. Lewy, *Orientalia* 26 [1957], p. 27, note 3 and H. Tadmor, *JNES* XVII [1958], p. 130: as regards the pronunciation as *b* of medial *b* which caused Tadmor, *loc. cit.*, some difficulty, see *ZA* 38 [1929], p. 248 sub 5).

<sup>210</sup> As for the location of *Ḥurrama* at, or in the vicinity of, Elbistan, see the forthcoming article quoted above, note 208.

<sup>211</sup> For a partial paraphrase of this passage see Landsberger, *Symbolae Hrozný*, III, (Praha, 1950), p. 346. We add a transliteration: . . . . -*ma lu nu-a-ú 19Ḥu-ra-ma-i-ú kúl(!) annakim 201 biltam TA lu-šê-ri-bu-nim 24lâ-ri-ik-si 10 manâ'ê TA 22û 15 manâ'ê TA le-pu-šu-ma 23šû-ḥa-ru i sú-na-tim 24lu-šê-ri-bu-nim* . . . . Our emendation in l. 19 finds its justification, on the one hand, in the similarity of the Old Assyrian signs *kúl* and *um* and in *ku-ul a-wa-tim* (*VAT* 9223, 30) and *kúl kaspim* (*MAH* 16293, 23), on the other.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. the remarks of Ungnad, *Subartu* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1936), p. 100 and Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (Chicago, 1944), p. 106 on B.M., No. 92620 (*CT* XXXIII, pl. 41 = *KU*, VI, No. 1642). For a contract from the eleventh year of Ammi-šaduqa which begins in the same terms see Finkelstein, *JCS* 9 (1955), p. 1 sub *YBC* 11927.

<sup>213</sup> See Finkelstein, *ibid.*, sub *MLC* 1204.

*la-aš Ter-qa*<sup>KI</sup> "the Benjaminites of the district of Terqa."<sup>214</sup> Similarly, two Neo-Assyrian letters refer to particular groups of the Aramaean tribes, Puqudu and Itu' as *amēl Pu-qu-di ša ina eli nār Har-ri*<sup>215</sup> and *amēl I-tu-['-a-a] ša āl Dūr-d Šamaš*,<sup>216</sup> thus inviting a comparison with the well-known passages of the Elephantine papyri in which certain persons are defined as "Jews of Jeb, the fortress."<sup>217</sup> Consequently, the expression "two Amorites from Niḥria" furnishes no basis for the contention that in the sources here under examination the nisba *Amurrûm* (< *Amurriûm*) denoted a "bedouin."

The same is true of the aforementioned technical term *kaspum Amurrûm*.<sup>218</sup> For a particular sort of precious metal is likely to have been named not after bedouins but after the country or the city by the inhabitants of which it was first produced, traded or used as currency.<sup>219</sup> Since the Kültepe texts attest trade relations with the "Western Land" by the mention of businessmen from Tadmur/Palmyra,<sup>220</sup> it is reasonable to assume that the *kaspum Amurrûm*

<sup>214</sup> The circumstances in which this phrase occurs in the letter published and discussed by Dossin, *RA* XXXV (1938), pp. 178 f. are significant: The writer of the message reports first that "all the Benjaminites raised fire signals" and continues with the statement "From Samânum to Ilum-Muluk, from Ilum-Muluk to Mišlân, all the villages of the Benjaminites of the Terqa district responded by fire signals." Cf. further *ARM* III, Nos. 16, 5 f. (*ša DUMUMESŠ [i]a-mi-na ša i-ta-at [Te]r-qa*<sup>KI</sup>) and 58, 6 f. (*ša DUMUMESŠ ia-mi-na ša ḥa-al-št-ia*).

<sup>215</sup> Harper, *ABL*, No. 288, 6 f.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 147, rev., x + 5 f.; as for the restoration, cf. Streck, *Keilinschriftliche Beiträge zur Geographie Vorderasiens*, I (*MVAG* 11, 3 [1906]), p. 27; Waterman, *RCA*, II, p. 100.

<sup>217</sup> See, e. g., Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1923), No. 10, 2 f. (למשלם בר יכור) and No. 20, 2 (יהודי יי יב בירחא) and (פנחס ועזניה יהודין יי יב בירחא).

<sup>218</sup> See, inter alia, *BIN* IV 146, 9; *ICK* 10, 1 f.; 161, 15. That the "Amorite silver" was highly valued not only in the trade centers of Asia Minor but also at Aššur follows from *CCT* II 2, 3 ff. and *MAH* 19602. *MAH* 19602 leaves no doubt that it was of the same quality as the so-called *kaspum šarrupum* which served as currency.

<sup>219</sup> Like other Akkadian texts, the Old Assyrian sources abound in technical terms consisting of an appellative such as *kaspum* or *eri'um* "copper" and a nisba derived from a place name. In addition to the terms enumerated in *ZA* 38 (1929), p. 257, we mention here the *eri'um Ku-na-na-ma-i-um* (*KTS* 55<sup>a</sup>, 38; *CCT* II 23, 10 f.; *TC* III 209, 23 f.) which came from the town of *Kunanama/i* (see *Orientalia* 21 [1952], p. 395).

<sup>220</sup> See *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV (1950), p. 369, note 19 and cf. above, p. [9], note 53. That Palmyra lay in Amurru follows, on the one hand, from the well-known statement of Tiglath-Pileser I (*KAH* II 63, ll. 9c f.; *KAH* II 71, l. 20; see now also Weidner, *AfO* 18 [1957-58], p. 344) according to which the Aramaean Aḥlamû were defeated *ištu āl Tadmur ša māt Amurri . . . . . adi āl Rapiqi ša māt Karduniaš*



came from Amurru and that its circulation among the Assyrian merchants was due to commercial exchanges between them and western traders. Hence we are not surprised to find in one of the Old Assyrian letters just published by B. Kienast a passage to the effect that merchants from the North Syrian town of Ibla paid with *kaspum Amurrûm* for a large amount of copper purchased in one of the caravan stations where, according to ll. 3 ff. of the same letter, the Assyrian traders, on their part, sold for silver goods imported from Aššur.<sup>221</sup>

The nisba *Amurritum* (< *Amurrîtum*) which occurs in the function of a personal name in a Kültepe tablet<sup>222</sup> as well as in a memorandum from Boğazköy<sup>223</sup> may well be interpreted in much the same way as the term (*kaspum*) *Amurrûm*.<sup>224</sup> That it does not characterize persons so named as bedouin women is clearly shown by the Boğazköy tablet because the Amurritum it mentions was an inn-keeper (*sâbîtum*) who was given a loan.<sup>225</sup> It is also indicated by the fact that a private plot of ground figures as the "field of the Amorites" in two interrelated documents from Kiš<sup>226</sup>; for bedouins cannot well be supposed to have owned fields. On the other hand, it results with fair certainty from the Kültepe texts that a certain *Ḫattittum* (< *Ḫattîtum*), who is known to have been the daughter of one Aššur-mâlik and the sister of a

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and, on the other hand, from the fact that the Ġebel el-Biṣr which separates Palmyrene from Mesopotamia figures in one of Gudea's inscriptions as Basalla ḫursag MAR. TU (statue B, col. VI, ll. 5 f.; see now Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 150) and as "The Mountain of the Amorites" (*šad Amurrî*) in l. 39 of the litany quoted below, p. [43], note 243.

<sup>221</sup> See *ATHE* 32, 17<sup>b</sup> ff.: *Ib-la-i-ú* <sup>18</sup>*ma*-<*du*>-*tum i-li-ku-ni-ma* <sup>19</sup>*eri'um ma-dum i-na êkallim*<sup>19m</sup> <sup>20</sup>*i-šî-qî-ilî-šu-nu-ti-ma* <sup>21</sup>*kaspam 2 1/3 manâ'ê TA* <sup>22</sup>*A-mu-ra-am ú-ta-e-ru* <sup>23</sup>*a-dî 10 ûmême* *eri'u-šu* <sup>24</sup>*i-ga-mu-ru-ma kaspam a-ša-a-ma* <sup>25</sup>*ú-šê-ba-lam*. For reasons of space we abstain from discussing the important question whether or not the contents of this passage bear upon the well-known statement of the Old Akkadian sources according to which Šarrum-kên of Akkad conquered "Mari, Iarmuti, Ibla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains."

<sup>222</sup> See above, p. [10], note 56.

<sup>223</sup> See *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, IX (Berlin, 1957), No. 10.

<sup>224</sup> For the occasional omission of *kaspum* see above, p. [35], note 200.

<sup>225</sup> According to a collation done by me in 1958 at Ankara, the Boğazköy text under discussion runs as follows: <sup>19</sup>*šiqli kaspam* <sup>20</sup>*tî-ri i šê-er* <sup>21</sup>*A-mu-ri-tim* <sup>22</sup>*sá(!)-bi-tim* <sup>23</sup>*Ta-ri-ša* <sup>24</sup>*aššat Da-a-a* <sup>25</sup>*tî-šu a-na* <sup>15</sup>*ûmême-e* <sup>26</sup>*kaspam ta-ša-qal*. The suggestion of Otten, *MDOG* 89 (1957), p. 76 to regard the first word in line 4 as an "eigenen Namen" of the Amorites can be dismissed, all the more since it is a well-known fact that inns were kept by women; cf. Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, I (Oxford, 1952), p. 202. Otten's rather desperate attempt to identify that "eigenen Namen" with the Babylonian name *Kabittum* is therefore superfluous.

<sup>226</sup> See above, p. [14], note 78.



prominent Assyrian, Enlil-bâni,<sup>227</sup> was born at Ḫattum (Boğazköy);<sup>228</sup> hence it is not unlikely that an Assyrian girl was named Amurritum because she was born when her parents lived temporarily in the West Land.<sup>229</sup>

Before demonstrating that, so far as its Old Assyrian usage is concerned, the term *Amurrûm* does not signify "bedouin," we observed that the few men whom the letters unearthed at Kültepe designate as Amorites were engaged in commercial activities and, in particular, somehow connected with the caravans journeying from Aššur to the emporia of Northwestern Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. Accordingly, their occupation was that of the Assyrian merchants some of whom travelled year after year on the same caravan roads, whereas others were in business at Aššur and in the major and minor trade centers located on the caravan roads.<sup>230</sup> On the other hand, we know from a passage in the letter VAT 9249 which I communicated more than thirty years ago<sup>231</sup> that, in the technical language of these merchants, *Akkidiû* (<*Akkadiû*) denoted traders from the "country of Akkad" who arrived at Aššur with goods produced in their country. Hence it is but logical to conclude that whenever an Assyrian merchant spoke of *Amurrû* engaged in commerce he referred to traders from the "Western Land."

Excepting their use of the term *kaspum Amurrûm* the implications of which were discussed above, pp. [39] f., the Kültepe texts do not link any particular commodity with the commercial activities of the Amorites. But since we learned from the letter TC III 20 that Amurrum was a place in the immediate vicinity of Aššur from which

<sup>227</sup> For the details see *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV (1950), p. 373.

<sup>228</sup> On the fact that the future capital of the Hittite Empire figures in several Kültepe texts as Ḫattum see *ibid.*, pp. 374 f. and *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 6 with note 26. The doubts of Otten, *MDOG* 89 (1957), p. 74, who is inclined to see in Old Assyrian Ḫattum exclusively the name of a territorial unit and not that of a city, are unjustified in view of the wording of ll. 8-12 of the letter L 59 — 560 the major part of which I communicated in *Orientalia* 26 (1957), p. 19 with note 5. See also *CCT* V 15<sup>b</sup>, ll. x+3 ff. and I 438, 10 f. (quoted by Matouš, *OLZ* 53 [1958], col. 346, note 2). Otten's skepticism is all the more surprising since he himself noted a few years ago the occurrence in an early Hittite text of the town name Ḫattu; see *MDOG* 86 (1953), pp. 62 f.

<sup>229</sup> By the same token, a certain *Aššurittum* (<*Aššuritum*) who figures in *EL* 39, 2 f. may be supposed to have been born in the city of Aššur to a father who used to reside in Anatolia.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. *JAOS* 78 (1958), p. 91.

<sup>231</sup> See *KTHahn*, p. 2 and cf. *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV, p. 421, note 311, paragraph 2.

the Assyrian caravans set out for Asia Minor,<sup>232</sup> and since we also know that these caravans comprised hundreds of "dark donkeys" serving as sumpters,<sup>233</sup> the question arises whether the Amorite inhabitants of that place might have been connected with the time-consuming assembly of the caravans and, especially, with the procurement and care of the sumpters until the caravans left. The legitimacy of this question can hardly be doubted in consideration of those of the Alalah tablets published by Wiseman<sup>234</sup> which, on good reasons, are attributed to the time of Šamsu-iluna of Babylon and his four successors.<sup>235</sup> For, in addition to several references to horses imported from Amurru (*šisē<sup>U</sup> I.A ša MAR.TU<sup>K1</sup>*),<sup>236</sup> these texts mention repeatedly Amorite stablemen (*LÚ IŠ MAR.TU* or *awēl<sup>U</sup> ki-zu A-mu-ru-uh-ḫi*),<sup>237</sup> thus implying that the "Western Country" supplied its neighbors with horses as well as men trained as grooms. To be sure, according to the letter *TC* II 7, the merchants of Aššur purchased the beasts of burden for their caravans in a so-called *gugamlum* or *gigamlum*, i. e. an enclosure or paddock for pack-asses,<sup>238</sup> which lay in the vicinity of Aššur.<sup>239</sup> Yet there is evidence to show that ultimately these animals came from the "Western Country." First among the pertinent data ranks the geographic term *KUR ša imêrêšu*,<sup>240</sup> i. e., literally, "The Mountain of its Donkeys,"<sup>241</sup> which denotes in

<sup>232</sup> See above, pp. [33] f.

<sup>233</sup> See *JAOS* 78 (1958), pp. 92 f.

<sup>234</sup> Partly in the volume "The Alalah Tablets" (London, 1953) and partly in *JCS* 8 (1954), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 f.; Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954), pp. 51 ff.

<sup>236</sup> See Nos. 246, ll. 20, 27, 34, 36; 267, l. 16; 269, ll. 49 and 71; 281, l. 7. For transliterations of these texts as well as of those quoted in the following footnote see now Wiseman, *JCS* 13 (1959), pp. 21 ff.

<sup>237</sup> See Nos. 247, ll. 21 and 25; 281, l. 9 and 277, l. x+13, respectively.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. *CAD*, vol. 5, p. 67 s. v. *gigamlu*, where the translations of *butuqtum* and *gigamlum* are unnecessarily provided with question marks. See also *Orientalia* 29 (1960), p. 43, note 3.

<sup>239</sup> As correctly noted in the *CAD*, *loc. cit.*, the letter *TC* 16 shows that a *gugamlum* for pack-asses also existed in the immediate vicinity of Kaniš.

<sup>240</sup> For the variants see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 280 and Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques* (Paris, 1907), p. 177, note 2, who justly emphasizes the fact that in the inscriptions of Šulmānu-ašarid III and Adad-nirāri III *KUR ANŠE-šu* denotes only the "country" of Aram Dammeseq but not its capital, the latter being consistently called *di-maš-qi*. We take as the point of departure for the interpretation of *KUR ANŠE-šu* (variant *-šú*) the nisba *KUR ša ANŠE.NITAMEŠ-šu-a-a* which alternates with *KUR ša ANŠE.NITA-šu-a-a* (see *III R* 9, No. 3, l. 50 and cf. Delitzsch, *AL<sup>3</sup>* [Leipzig, 1885], p. 17 sub No. 134).

<sup>241</sup> That is "The Mountain Characterized by its Donkeys." The basic observations on which the proper understanding of the "suffixed" genitive *ša imêrêšu* depends

many Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions that part of Syria which figures in the letters from Tell-el-Amarna as the kingdom of Amurru<sup>242</sup> and in the Bible as אֲרָם דְּמִשְׁק. Since l. 43 of the so-called *lipšur* litany K.4415<sup>243</sup> defines the similar geographic term "The Mountain of the Horses" (*šad sîsê*<sup>MEŠ</sup>) as a designation of the region also known as Mt. Harsamna, and since, according to a fragmentary letter from Mari communicated by Dossin,<sup>244</sup> Harsamna supplied a particular breed of horses at the time of king Hammu-rapi of Babylon, it is obvious that certain mountainous regions were named or surnamed for the animals which were their most famous article of export. Accordingly, there remains no room for any doubt that, contrary to the opinions expressed in recent years by Goetze,<sup>245</sup> Oppenheim,<sup>246</sup> Gordon<sup>247</sup> and Speiser,<sup>248</sup> the term *šad imêrêšû* (and its variant *šadû ša imêrêšû*) defines the Damaskene and the surrounding area as the region of origin of a special breed of asses. It goes almost without saying that this observation explains the fact that the city of Damascus figures in the last line of the tablet K.75+K.237<sup>249</sup> as the "town of

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were made long ago by Delitzsch, *AL*<sup>3</sup> (1885), p. 17, note 4 and Haupt, *ZA* 2 (1887), pp. 321 f.; *ZDMG* 69 (1915), pp. 168 f. Delitzsch felt that (KUR) *Šá imêrêšû* calls for a comparison with the town name (URU) *Šá ap-pa-re-šû* (Bavian Inscr., l. 8) to which he tentatively attributed the signification "Wiesenstadt" (see also the tacit rectification in his *HWB*, p. 116; note that the modification to "Schilfstadt" was adopted by Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I, p. 472, but overlooked *ibid.*, II, p. 41). Haupt observed that the suffix -šû appears here in much the same circumstances as in the phrase *nêšû ez-zu šá šêri-šû* which he rendered by "ein gewaltiger Wüstenlöwe, wörtlich ein starker Löwe seiner Wüste." He also noted that the "suffixed" genitives *ša imêrêšû*, *ša apparêšû* and *ša šêrišû* correspond to Syriac "suffixed" genitives such as (*Mâr Šem'ôn*) *destôneh* "The Stylite." Referring to the feminine gender of *mātu* "country," he finally questioned the correctness of the more or less traditional rendering of KUR ANŠE-šû by Esels-land.

<sup>242</sup> On the approximate boundaries of this state see most recently Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>243</sup> Latest edition in transliteration and translation by E. Reiner, *JNES* XV (1956), pp. 132 ff.

<sup>244</sup> *RA* XXXV (1938), p. 120; cf. the remarks of Dossin, *RHA* V (1938-40), p. 75.

<sup>245</sup> *Language* 17 (1941), p. 131, note 39.

<sup>246</sup> Apud Pritchard, *ANET* (1950), p. 278, note 8 and in *CAD*, vol. 7 (1960), p. 115a. While not contributing much to the data gathered by Streck, *Assurbanipal*, III (Leipzig, 1916), p. 780 s. v. *Dimašku*, Oppenheim supplemented the aforementioned observations of Delitzsch and Haupt by calling attention to the town name (URU) *Šá bi-ri-e-šû* (thus in K. 279, 3; for the variant spellings see Oppenheim, *loc. cit.*, and Waterman, *RCA*, IV, p. 156a s. v. <sup>al</sup>*Šabirišû*).

<sup>247</sup> *JBL* LXX (1951), p. 161 and *IEJ* 2 (1952), pp. 174 f.

<sup>248</sup> *JAOS* 71 (1951), pp. 257 f.

<sup>249</sup> See *III R* 2, No. XX and cf. Bezold, *Catalogue*, I (1889), p. 21; Ungnad in *RLA*, II (1938), p. 448 sub 694.

its donkeys" (*âlu ša i-me-re-šû*); for it is manifest that this ancient capital was the trade center where the breeders marketed their donkeys and from where the animals were exported to Assyria and Babylonia.

The export of "asses from Amurru" (ANŠE MAR.TU) to Babylonia is, in fact, directly attested by two *kudurru* inscriptions<sup>250</sup> from the time of the Second Dynasty of Isin; in mentioning the silver equivalents of these animals — 50 shekels for two she-asses<sup>251</sup> and 30 or 40 shekels for a male<sup>252</sup> — the relevant passages show at the same time that the Babylonians valued these imported donkeys much higher than other breeds of asses.<sup>253</sup> Finally, a reference in a tablet from Puzriš-Dagan<sup>254</sup> to a draught-ass from the Western Country (ANŠE.BAR.AN MAR.TU.TA) indicates that the first imports of donkeys from Amurru to the eastern lands of the Fertile Crescent preceded the epoch of the Kültepe texts. To be sure, the sumpters figuring in the latter texts are never called "asses from Amurru." But their most frequent definition as "dark asses" (*emârû ša-la-mu*) characterizes them as donkeys from Damascus. For the careful description of the fauna of "the plains of Syria, of Mesopotamia, and of the country east of Tigris extending to the Kurdish mountains" published by one of the geographers of the past century states expressly: "The asses are of a common breed, but larger than in Britain; an improved breed, tall, delicately limbed, swift and easy in pace; and lastly, the D a m a s c u s a s s, with very long body, long ears, smooth skin, and d a r k colour."<sup>255</sup> Accordingly, it provides strong evidence that the Old Assyrian designation of the sumpters carrying goods from Aššur to Anatolia amounts to a synonym of the Babylonian term "asses from Amurru."

<sup>250</sup> B.M., No. 90841 (latest edition by King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* [London, 1912], No. VII, pl. LIII ff. and pp. 38 ff.) and YBC 2154 (published by Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection* [New Haven, 1915], pl. XXII, No. 37; for a transliteration and translation see Ungnad, *Orientalia* 13 [1944], pp. 86 ff.).

<sup>251</sup> See B.M., No. 90841, col. I, l. 18.

<sup>252</sup> See B.M., No. 90841, col. I, l. 17 and YBC 2154, "obv.", l. 7, respectively.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica* (Helsinki, 1955), pp. 60 ff.

<sup>254</sup> Published by Legrain, *Le temps des Rois d'Ur* (Paris, 1912), No. 300; cf. Salonen, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 195 with note 4.

<sup>255</sup> See William Ainsworth, *Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldaea* (London, 1838), p. 40 and cf. Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*<sup>2</sup>, Band VII, Zweite Abteilung (Berlin, 1844), p. 505. This important statement of a competent traveller seems to have escaped the attention of Salonen, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 and 56, who certainly erred in considering it permissible to attribute to the Old Assyrian technical term *emârû ša-la-mu*, that is, literally, "black asses," the signification "gray asses."

# SOME OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING BIBLICAL PRAYER

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## I

ברוך הבא בשם יהוה

THE expression 'ברוך הבא בשם יהוה' does not mean: "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord."<sup>1</sup> Current liturgical usage is contrary to the biblical idiom. The reference in the Bible is not to a "coming in the name of the Lord."

Quite apart from the original intention of the Hebrew expression — which shall yet be considered — one must ask what indeed the English rendering is intended to mean. What does the modern officiant intend to say when, for example, he refers to a bride and groom, to a father presenting his son for circumcision, when he refers ceremoniously to any persons, as "they that come in the name of the Lord"? "To come in the Lord's name" is not an English idiom of transparent meaning. The officiant probably intends to say that the couple, the father, or other persons so designated are engaging in a ritual honoring God, that they are showing themselves submissive to a divine command, that their presence in the cultic situation is for the sake of God. The officiant probably intends to commend the persons thus addressed for their evident piety. But the English idiom is not adequate for his intention. If this is his intention why does he not say: "Blessed be he that cometh for the sake of God's name" or "in accordance with God's will" or "in loyalty to God"? Or why does he not use a different biblical idiom?

A different idiom, more suitable for his purpose, indeed occurs. It is the combination 'ללכת בשם יהוה', not "to come" but "to walk in the name of the Lord," and this idiom is liturgical. It occurs in Mic. 4:5. The verse which contains it is a liturgical supplement to the paragraph which it concludes. This paragraph, Mic. 4:1-5, is practically identical with Isa. 2:2-5, though the version in Micah is one verse longer. It is

<sup>1</sup> This despite the translation of the half-verse from Ps. 118:26 in LXX and Vulg. and in the English translations including the RSV.



the sunburst of messianic promise that begins with the words: "It shall come to pass at the end of days that the mountain of the Lord's house will be established as the highest mountain . . ." Both versions, the one in Isaiah 2 and the one in Micah 4, have liturgical supplements and these are very like each other. The one in Isaiah reads: **בית יעקב י' לכו ונלכה באור י'** "O house of Jacob, come (לכו), and let us walk in the light of the Lord." The one in Micah, though differently phrased has similar import: **כי כל העמים ילכו איש בשם אלהיו ואנחנו נלך בשם י' אלהינו לעולם ועד**.

All the nations may walk each in the name of its god,  
But we will walk in the name of the Lord our God forever and  
ever.

The verbs in the two passages, in Isaiah and Micah, are forms of the one verb **הלך**, "to walk." However adequate the English idiom "to walk in the name of the Lord" may be for the intended sense, the meaning of the Hebrew original is clear enough. Both liturgical supplements (the one in the form of an exhortation, the other a pledge) express Israel's desire to be associated with the Lord, its God. The one uses the formula "to walk in the light of," the other "to walk in the name of"; both express loyalty and dedication. This is probably the sense which the officiant today wants to find in the combination "to come in the name of the Lord" — but without justification.

What the Hebrew expression **בא בשם י'** means in the Bible is surely not what the officiant today intends. This latter combination occurs twice, and its meaning is not suitable for liturgical use. It has quite a different sense. It occurs first in David's response to Goliath's challenge and it means "armed with God's potent name as with a weapon." David says to the challenger: "You come (**בא**) against me armed with sword, spear and lance, and I come against you armed (only) with the name of the Lord of hosts (**בשם י' צבאות**), the God of the armies of Israel whom you have taunted" (I Sam. 17:45). "Armed with" is a quite suitable rendering here of the Hebrew preposition **בְּ**, the preposition translated "in" where in other contexts it appears in the phrase "in the name of the Lord."

When today the officiant exclaims: "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord" surely he does not mean: "he that cometh armed with the potent name of the Lord," but that is quite as surely the meaning of the preposition here; the parallel "with sword, spear and lance" and the continuation of the narrative, both point undeniably to this meaning. This is the meaning of the preposition also in the one remaining biblical passage which contains the combination **בא בשם י'**.



Here, in II Chron. 14:10, in the stress of battle the king, Asa prays: *הוֹדוּנוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי־עָלֵינוּ נִשְׁעָנוּ וּבִשְׁמֶךָ בָּאנוּ עֲלֵיהֶמוֹן הַזֶּה*, "Help us, O Lord our God, for we leaned on Thee and came against this multitude armed with Thy name."

The idea of the potent name of God is familiar; God's name goes to war on the side of his elect. So, with confidence a psalmist can exclaim: "By Thee we fell our enemies, by Thy name we trample our foes" (Ps. 44:6). Another can plead: "O God, save me by Thy name, vindicate me by Thy power" (54:3), thus equating "name" and "power" (*שֵׁם* and *גְּבוּרָה*). Surrounded by enemies like swarming insects, burning thorns, yet another can repeatedly boast: *בְּשֵׁם יְיָ כִי אֲמִילֵם*, "by the name of the Lord I cut them off (?)" (118:10-12; cf. Zeph. 3:12). It is similar with Ps. 33:20 f.; 89:24 f.; 124:7 f. and especially 20:2, 6 and 8. The last cited verse is reminiscent of David's words to Goliath; the verb is uncertain<sup>2</sup> but the idea is clear: God's name is mightier than chariots and horses. It is not strange therefore to find David coming against Goliath and Asa coming against a multitude armed with the name of the Lord.

It is these that properly "come in the name of the Lord," not the persons referred to liturgically in the formula: *בָּרוּךְ הוּא בְּשֵׁם יְיָ*. The customary translation of the formula is faulty. The phrase "in the name of the Lord" which appears in this formula is erroneously attached in translation to the words "he that cometh." The phrase *בְּשֵׁם יְיָ* does not modify the subject *הוּא*; it modifies the predicate *בָּרוּךְ*, "blessed." The subject here does not like David "come in the name of the Lord"; in the name of the Lord he is blessed. The elements combined in the formula are blessing and the name. These two elements are frequently thus combined. For, the name of the Lord was potent, according to biblical thought, not in battle only, but to bless as well.

The combination of blessing and name appears in II Sam. 6:18 (and in the almost identical passage I Chron. 16:2): When David had done with offering the burnt offerings and the peace offerings "he blessed the people in the name of the Lord of hosts."<sup>3</sup> The unquoted words of his blessing may well have been: *בְּרוּכִים אַתֶּם בְּשֵׁם יְיָ*, "Blessed be ye in the name of the Lord." (The equivalent formula *בְּרוּכִים אַתֶּם לִי* appears in fact in I Sam. 23:21; II Sam. 2:5 and Ps. 115:15.)

The significance of the mention of the "name" in this context is clear: it introduces the agent of blessing; it draws the blessing into the

<sup>2</sup> As it stands it may be an allusion to Exod. 20:24b; cf. n. 15, below.

<sup>3</sup> The Chronicles passage omits "of hosts."

orbit of religion. A blessing like a curse<sup>4</sup> can be self-sufficient, effective by reason of the energy inherent in the words of blessing. "Blessings on thee!" is alone a benediction requiring no fulfilling agent other than itself. A blessing is self-fulfilling — this according to biblical thought. But, already in biblical times, the "profane" blessing (like the curse) was drawn into the religious sphere and associated with Israel's God. One of the ways by which this was done was by adding to the bare formula of blessing (ברוך) the phrase בשם י'. When a friend approached one could greet him simply ברוך הבא, "Blessed be he that cometh." Or one could add piety to the sentiment, and convert a wish into a prayer by pronouncing him "blessed in the name of the Lord."

There were persons whose privilege it was "to bless in the name of the Lord," and there were places favorable for blessing. The privileged persons are mentioned in Chronicles and in Numbers but most frequently in Deuteronomy. These were Levitic or priestly groups. "Then the Lord divided off the tribe of Levi," one passage says, "to bear the ark of the Covenant of the Lord, to serve before the Lord, to minister to Him and to bless in His name until this day" (Deut. 10:8; cf. 18:5, 7; 21:5). "And Aaron was divided off . . .," another says, "he and his sons forever, to make burnt offerings before the Lord, to minister to Him and to bless in His name forever" (I Chron. 23:13). The frame which encloses the priestly blessing at the end of Num. 6 is explicit: "The Lord said to Moses: Say to Aaron and his sons: So shall you bless the children of Israel; say to them: 'May the Lord bless you and keep you . . .' And they shall place My name on the children of Israel and I will bless them" (22-27).

The place as well as the person had bearing on the form of the blessing. According to the passages just cited, a Levite or a priest in particular, blessed in the name of the Lord, placing God's name on the children of Israel. These, naturally, gave the blessing a religious color. Naturally too, if the place was a house of God the blessing assumed a religious aspect. The blessing under consideration, the blessing in God's name which occurs in Ps. 118:26 is a prime example. In this context "he that cometh" is a worshiper approaching the temple, and they who speak are doubtless the priestly officiants within. In the name of the Lord they bless "him that cometh" and they also say ברכוכם מבית י', "We bless you from the house of the Lord." The expression מבית י', "from the house of the Lord," is like the phrase מציין, "from Zion," in Ps. 128:5 and 134:3, both of which read "May God bless you from Zion."

<sup>4</sup> See Blank, "The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell and the Oath," *HUCA* XXIII — Part I (1950-51), pp. 73-95.

But it was not alone the temple personnel who used the pious form of blessing, and the blessing in this form was not spoken only in the precincts of the temple. It percolated among the people, so that even passers-by could greet one another with blessings shaped with similar religious intent. Thus the words of the psalm:

"The blessing of the Lord upon you.

We bless you in the name of the Lord" (Ps. 129:8).

This last cited greeting, incidentally, is the most striking evidence that in the blessing "ברוך ה' בשם", the phrase "בשם" modifies the predicate ברוך and not the subject ה'. No one here is "coming." The blessing is simply "ברכנו אתכם בשם", "We bless you in the name of the Lord."

The result of these observations is this: that the officiant today and modern translators of the Bible would do well to abandon the meaningless reference to him "that cometh in the name of the Lord" and translate correctly according to the biblical idiom:

Blessed be he that cometh,  
Blessed in the name of the Lord.

## II

### אבי

When a man says piously: "O Lord!" or "Father!" he has spoken a prayer; whether he continues or not, he has said something already. He has addressed himself to God, become involved, expressed his sense of relationship with God. Invoking God — "calling on his name" is the biblical term — *is* prayer. Just as, when the officiant blesses "in the name of the Lord" it is his intention to associate God with the blessing, so when the worshiper calls on God's name he hopes to awaken a response in God, in order that they two may be related.

The invocation or address is a formal element usual in biblical prayer — usual to such an extent that it appears almost essential there. The first or the second word in a biblical prayer is likely to be the name of God or its equivalent, in the vocative construction. Attributes may follow or not, and the address may or may not be repeated in the body of the prayer, but at least it stands at the beginning and serves an important purpose. It directs the prayer to its proper object and, too, the mind of him who prays. It provides the focus. But not this only; naming God is itself and alone an act of worship.

Prayers throughout the Bible confirm these observations. A few of them, all cited from the book of Jeremiah, may serve as illustrations:

Thou art right, O Lord, if I argue with Thee . . . (Jer. 12:1).

O Lord, my strength and my fortress,  
And my refuge in a time of distress,  
To Thee . . . (Jer. 16:19).

Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed,  
Save me . . . (Jer. 17:14).

Thou hast enthralled me, O Lord . . . (20:7).

Listen, O Lord, to me,  
And hear the speech of my adversaries (18:19).

In this last cited prayer after four verses the address is resumed:

But Thou, O Lord, knowest . . . (18:23).<sup>5</sup>

So right and regular is this feature in these prayers that where it may seem to be missing a conjectural restoration is sometimes admissible. In Jer. 11:18 as it stands, Jeremiah appears to be speaking about God in the few words which make up the first half of the verse, although in the three words which form the second half-verse, and indeed in the remainder of this prayer, he is addressing himself to God. It is tempting, therefore, to find a vocative in the first word of the prayer, just where according to the usual pattern we expect to find it, and then to read the verb which follows as a second person form, thus: *יְהוָה הוֹדַעְתָּנִי*, "O Lord, Thou didst inform me," continuing: "and I knew; then didst Thou show me their doings." The address is resumed in v. 20. Similarly, in Jer. 15:11; although the opening words of the verse are now *אָמַר*, "God said," clearly here the prophet is speaking. He is speaking to God; and God is not speaking either to people or prophet. For this and other reasons it is tempting again to construe *יְהוָה* as a vocative and for *אָמַר* to read *אָמַן* as in the Septuagint, that is: "Indeed, O Lord . . ." with God immediately addressed.

Prayer in Jeremiah, then, normally begins in this fashion; only one other word, or at most a phrase, precedes the vocative, which may otherwise be the very first word of the prayer. It is established at the outset that the speaker is addressing himself to God. He calls on God's name.

<sup>5</sup> See also 32:17 and 14:7 (resumed in v. 9 and then in v. 20).

<sup>6</sup> See Blank, *Jeremiah, Man and Prophet*, Cincinnati, 1961, Chap. VIII, n. 9.

Jeremiah's prayers illustrate the principle. Illustrations abound. For the most part in the book of Psalms, those psalms that are prayers, and the prayer portions of composite psalms, those prayers too that are scattered in the other biblical books, begin in this fashion, calling on the name of God. (So Amos 7:2 and 5; Ezek. 9:8; Isa. 38:3; Dan. 9:4; Ezra 9:6, and many more.)

Two prophetic passages, one in Jeremiah and one in Hosea, throw further light on the significance of the invocation. In both of these passages God is speaking to Israel, his people, his bride. In the passage in Jeremiah God hopefully showers his people with gifts: "I said . . . I will give you a land of delight . . . And I thought: You will call Me 'Father' (אבִי) and turn from Me no more" (3:19). God wanted Israel to say "Father!" to call Him "Father." The mere address would be a sign of devotion; this is what the continuation implies: "and turn from Me no more." It is the same as if they said what only a few verses later Jeremiah imagines them saying: "Here we are. We have come to You, for You are the Lord our God" (v. 22). It is the same as if they said what, earlier in this same chapter Jeremiah imagines them saying: "You are the companion of my youth," for there in the fourth verse this declaration follows on the invocation "Father!" quite as, in v. 19, "and turn from Me no more" follows on the same address. In the preceding chapter Jeremiah cites an aberration. He chides the erring masses who "say to the wooden thing: 'You are my father!' and to the thing of stone: 'You gave birth to me!' " (2:27). There is nothing wrong with the prayer; what is said is right. It is merely misdirected. Saying "My Father!" is good; addressing the words to a wooden image is an offense.<sup>7</sup> Also this illustration is otherwise instructive. The parallel exclamations permit the inference that "Father!" can mean this too: the confession of dependency, of creatureliness — "You gave birth to me."

Thus a cluster of passages in Jer. 2 and 3 suggests some of the things that a mere vocative can imply: devotion, affection, dependency. The invocation "Father!" can itself be a prayer.

Not only may a prayer be misdirected, as when, in Jeremiah's words, men say to "the wooden thing: 'You are my father!' " According to a passage in Hosea one can also employ the wrong form of address; properly addressing God one can call Him by a wrong name. God will see to it, Hosea says in 2:16-18, that His people call Him by a suitable name. In the desert God will woo His unfaithful wife, will give her presents of vineyards and hope, and she will respond again to Him

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hos. 14:4 "And to the work of our hands we will no more say: 'Our God!' "

there as she did in her youth. When that occurs, God says, "you will call Me 'Husband!' (**אִישׁ**) and no more call Me 'Baal!' (**בַּעַל**)."<sup>8</sup> Although the word *ba'al* can likewise mean "husband" and another prophet can call the land of Israel *be'ulah* ("espoused"), employing a cognate of *ba'al* (Isa. 62:4), this designation was too intimately associated with the Canaanite god to be acceptable to Hosea. It mattered, according to him, what name one used when one addressed God in prayer. The passage in Hosea continues with the words: "And I shall remove the names of the Baals from her mouth and they shall be mentioned no more" (Hos. 2:19; and cf. Josh. 23:7).

In biblical prayer certainly the most usual address is God's proper name **יְהוָה**, which conventionally we translate "O Lord!" *'El* and *'Elohim* are frequent; "Lord of hosts!" is also common (I Sam. 1:11; Isa. 37:16, and often). And there are others: "Husband!" as in Hosea 2, is not usual, "Father!" as in Jeremiah 3 hardly more so, in biblical times.<sup>8</sup> "O King!" occurs, as in Ps. 145:1 and 20:10 (cf. Jer. 10:7); and "Judge!" (**שׁוֹפֵט**), as in Jer. 11:20 (cf. Ps. 94:2).

Since different images of God are present in the mind of man, and God may be any of these: father, friend or husband; king, judge or master; shepherd, warrior or even "Santa Claus," but when one prays may not be an impersonal or philosophical abstraction, the first cause, the life force, the wholly other; the superego, or even the moral law, a man will choose, when he prays, to address himself according to his circumstances to one or another of his images of God. And that too is an important function of the invocation with which still, following the model of biblical prayer, we begin our prayers. The address not only provides the focus, it sharpens the image. And it is, itself and alone, an acceptable prayer. **אבִי**, "Father!" is a prayer.

I had completed this section of this paper before I noticed the relevance of a New Testament passage: "When we cry 'Abba! Father!' it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God . . ." (Rom. 8:15-17).<sup>9</sup>

### III

#### לְקִרְוָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה

Exod. 20:24b is the charter of the synagogue. This is not at all how students of the Bible have understood the verse, but a plausible interpretation leads to this conclusion. The synagogue owes its existence to the thought which in its original form this half-verse expressed.

<sup>8</sup> But cf. Isa. 63:16; 64:7.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also Mark 14:36 and Gal. 4:6.





while He is near" (Isa. 55:6a). Incidentally, this latter passage is suffused with the spirit of its author, with the characteristic elation of the Second Isaiah. He means what the words say: that the time is uniquely propitious, that God is presently responsive and at hand, and that God's people have only to snatch the golden moment. It is, nevertheless, significant in the context of this study that this invitation comes to a people exiled far from the site of a ruined temple.

Not these two prophets alone, a chorus of voices among the passing generations disputed the claims of the rebuilt temple, its cult and its personnel.<sup>11</sup> Speaking for God by Nathan to David, one of them asked: "In all My going about among all the people of Israel did I ever say . . . : 'Why have you built Me no house of cedar?' " (II Sam. 7:7). And another said for God: "The heavens are My throne, the earth is My footstool. What house that you might build for Me or what sanctuary (מקום) could serve as My resting place?" (Isa. 66:1).

The spirit of Psalm 145 is notably universalistic; here God's enduring concern is for His whole creation. It is not surprising then to find in this psalm the broadest sort of declaration of God's availability: **לכל קוראיו**, **קָרוֹב י'**, "The Lord is near to all that call Him" — with only this qualification: "to all that call Him in truth" (v. 18). The psalmist here phrases poetically another of the thoughts which Jeremiah communicated to his fellows in Babylonia. **כִּי תִדְרֹשׁוּנִי בְּכֹל** . . . **י' לִבְכֶּם וּנְמַצְאִי לָכֶם נָא י'**, "If you seek Me with your whole heart, I will be responsive to you" God says" according to Jeremiah (Jer. 29:13b-14a). But the psalmist says more than the prophet. The word "all" in the phrase "to all that call Him," repeated in the parallel "to all that call Him in truth," has a breadth which Jeremiah, writing only to the Judeans in exile, had no reason to express.

The foregoing section of this study considered what it means to "call" God, to address Him, to mention His name. Addressing God the worshiper expresses his devotion, his affection, and his dependency. But he also initiates a relationship with the God whom he invokes. He invites a response from Him whose name he mentions. It is of course possible, and in biblical times it was apparently not unusual, for a person to address himself to a "strange" God, to mention a wrong name. Hos. 2:19, cited above,<sup>12</sup> expressed God's determination that the names of the Baals be mentioned no more. The passage in Joshua is to the same effect: ". . . That you come not among these peoples **וּבְשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם** left with you and mention not the name of their gods (**לֹא-תִזְכְּרוּ**) and swear not by, nor serve, nor worship them" (Josh. 23:7).

<sup>11</sup> See the article cited in the preceding note.

<sup>12</sup> P. 8.

בשם, "to mention by name," is the new term here in these two passages. It means the same as לקרוא, "to call" or address or invoke — with perhaps the added sense "to specify." It is the term that appears in Exod. 20:24b.

The text of this half-verse is not above suspicion. According to the massoretic tradition it reads: **בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי אבוא אליך, וברכתך**, which seems to mean "In that whole place where I shall mention My name I will come to you and bless you." According to this massoretic tradition the statement begins with the words **בכל המקום**, "in that whole place." The Samaritan Pentateuch here reads simply **במקום**, with the article but without **כל**, i. e., "in the place." The Syriac version has **כל** but does not render the article. It either read **בכל מקום** (without the article), or understood the received text to mean not **בכל המקום** "in that whole place" but **בכל מקום**, "in every place."<sup>13</sup> The Syriac version had a different tradition also for **אזכיר את שמי**, instead of which it appears to have read **חזכיר את שמי** — not "where I shall mention My name" but "where you mention My name."

I suggest that the Syriac has somehow preserved the original text and that it read **בכל מקום אשר חזכיר את שמי אבוא אליך וברכתך**, "In every place where you mention My name I will come to you and bless you."

If this was indeed the original text, no wonder it suffered change!

<sup>13</sup> Despite the note by G. Quell in the critical apparatus to the third edition of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, to the effect that the Syriac version read **בכל מקום** (without the article), I confess to some uneasiness about this conclusion. To be sure the Syriac has only **בכל**; but may this not be merely a matter of idiom? In view of the word **כל** which precedes and the relative pronoun which follows the noun, does the Syriac idiom want the article? Do **כל** and **די** not determine the noun — even without the article? I took this question to my colleague, Dr. William Hallo, and he was inclined to agree that they do. He noticed the variants which appear in the Aramaic Targums. The Berliner edition of the Targum Onkelos, like the Syriac, reads simply **בכל**, whereas the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (ed. M. Ginsburger) reads **בכל די**. He suggested the possibility that the former is idiomatic, while the latter rendered literally, and used the definite article because it stood in the Hebrew text. If this is so, the Syriac, along with Onkelos would lend no support to the view that the article was originally lacking in the Hebrew; and the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on the contrary would suggest the presence of the article in the original.

Whether or not the Syriac, with the Targum Onkelos, points to a Hebrew original without the definite article, the present Hebrew text **בכל המקום**, "in that whole place," is meaningless, and the English versions correctly translate "in every place" — thus silently adopting the proposed correction **בכל מקום**.

Incidentally, the Targum Jerushalmi of the rabbinic Bibles, the "fragment targum," approximates another variant in the Syriac (which is to be noted immediately). It renders the clause: **אשר אזכיר את שמי** in the *second* person instead of the first, reading **קדישא ית שמי קדישא ית שמי**, **בכל אשר דהרכו ית שמי קדישא** (pl.) call to mind My holy name."

The words *בכל מקום אשר תזכיר את שמי* "in every place where you mention My name," are so manifestly at odds with the recurrent Deuteronomic formula, *במקום אשר יבחר י' לשכן שמו שם*, "in that place which God will choose for His name to dwell there" (Deut. 16:2 and often), that the two principles were openly at war with each other. This may be what happened: that a rival recension of the original text put in its appearance, which new recension, in the spirit of Deuteronomy, gave the victory to Jerusalem. According to this recension the text may have read *במקום אשר אזכיר את שמי אבוא אליך וברכתך*, "In that place where I shall mention My name I will come to you and bless you."<sup>14</sup> "That place" is of course the Deuteronomic place which God will choose for His name to dwell there, and thus the heterodoxy of the presumed original of the Exodus verse is expunged.

What then of the text as it has come down to us? This form is a compromise. It preserves in part both the original and the recension. It rejects the original *תזכיר* in favor of the "correction" *אזכיר*, but it combines the original *בכל מקום* with *במקום* to produce the meaningless conflation *בכל המקום*, "in that whole place."

Whether this is a true or a fanciful description of the process by which the Hebrew text of this half-verse attained its present form, the presumed original form (as it now appears in the Peshitta) has great interest in the context of this study. Here, again, is that presumed original: "In every place where you mention My name I will come to you and bless you." What does it say? Not that the Jerusalem temple alone is the source of blessing and that God can be found there alone, but that wherever men make mention of His name, call, invoke, address Him, He comes in response to their call and He blesses.<sup>15</sup> The statement is openly polemical. It denies the validity of a contrary proposition. It disputes the claim of the Jerusalem temple and priesthood to unique authority. The passage was not written before but after the Josianic reform, and written to take issue specifically with its intent. It was the Deuteronomic principle which it set out to deny (and if the process described in the foregoing paragraph is right the author of the first recension well knew what he was doing when in

<sup>14</sup> This is essentially the Samaritan text. The differences are not substantial. The verb appears in the conflate form *אזכרתי* and an idiomatic *שמה* follows on *שמי*, thus: *... במקום אשר אזכרתי את שמי שמה*. (Incidentally, this Samaritan text suggests that the idiomatic *שם* may once have followed on *שמי* in the original and have been lost by haplography.)

<sup>15</sup> See n. 2, above. Ps. 20:8, as it stands, may allude to Exod. 20:24b in its presumed original form. The psalmist's words: *בשם י' . . . תזכיר* are a logical reaction to the promise contained in the Exodus verse: *... בכל מקום אשר תזכיר את שמי*, and may lend support to the view that this was their original form.

defense of the principle he removed the opposition by radical surgery). Before the Josianic reform there was no reason for such a statement. When sanctuaries were scattered throughout the land there was no point in stating the natural and the obvious. There was no need then to say "in every place where you invoke Me I respond"; that was taken for granted. It was only after Jerusalem had challenged the right of the local cult centers that anyone would find it necessary to defend their authenticity. But then it became essential. The author of Exod. 20:24b is to be counted among the champions of the local centers. He was one of many dissidents who defended local autonomy against the encroaching authority of the Jerusalem priesthood, after the Exile, in the days of the second temple.<sup>16</sup> Into an ancient code of laws, in a not illogical position,<sup>17</sup> he inserted this half-verse.<sup>18</sup> Wherever, God had said, in Babylonia or Egypt, in the villages or capital of restored Judea, temple or no temple — wherever men called on Him in truth, He would be near, He would respond with blessing. Such is the import of Exod. 20:24b. It is the charter of the synagogue.<sup>19</sup>

#### IV

#### ברוך אתה יהוה . . .

The force of the blessing . . . 'ברוך אתה' is attenuated if instead of "Blessed be Thou, O Lord" we translate "Praised be Thou, O Lord." Blessing has a quality that praise does not share. A blessing is a giving, a gift, an offering. To "bless" the Lord is to bring Him an offering. It is right to say we "offer" a blessing.

Can we then benefit God? Perhaps today's theology must deny that we can, but the less sophisticated religion of biblical man took it

<sup>16</sup> See the evidence presented in the paper cited in n. 10.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> President Morgenstern recognized the half-verse as an addition a number of years ago. See his "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch" *HUCA* IV (1927), p. 93.

<sup>19</sup> At the end of my essay several times mentioned here, "The Dissident Laity in Early Judaism," I referred to the essay as "a chapter in the 'pre-history' of . . . the Synagogue." It is gratifying and significant that President Morgenstern reached essentially the same conclusions as I did there, but largely on the basis of other evidence. He presented his conclusions in an essay entitled "The Origin of the Synagogue" which appeared in Vol. II of the *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, (Rome, 1956). I believe we agree that (as I suggested on p. 2 of "The Dissident Laity") the Deuteronomic reform was "only an incident in a struggle between Jerusalem and powerful centrifugal tendencies, with which the Second Temple had continually to contend — a struggle which was settled only when the Romans destroyed the Temple leaving the synagogues in undisputed control."



for granted. That a blessing is a giving is a compelling corollary of the belief in the potency of words, their inherent substantiality. If words have reality, an evil word is an evil thing and a good word is a good thing. A man can bring to God an offering of words, bring benefit to Him with words.

The seal 'ברוך אתה', characteristic of the Jewish liturgy, is as rare in biblical literature as it is common in post-Biblical prayer. It occurs in Psalm 119:12 and in I Chron. 29:10, and not otherwise. The Chronicles passage is in a chapter with no parallel in Samuel-Kings but with features characteristic of the Chronicler. And the time of the 119th psalm may well approach the time of the Chronicler. The evidence suggests that the formula obtained currency no earlier, say, than the fourth century, however common it became in later times.

Other biblical blessings with God as their object are indeed more usual. As the Concordance will show, the expression 'ברוך appears no less than 24 times, and related expressions a further 7 times (ברוך (יהי ' ברוך and ברוך צורי, ברוך אלהים, אדני (twice), ברוך שם כבודו, and ברוך שם די אלהא מבורך. The difference between this frequent form: 'ברוך with these variants, and the other: 'ברוך אתה is that the former refers to God in the third person instead of addressing Him as "Thou": "Blessed be the Lord" instead of "Blessed be Thou, O Lord." There is this formal difference — no difference in substance. Biblical man blesses God.

Roughly two out of three times when a man blesses God in the Bible he intends thus to express his gratitude to God for a favor God has done him. He means to "return thanks," to "offer thanks." The proportion may be still higher, exceptions may be rare, but in approximately two-thirds of the examples of such blessings their nature is obvious. They are a return for a favor experienced. The following examples are typical and suffice for the demonstration: "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, who has today granted me one to sit on my throne, my own eyes seeing it" (I Kings 1:48; cf. 10:9); "Blessed be the Lord who has delivered you from the power of Egypt" (Exod. 18:10); "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who alone does wonders" (Ps. 72:18); "Blessed be the Lord because He has been marvelously merciful to me . . ." (Ps. 31:22); "Blessed be the Lord because He has heard my supplication" (Ps. 28:6). David, Jethro, this psalmist or that one, many persons named and others unnamed, conscious of divine favor experienced, express their gratitude in the form of a blessing. They render as bullocks the words of their mouth.



This last quoted simile, which likens human speech to sacrificial animals is taken from a verse in Hosea (14:3) the text of which is not above suspicion. The Hebrew reads: וְנִשְׁלַמָּה פְּרִים-שְׁפָתֵינוּ. For "bulls" (פְּרִים) the Septuagint appears to have read פֵּרִי, "fruit." There is not indeed a great difference — fruits served as well as animals for offerings — and in either case the sense is guaranteed by the verb. The verb שָׁלַם means "to make payment," and the common term *shelem* "sacrifice" is a cognate. Whether, therefore, the comparison be to bulls or to fruit the lips make payment, bring an offering. The thought here in the second half of this verse continues Hosea's thought earlier in this same verse: קַחוּ עִמָּכֶם דְּבָרִים וּשׁוּבוּ אֵלַי, "Take with you words and return to the Lord." Words themselves are the offering brought.

This was the thought likewise of the author of Ps. 69, who wrote:

I will praise the name of God with a song,  
I will magnify Him with thanksgiving.  
And that will please the Lord more than an ox,  
A bull with horns and cloven hoofs (31 f.).

With an artful play on words he compared a *shūr* and a *shōr*, a song and an ox, and said that the thanksgiving hymn is more pleasing to God than the feast. What the author of another psalm expresses is only a variant of this same thought. Imploring God to hear him, the author of Ps. 141 asks:

Let (the words of) my prayer count as incense before Thee,  
The lifting of my hands as the evening offering (v. 2).

In this manner he too ascribes reality to the words and gestures of prayer.

According to the psychology of biblical man it means nothing to say of speech: it is "mere" words. The words of a blessing are material and ponderable like incense and animals. These passages from Hosea and the Psalms are not simply figures of speech; there is matter in their poetry.

The way the writers use the word *berakhah* "blessing," is evidence to that effect. They let it mean sheep and parched grain, cakes of figs and springs of water, as well as a spoken formula. Jacob urges Esau to accept his *berakhah* because God has favored him and he has everything, so Esau accepts the munificent gift of goats and sheep, camels, cows and asses, which Jacob has set apart (Gen. 33:11).<sup>20</sup> Achsah asks a "blessing" of her father Caleb because she dwells in

<sup>20</sup> In 32:14, 19, 21, 22 and 33:10 he calls the "blessing" an "offering" or "present,"

the dry Negeb, and he gives her springs of water (Josh. 15:19; Judg. 1:15). Fearing David's anger, Abigail hurries to meet him, bringing as a peace offering ass loads of loaves and wine, dressed sheep and parched grain, raisins and figs (I Sam. 25:18), and she calls the sum of them a *berakhah* (v. 27). David accepts the present and makes peace with Abigail and her house (v. 35). David sends spoil of war as a *berakhah* to the elders of Judah (I Sam. 30:26). And Naaman, grateful for his cure, urges Elisha to accept a *berakhah* but the man of God refuses to take anything (II Kings 5:15 f.).<sup>21</sup>

If such tangible gifts, payments or offerings as these that men gave or urged upon one another went by the name of "blessing," a blessing indeed had substance; it could enrich, benefit, increase the recipient. It is even so with the gift of words which a man brings to God as a blessing. And that is why "Blessed be Thou, O Lord" is a proper translation of the recurrent liturgical formula ' ברוך אתה י'. Speaking so, a man makes a return to God for the good that God has given. When he offers his blessing to God המוציא לחם מן הארץ, "who bringeth forth food from the earth" he is making a thank offering of words for sustenance granted. When he offers the blessing to God "whose world is thus," שככה לו בעולמו, he is bringing a thank offering for beauty experienced.

When with such words the creature addresses his Creator, it does not seem to him at all that he is "appearing before the Lord empty handed." He is bearing a gift, a reward, a return which will increase and benefit his God.

So it is also, and finally, with the blessing which one man speaks to another. The giver gives and the recipient receives and the blessing has substance. A benediction is a benefaction.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also Isa. 65:8 (the wine in the cluster is a *berakhah*) and Joel 2:14.

## THEOPHANIES IN HOLY PLACES IN HEBREW RELIGION

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ACCORDING to a widespread conception the deity dwells in its sanctuary or at the holy place consecrated to it. At more advanced stages of religion the deities are conceived as dwelling in heaven or other localities far from the holy places, but visiting them in order to take part in cultic performances or to confer with their worshippers. Very often the idea of the holy place as a seat of the deity, permanent or temporary, is only an expression of devotional sentiment or poetical feeling.

As is to be expected, the holy places are regarded as places where occasionally the deity appears in the form of a theophany. In ancient Greece, for instance, the gods were thought of as dwelling on Olympus or even in heaven, but they liked to visit the places where they were worshipped to receive sacrifices and enjoy the festival ceremonies which were enacted in their honor. Such visits were called epiphanies. Generally the gods did not appear in visible form; they were seen in dreams, or their presence was revealed by different external signs. But real theophanies are also recorded, for instance those of Apollo in Delphi and of Asclepius in his different sanctuaries. On the occasion of the Celtic invasion Apollo himself appeared in his sanctuary in the form of a youth of wonderful beauty, and the danger was averted. Aelius Aristides in his Orations distinguishes between dreams and visions in a waking state in which he experienced the presence of the god. He tells us that when he was awake the god was seen by him in person. He could touch him and hold his head with his hands. His hair was standing on end, and he shed tears of joy. This is a typical description of a real theophany.<sup>1</sup>

One example from ancient Mesopotamia may be adduced. In the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal the following incident is reported. During a dangerous invasion by the Elamites Assurbanipal experienced a theophany of the goddess Ishtar. The appearance of

<sup>1</sup> L. Weniger, "Theophanien, altgriechische Götteradvente," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXII, 1923/24, pp. 16 ff.; Mary Hamilton, *Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches* (London, 1906), pp. 49 ff.

the deity took place at night in the temple of the goddess in close connection with her image. It is said that the king approached her image, took his stand in front of it, and knelt down at her feet, praying and crying. Introducing her speech with the words: "Be not afraid" (a phrase well-known from biblical records also), the goddess granted the king's wish to destroy his enemy.<sup>2</sup>

According to Israelite conception Yahweh, despite His transcendental character, had a close connection with the holy place where He was worshipped. In particular it was believed that He was present in the tent-shrine in the desert as well as in the temple of Jerusalem. In the desert the people was ordered to make a sanctuary to Yahweh, "that He might dwell in their midst" (Exod. 25:8; cf. 29:45). Yahweh meets with Moses at the ark of the testimony. From above the כפרת, from the place between the two cherubim, He speaks to Moses, from here "the voice" (הקול) is heard (Exod. 25:22; 30:6; Num. 7:89). The usual phrase that Yahweh is enthroned on the cherubim shows how deeply rooted in Israelite imagination was the idea of Yahweh's dwelling in His sanctuary. "The tent of meeting" in the wilderness was also called מושכן, i. e., the dwelling-place of Yahweh in the midst of His people. It is said that Yahweh's throne is in Jerusalem, because it was believed that He was present in His Temple (Jer. 3:17; 14:21; Ezek. 43:7). Thus it is quite natural that we hear of theophanies both in or over the sacred tent or at the door of the tent, and in the temple of Jerusalem. These theophanies were experienced by Moses, Aaron, and the people in the desert, by Solomon in the temple (I Kings 9), and by the prophet Isaiah in his inaugural vision, likewise in the temple of Jerusalem. In spite of the uncleanness of the sanctuary in Bethel Amos saw ראייתו Yahweh standing above the altar (Amos 9:1). Sometimes it is said that Yahweh was really seen, but for the most part He was represented by the ark, further by the pillars of cloud and fire, by fire or "something like fire," by a cloud or a glow of fire (Exod. 16:10; 33:9 ff.; 40:34 ff.; Lev. 16:2; Num. 9:15 ff.; 11:25; 12:5; 14:14; Deut. 4:12, 33, 36; 5:24; 31:15; I Kings 8:10 f.; Isa. 4:5, etc.), by His כבוד (Exod. 16:10; 40:34 f.; Lev. 9:23; Num. 14:10; 16:19; Deut. 5:24; Ezek. 10-11), His name (Deut. 12:5, 11; 14:23; II Sam. 7:13; I Kings 8:16 ff., 29; 9:3; Jer. 3:17; 7:12; Ezra 6:12; Neh. 1:9), and the קול (Num. 7:89; cf. I Kings 19:12 ff.). In Exod. 33:23 Moses is said to have seen "the back" of Yahweh.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A. L. Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 46, Part 3 (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> About other senses of the expression "see Yahweh" (or "see the face of Yahweh") and its origin in the cult see W. Baudissin, "Gott schauen" in der alttesta-

It is not necessary here to go into more detail. The distinguished scholar to whom these studies are dedicated has thoroughly treated the question of Yahweh's sanctuaries as His dwelling-places in his stimulating and well-known work *The Ark, the Ephod and the "Tent of Meeting."* In his admirable study "Biblical Theophanies" in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXV, 1911 (pp. 139-93), and XXVIII, 1914 (pp. 15-60), the same author has examined the forms of the theophanies of Yahweh especially His כבוד, with regard also to the different sources. On the following pages I would examine some other significant passages in the Bible to which the idea of theophanies at the holy place is to be applied. What I am here interested in are theophanies which might be called visions in a waking state, not visual experiences in dreams.<sup>4</sup>

In the account of the first meeting between Yahweh and Abraham in Gen. 12:1 nothing is said of the manner in which Yahweh's command was conveyed to Abraham. When asking how the narrator imagined it, we may hardly think of a dream, a vision, or the like, but rather of an inward divine impulse or revelation, such as is expressed in later usage by the phrase נתן אלהים אל לב (Neh. 7:5; cf. Ezra 7:27). In 20:13 the same experience is described by the general expression: "God caused me to wander from my father's house." In Gen. 12:6 f. the situation is different. Abraham, it is said, passed through the land to the holy place of Shechem, i. e., to the oracle terebinth.<sup>5</sup> Here he had an extraordinary experience: Yahweh showed

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mentlichen Religion," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XVIII, 1915, pp. 173 ff., and, above all, the thorough study by F. Nötscher, *Das Angesicht Gottes schauen* (Würzburg, 1924), with copious references to particularly Akkadian cultic terminology and even oriental court style. Cf. also E. G. Gulin, "Das Antlitz Jahwes im Alten Testament," *Annales Ac. Scientiarum Fennicae*, XVII, 3, 1923, P. Dhorme in *Revue Biblique*, XXX, 1921, pp. 374 ff., and Aubrey Johnson in the *Eissfeldt Festschrift 1947* (Halle a. S., 1947), pp. 155 ff. About the shining face of Yahweh see, recently, J. Hempel, "Die Lichtsymbolik im Alten Testament," *Studium generale*, XIII (Berlin, 1960), pp. 352 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In his paper "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, VII (Leiden, 1960), pp. 31 ff., J. Barr makes several good remarks on the nature of the theophanies in the O. T. in general. In the following I shall study a specific class of these and in more details than is the case in the brief paper by Barr.

<sup>5</sup> This sacred tree is of course identical with the אֵלון מַעֲנִים in Judg. 9:37. The name probably designated the tree as one under which diviners used to sit pursuing their profession. Of Deborah, who according to the oldest tradition was probably a seer, it is said that she used to sit under "the palm of Deborah," imparting to men her mysterious communications (Judg. 4:5). Because the tree was holy, i. e., the seat of divine powers, it conferred upon the diviner the inspiration needed. In II Sam. 5:23 f. the trees themselves imparted oracles, as did the oaks of Dodona.

Himself (וִירָא) to him. Then he built an altar to Yahweh, who had shown Himself (הִנֵּרָאָה) to him. The verb used indicates that the narrator has thought of a vision. Because there is no hint of a dream or something similar, we have to think that in the narrator's view a theophany was bestowed upon the patriarch while he was staying in the holy place where the Deity was present.

Biblical scholars have long ago realized that the narrative in Gen. 15 is made up of heterogenous elements. The narrator has made use of different traditions which were at his disposal. There are in reality two problems which call for a solution. The first concerns itself with the traditio-historical analysis, the second, with the question of how Abraham's experiences, which are described in the narrative, are to be understood, or rather, how they were understood by the narrator or the traditionists who furnished him with his material.

It is clear that 1-6 form a unit, followed by another unit which comprises 7-11 + 17-18.<sup>6</sup> The chief theme in the first section is the promise of a multitude of descendants. The second section describes a covenant ceremony connected with a promise in regard to the land of Canaan. Between these two sections a third is inserted, the subject of which is the future of the people of Abraham, their sojourn in Egypt and their return to the Promised Land. Most scholars think that this section comprises vv. 13-16, whereas v. 12 should be associated with the tradition of the covenant. In my opinion this is a mistake. The words "the sun was going down, and a deep sleep fell upon Abram" etc., belonged originally to another tradition and are well suited to introduce the divine proclamation of what awaited Abraham's descendants in the future. Using the term תרדמה the narrator wanted to say that in a heavy sleep Abraham was dreaming and in his dream he heard God speaking to him. The Hebrew term means an abnormally deep sleep or lethargy (Gen. 2:21; I Sam. 26:12; cf. Judges 4:21; Jonah 1:5; Prov. 10:5; Ps. 76:7; Dan. 8:18; 10:9); it can also refer to a mental state of apathy (Prov. 19:15) or obduracy (Isa. 29:10; cf. 6:10). Sometimes the תרדמה is connected with significant dreams (Job 4:13; 33:15). This is the case in our passage.

What about the story in vv. 1-6? The introductory phrase, "Yahweh's word came to Abram," is taken from the prophetic termi-

<sup>6</sup> The meticulous analysis performed by earlier commentators seems to go too far; cf. E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament, Beihefte zur ZAW*, 73 (Berlin, 1953), pp. 35 ff. Vv. 2 and 3 seem to be doublets. We have here an example of a method sometimes practised by the Jewish scribes, i. e., that of combining two variant readings taken from current manuscripts. The text in v. 2 is hopelessly corrupt.



nology and is inserted here by the present narrator. It should be rendered: "A revelation from Yahweh was imparted to Abram." The revelation is described as a "vision." For vision here stands *מחזה*. Except for this passage the term *מחזה* occurs only three times in the Bible: Num. 24:4, 16 and Ezek. 13:7. In the last passage *מחזה* is an ecstatic vision experienced by prophets; in the Balaam story the term likewise denotes a vision, but a vision typical of a seer, when his "inward eye" is opened. The term *מחזה* is never used of what is seen in a dream. Accordingly, we must assume that the narrator in 1-6 wanted to say that Abraham had a vision of Yahweh in which the subsequent dialogue and action took place. If a real vision is described in 1-6, it is of course wrong to conclude from v. 5 (Yahweh brought him outside and showed him the stars), as most scholars do, that Abraham experienced the vision during the night. If the sight of the starry firmament was an element of the vision, no conclusion can be drawn as to the hour when the occurrence took place.

From 13:18 we are justified in concluding that, according to the narrator's view, what is told in 15 occurred in the holy place of Mamre, near Hebron. Thus the vision in vv. 1-6 is to be classed among the special group of visual theophanies which were bestowed upon pious men while sojourning at sanctuaries or in similar places.

To this tradition the narrator has joined another one which is reflected in vv. 7-11, 17-18. The main theme of this tradition is the covenant ceremony connected with the promise of the land. In immediately combining this story with the vision which is described in vv. 1-6 the present narrator obviously wanted to represent it as a visionary experience occurring on the same spot. It was certainly thus regarded by the original traditionist, too. Nothing suggests that we have here to do with a dream. The fanciful description of the theophany (v. 17) is characteristic of a vision. In the vision the visual theophany occurred after sunset, the preceding acts, consequently, by daylight.

The description of the visit of the three men to Abraham in Hebron and the destruction of Sodom in Gen. 18-19 is more colored by mythology than most traditions in Genesis. Obviously the narrator has here made use of originally independent pre-Yahwistic stories, to which he has given a Yahwistic stamp. In the present narrative Yahweh appeared before the patriarch when he was sitting under the terebinths of Mamre. The relationship between Yahweh and the three men (who presumably were originally three deities) is fairly obscure and a matter of discussion in all commentaries. There is in the narrative a constant alternation between Yahweh and the others and

between singular and plural pronominal and verbal forms. Some scholars have suggested that the three men together represent Yahweh, so that all three were "Yahweh in self-manifestation" (Skinner).<sup>7</sup> Other scholars think of different literary sources, which have been unskillfully joined together, or of an incomplete recension of the text. Gunkel was of the opinion that in 19:17 ff. the singular forms are throughout ascribable to a later hand. It is important to note that the narrative in 18-19 is in the main composed of three different stories: (1) The visit of three men, Yahweh and His companions, to Abraham and the dialogue between Abraham and Yahweh connected with it (18); (2) the visit of the messengers to Lot in Sodom and his escape with their help from the city; (3) the Zoar episode, in which Yahweh and Lot are the acting persons (19:17-22). The first story is represented as a theophany; it ends in 18:33, where it is said that Yahweh went away and Abraham went home. The second and third stories are no longer related as theophanies but rendered in a typically mythological-anthropomorphic style. The first of them comes to an end in 19:16. The textual inconsistencies are due to the difficulty of combining these originally independent stories into a coherent whole (in 19:18 אֱלֹהִים is probably to be changed into אֱלֹהֵי). Be it as it may, the present narrative in 18 is intended to represent a theophany, in which Yahweh is seen in a bodily shape. This is evident from the introductory words וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו יְהוָה. The mention of the terebinths of Mamre aims at emphasizing the important fact that the theophany occurred in a holy place (cf. Gen. 13:18).<sup>8</sup>

Twice it is said that Abraham received a command from God and that he then arose early the following morning to fulfill the command.

<sup>7</sup> Recently this view has been vindicated by G. von Rad in his *Commentary in Das Alte Testament Deutsch*. A. R. Johnson explains the oscillation between Yahweh and the two or three men as depending on the Hebrew concept of the manifestation of the one in the many (*The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God*, [Cardiff, 1942], pp. 34 f.). More than a century ago F. Delitzsch argued that the three messengers together were representatives of Yahweh. L. Rost in his paper "Die Gottesverehrung der Patriarchen im Lichte der Pentateuchquellen," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, VII (1960), pp. 346 ff., explains the three men in chap. 18 as Yahweh and His two companions. In the fact that two messengers only go on their way to Lot, he finds a tendency on the part of the narrator: Abraham was worthy of seeing Yahweh; Lot was not (p. 351).

<sup>8</sup> The term וַיֵּרָא refers to a visionary manifestation of the Deity (cf. Gen. 12:7; 17:1; 26:24; 35:9; Exod. 3:2; 6:3; Deut. 31:15; I Kings 9:2, etc.), whereas the phrase "he lifted up his eyes and looked" in the old sources is used of physical seeing (cf. Gen. 13:10; 22:4, 13; 24:63 f.; 33:1, 5; 37:25; Num. 24:2, etc.), with the exception of what is seen in a dream (Gen. 31:10). In our passage, Gen. 18:2, the phrase is the remnant of an original mythological-anthropomorphic story.

In Gen. 21:12 ff. Abraham was commanded to expel Hagar, in 22:1 ff. to sacrifice Isaac. Probably the narrator here thought of dreams. It is of course impossible to prove conclusively that such was the case, but in the light of many other examples of a similar mode of expression it seems plausible that the narrator had nocturnal dreams in mind. A theophany experienced by Abraham is, however, described in the account of the covenant between God and Abraham in Gen. 17 (belonging to the Priestly Code). It is said that God appeared (וִירָא) before Abraham and spoke to him, whereupon Abraham fell upon his face. When God had finished talking to Abraham He ascended to heaven (וַיַּעַל), (v. 22). A real theophany is here described, but the occurrence is not localized.

A typical theophany in a holy place is, however, reported in the account of the wonderful experience of Jacob in Bethel, Gen. 28:10 ff. It is made up of two originally independent stories. According to one tradition, Jacob had a dream in which he saw a ladder (or rather a flight of steps) leading from earth to heaven, on which the messengers of God were ascending and descending. According to the other tradition, Jacob saw God Himself standing in front of him (וַיַּעֲלֵי) and heard Him speak (v. 13). Because Bethel was a מִקְדָּשׁ, a sacred spot, where God was believed to have been present, we are here permitted to speak of a typical theophany in a holy place.<sup>10</sup>

The narrative of God's appearance to Jacob in Bethel in Gen. 35:9-15 is a parallel in the Priestly Code to this story. In the later version there is no trace of a dream; it is said that God showed Himself (וִירָא) to Jacob and spoke to him. In the conclusion of the narrative (v. 13), it is said that God "ascended" from Jacob into heaven (cf. 17:22). Thus a real vision is here described, and because it took place in Bethel we may call it a theophany in the holy place.

The legend of Jacob's wrestling with the deity at the ford of the Jabbok in Gen. 32:23-33 is another example of mythological storytelling in the Bible. The occurrence took place at night, but nothing indicates that it is thought of as a dream. A series of features show

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, p. 29, and his remark: "Der im Himmel thronende Gott würde nicht 'sagen,' sondern 'rufen.'"

<sup>10</sup> Biblical scholars referring to v. 16 think that the theophany also took place in a dream. But v. 16 as formed by the present narrator is not conclusive for the concept of the original story of which he made use. The introductory הִנֵּה (v. 13) does not, as Ehrlich thinks, necessarily suggest a dream; it is equally fitted to introduce a vision. In countless biblical passages the term serves only to direct the hearer's or reader's attention to what follows as a particularly significant saying or fact.

that here we have to do with a narrative of the same kind as the Mamre-Sodom story. As in that story, pre-Yahwistic mythological motifs have here been used by a narrator, who was a Yahweh believer, in order to form a significant episode in the life of the patriarch. The mysterious figure who assailed the man, who was about to cross the stream, shows every sign of being originally a place numen, attached to the holy place of Peniel and watching at the ford in order to attack travellers who for some reason displeased him.<sup>11</sup> His demonic character appears clearly from the interesting feature that he must vanish at dawn, a motif well-known to every folklorist.<sup>12</sup> He declines to reveal his name, which conceals the secret of his essence, according to the idea that he who knows somebody's name has power over him. He did not prevail against the mighty patriarch, who was imagined by the narrator to be a giant. But by touching his hip so that the joint got dislocated he made him limp.

The story is obviously based on a primitive cult legend and is at the same time a typical, aetiological tale. It is intended to explain three facts: the origin of the name Yisra'el, which the narrator interprets as "he who fights with God,"<sup>13</sup> the name of the place, Peniel, and the custom at a slaughter of severing as taboo the *nervus ischiadicus* from the edible parts of the animal.<sup>14</sup>

From our point of view it is of prime significance to note that the chief interest of the present narrator was to say that the man who

<sup>11</sup> Parallels in classical antiquity to Jacob's wrestling with the divine being are collected by H. Gunkel in *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl*, I, 1<sup>2</sup> (Göttingen, 1921), p. 232. E. Westermarck tells similar stories from Morocco, about jinn who attack men. On a moonlit night on the bank of a river a scribe met a jinn in the shape of a black man, who was about to assail him, but became frightened at the sight of his gun. Another man, it was told, once met a little baby who suddenly changed into a giant. The monster, of course a jinn, gave him a blow which made him lame for three years; *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), I, pp. 262 ff. (esp. pp. 265 f.). Many parallels to this story are also to be found in J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (London, 1918), II, pp. 410 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Westermarck says that the jinn are regarded as particularly terrible at night, but disappear at daybreak; *ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>13</sup> The explanation of the name of Yisra'el which is here given by the pious Yahwistic narrator has of course nothing to do with a scientific derivation of the word, nor should it be called folk-etymology in the common sense of the term; it is rather akin to allegorical interpretation, in which one looks for a deeper implication in a text or a word, considered as something mysterious and profoundly significant.

<sup>14</sup> In Morocco certain parts of slaughtered animals are sometimes regarded as noxious or even taboo, and for this reason uneatable. Thus, for instance, the head, the tongue, the ears, the spleen, the throat, the testicles, the kidneys; Westermarck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 363 ff.

wrestled with Jacob was Yahweh, who blessed the patriarch and gave him a new name, indicating the unique relationship of the chosen people to its God. Yahweh appeared to the patriarch in bodily shape; this occurred in the holy place of Peniel. Thus in its present form this narrative, too, is to be grouped among the stories of theophanies in the holy place.

In the introductory passage of chapter 26, which contains the description of Isaac's sojourn in Gerar, the kingdom of Abimelech, because of a famine in Palestine, there are elements of a different origin. In one tradition it was said that the migration of Isaac to a foreign country was caused by a theophany: "Yahweh appeared to him (וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו יְהוָה) and said, 'Do not go down to Egypt; settle down in the land which I shall tell you'" (cf. the similar expression in Gen. 12:1). As the scene of the theophany we have to consider Beer-lahai-roi or Beer-sheba (Gen. 24:62; 25:11; 26:23; 46:1), both well-known cult places. According to another tradition, Isaac had a revelation in the land of Gerar in which it was said to him, "Sojourn in this land (Gerar), and I will be with you and bless you." How this revelation was understood by the traditionist we do not know (perhaps it was thought of as a dream). But the first-mentioned theophany we have to class among theophanies in the holy place.<sup>15</sup> The same is possibly true of the vision briefly mentioned in v. 24.

The core of the present Sinai narrative in Exod. 19 ff. is the magnificent theophany described in 19:16 ff. Yahweh, the God of the sacred mountain of Sinai, on which according to the oldest belief He was dwelling, and upon which according to a later concept He descended from heaven, came down upon the top of the mountain in fire and smoke. There were thunder and lightning and a thick cloud, and the whole mountain quaked violently. Moses spoke and God answered him in thunder. To this great theophany others of a different origin are associated. In 24:9-11 it is told that Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel went up to the top, and they saw (וַיֵּרָא) the God of Israel, and there was under His feet, as it were, a pavement of sapphire stone. He did not lay His hand on these chief men of the people; they beheld (וַיַּחֲזוּ) God, and ate and drank, i. e., they celebrated a ritual meal. In Num. 12:8 it is

<sup>15</sup> The collector's hand is perceptible at the beginning and the end of section 1-5. To him we must ascribe the remark that the famine was one besides the former famine, that which had occurred in the days of Abraham, as well as the extension of an originally more concise promise of "these lands" in vv. 3-5. What remains belonged to the material which the collector had at his disposal.



regarded as a privilege of Moses that he beheld the very shape of Yahweh. In Exod. 24:15-18, however, Yahweh's כבוד in the form of a devouring fire settled on the mountain, and a cloud covered it for six days. On the seventh day Yahweh called to Moses out of the cloud, and Moses entered the cloud and there he was together with Yahweh. In 33:19 ff., finally, Yahweh's כבוד passed by, while Moses was standing in a crevice of the rock. Yahweh covered him with His hand until He had passed by. Then He took away His hand, and Moses saw His back, because His face could not be seen by mortal men.<sup>16</sup>

The narrator could not keep to the strict theophany motif throughout the whole record of the Sinai occurrences. In many passages he uses the mythological-anthropomorphic style, well-known from the Paradise story and other old stories in the Pentateuch: God speaks to Moses "face to face," and there is a dialogue between Yahweh and Moses as between two human beings, no visionary features at all being suggested. This is the case, for instance, in 19:3-13, 21-25; 24:1 f., 12 f.; 32:7-14, 31-34; 33:1-6. Sometimes (20:1, 22; 25:1, etc.) the phrase "Yahweh spoke to Moses" is nothing but an example of the common law style, well-known from many legal texts in the Pentateuch, particularly in the Priestly Code.

In the narrative of the boy Samuel in I Sam. 3 it is told that in the night Samuel lay sleeping in the sanctuary at Shiloh. Three times he heard Yahweh calling him, and each time Samuel arose and went to Eli, the priest, thinking that it was he who had called. What

<sup>16</sup> Yahweh's כבוד is here Yahweh in the form of His fiery radiance. The purpose of this appearance of Yahweh was to convince Moses that Yahweh in person would go with Israel on their way to the Promised Land. Barr in his above-mentioned paper strongly emphasizes that the problem in this chapter is how Yahweh could go with Israel in their rebelliousness (cf. G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I [München, 1957], pp. 283 f.). Now Moses wanted to know whom Yahweh would send as the leader of this people. Yahweh answered that His "face" (פנים) would go with Moses and the people. This promise should calm Moses's disquietude. Moses was not content with this; he insisted on Yahweh's going with him in person. It seems to me quite clear that פנים is here not identical with Yahweh but a substitute for Him. This is the opinion of Barr, too. Above all Morgenstern has made it evident that in v. 14 Yahweh's פנים is another being than Yahweh Himself (though he identifies the פנים with Yahweh's priest Hobab); *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch* (Cincinnati, 1927), pp. 4 ff., 43 ff. If it is correct in this way to distinguish between Yahweh and His פנים in v. 14, the formulation of v. 15, according to which Yahweh is apparently identical with His פנים (cf. Deut. 4:37; II Sam. 17:11; Isa. 63:9 according to a better text), must derive from another tradition. Or has פני in v. 14 replaced an original מלאכי (cf. Exod. 23:20, 23; 32:34; 33:2; Num. 20:16)? On this difficult passage see also Nötscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff., where the identity of Yahweh and His פנים is vindicated.



Samuel here experienced is obviously thought to have been a dream; we recognize all the characteristics of a lively dream. The description of the dream is concluded in v. 9. In v. 10 the nightly experiences of Samuel culminate in a real theophany: Yahweh came and stood (וַיֵּצֵא) before Samuel and spoke to him about the future of the house of Eli. The apparition of Yahweh is here called הַמְרָאָה (v. 15), the same term which is used in the story of Jacob's dream in Gen. 46:2. The term can also be used of prophetic visions (Num. 12:6; Ezek. 1:1; 8:3, etc.). From the conclusion of the narrative (v. 21) it is, however, evident that the narrator regarded the vision of Yahweh which is described in v. 10 as a real theophany, not as an experience obtained in a dream. He says that Yahweh continued to appear (לְהֵרָאָה) in Shiloh. It was quite natural for him to think that Shiloh — a sanctuary of the greatest importance — would be a place where theophanies were bestowed on men.

There are passages in which a theophany in a holy place is described somewhat differently, so that God is not seen in person but in the shape of a "messenger," called God's or Yahweh's מַלְאָךְ. The Bible frequently refers to a messenger sent by Yahweh to perform a mission and clearly distinguishable from Him.<sup>17</sup> But there are also passages in which the מַלְאָךְ is in some way identical with Yahweh. There מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה or מַלְאָךְ אֱלֹהִים is, so to speak, the form, the shape in which Yahweh reveals Himself to mortal men, communes with them and speaks to them.<sup>18</sup> This is not the place to discuss in detail the origin and meaning of the concept of Yahweh's messenger in this sense. It may, however, be pointed out that wherever the messenger is identical with Yahweh the designations מַלְאָךְ אֱלֹהִים or מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה stand as technical terms, almost as proper names, alternating with Yahweh or God, but we never find הַמְלָאכִי, the indefinite מַלְאָךְ or the like.<sup>19</sup> Professor Aubrey Johnson would explain מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה in

<sup>17</sup> The passages are collected by W. Baumgartner in "Zum Problem des 'Jahwe-Engels,'" *Zum Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt. Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Walter Baumgartner* (Leiden, 1959), pp. 240 ff.

<sup>18</sup> This is denied by F. Stier in his work *Gott und sein Engel im Alten Testament, Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen*, XII, 2 (Münster, i. W., 1934). This scholar thinks that מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה is everywhere a messenger from God distinguishable from Him, speaking on His behalf. This is conceivable in passages in which the voice of מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה is heard. But in passages in which it is stated that he who has seen מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה says that he has seen God or Yahweh, Stier's interpretation seems to be rather forced.

<sup>19</sup> The constant repetition of the complete expression מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה is particularly noticeable in the stories of Balaam Num. 22:22 ff., and of Gideon Judg. 6:11 ff. In Gen. 48:16 הַמְלָאכִי is a messenger on certain occasions sent by God for redeeming Jacob from evils of all kinds (cf. Gunkel's comment in his Commentary). In Hos.

this specific sense in the terms of the Hebrew concept of the one and the many or as an "extension of Yahweh's personality."<sup>20</sup> To me it seems very probable that the figure of מלאך יהוה in the specific sense has its origin in experiences of visions and dreams in which Yahweh appeared to men in human shape. מלאך אלהים in the specific sense is, noticeably enough, seen by Jacob in a dream (Gen. 31:11). The human figure in which God reveals Himself is called מלאך, messenger, because his mission is always to deliver a message, an order, a promise. It is in my opinion beyond dispute that in many cases there is really an identity between Yahweh and מלאך יהוה. This identity is reflected in the fact that in the passages in question there is an oscillation in action and speaking between Yahweh and Yahweh's messenger, so that Yahweh and Yahweh's messenger alternate as subject and object in the same text. For the most part this oscillation cannot be removed (as often has been suggested) by literary or textual operations.

In four passages Yahweh appears in theophanies in holy places in the form of מלאך יהוה: Gen. 16:7 ff.; 22:9 ff.; Exod. 3:2 ff., and Judges 6:11 ff.

In the story of Hagar מלאך יהוה appeared to Hagar by the well Beer-lahai-roi, a time-honored holy place in the wilderness south of Palestine. He announces that the woman will bear a son and that her descendants will be greatly multiplied. Then it is said that she called Yahweh, who had spoken to her, "the God of seeing." The identity between Yahweh and מלאך יהוה is here beyond dispute. Thus we may here speak of a theophany which occurred in a holy place where the deity was thought to be present.<sup>21</sup>

In Gen. 22:11 ff. מלאך יהוה likewise speaks as if he were Yahweh Himself. The place where the offering occurred is quite obscure, but that it was an ancient cult place is evident, *inter alia*, from v. 14 and is thus assumed by all biblical scholars. V. 14 proves also that the narrator had a theophany in view.

In the account of the vocation of Moses in Exod. 3 מלאך יהוה, who

12:5 a special tradition is perceptible according to which "the man" (איש) of Gen. 32:25 ff. is regarded as a messenger from God.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff.

<sup>21</sup> The conclusion of the narrative I translate in this way: "And she called the name of Yahweh, who spoke to her: 'Thou art a God of seeing,' for she said, 'Have I here really seen the back of Him who has seen me?' Therefore they called the well: 'The well belonging to the Living One who has seen me.'" אחרי in v. 13 is to be taken as a substantive (cf. Exod. 33:8; II Sam. 2:23, and אחרי Exod. 33:23). מלאך יהוה was Yahweh in bodily manifestation, not Yahweh in His essence. For this reason it is said that Hagar had seen "the back" of Yahweh.

appeared (וירא) to Moses in the burning bush on Mount Sinai, is obviously thought of as identical with Yahweh. It is said: "God called to him out of the bush . . . And He said, 'I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.'" And further: "Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look at God." Here God reveals Himself in מלאך יהוה and speaks through his mouth. The theophany took place in the holy mountain of Sinai, where Yahweh was dwelling (cf. 3:16; 4:5).

מלאך יהוה who according to Judges 6 came to Gideon at Ophra was manifestly conceived of as identical with Yahweh. After saying that מלאך יהוה spoke to Gideon and that Gideon answered him, the narrative goes on: "And Yahweh turned to him (Gideon) and said, 'Go in this might of yours and deliver Israel from the hand of Midian. Surely I send you.'" Next it is said that Yahweh spoke to Gideon. Yahweh said, "I will be with you and you shall smite the Midianites." Thereafter מלאך יהוה received the offering presented to him by Gideon. Then מלאך יהוה vanished from the sight of Gideon. Gideon feared because he had seen מלאך יהוה face to face. But — so the narrative runs — Yahweh said to him, "Shalom be to you; do not fear, you shall not die." The altar which Gideon built to Yahweh was called *Yahweh is shalom*.<sup>22</sup> Of Ophra we know that it was of old a renowned cult place.

In the light of the accounts which we have examined above, some passages in the Psalter are more easily understandable. As is well known, some of the psalms have been regarded as incubation-rituals. A few words may here be said about the question of what has been called "incubation" in the Bible. By the term "incubation-dream" we usually mean dreams which men intentionally tried to bring about by lying down to sleep in a sanctuary. In such dreams, often evoked by certain rites, the deity was expected to approach the dreamer and impart to him the knowledge wanted or, particularly, prescribe health-giving remedies, or even heal diseases from which he suffered.<sup>22</sup>

In several biblical passages scholars have found references to such dreams: Gen. 15; 28:10 ff.; 46:1 ff.; I Sam. 3:1 ff.; I Kings 3:4 ff.; Ps. 3:6; 4:9; 17:15. In the Genesis passages the patriarchs are said to have had revelatory dreams in holy places, but there is no hint that they went to the holy place for the purpose of having a dream. The dream

<sup>22</sup> About incubation-dreams outside the Bible see the above-mentioned works by Hamilton, Ehrlich, and Oppenheim. Some biblical scholars call every case of dreaming in a sanctuary "incubation." This is misleading. Oppenheim distinguishes between "unintentional" and "provoked" incubation-dreams (*op. cit.*, pp. 187 f.). Here I use the term "incubation" in the latter sense.

came while they were by chance sleeping in the holy place. The same is true of the dream which the boy Samuel had in the sanctuary in Shiloh. Ehrlich, who pays much attention to incubation-dreams in the Bible, as well as in the ancient world outside Israel, examines thoroughly the story of King Solomon's dream in Gibeon (I Kings 3) and arrives at the conclusion that we have here "the most perfect incubation in the Old Testament." Solomon, Ehrlich says, went to the sanctuary in Gibeon in order to receive an oracle in an incubation-dream.<sup>23</sup> The same author frequently emphasizes the fact that incubation-dreams were intentionally sought for. In this he is right. But where in this narrative is it said that Solomon's intention, when he went to Gibeon, was to receive a dream-oracle? It is only said that the king went to Gibeon in order to perform certain sacrifices. While he was sojourning there, Yahweh appeared to him in a dream by night. In the dream a dialogue between Solomon and Yahweh took place, ending with great promises for the future of the king. I cannot find that this dream differs from other dreams in biblical reports in which God appears to men and a dialogue between God and the dreamer takes place.

In Ps. 4:9 the poet says, "In peace I both lie down and sleep, for Thou, O Yahweh, makest me dwell in safety." This is only an expression of the feeling of safety which the pious man experiences in all vicissitudes of life. To find here a reference to an incubation would be highly far-fetched.

The situation is different in Ps. 3. In his distress he who speaks in the psalm has cried to Yahweh, and Yahweh has answered him "from His holy mountain," i. e., from the temple house, or, perhaps, the holy of holies. In what way has the answer been given? This is said in the following verse: "I lay down and fell asleep. I awoke again." He has during his sleep in the courtyard of the temple received a propitious answer, for now he can confess: "I am not afraid of myriads of people who have set themselves against me round about." Here it is natural, indeed, to think of an incubation-oracle imparted in an incubation-dream. Thus the psalm was recited in the morning after the incubation-sleep.<sup>24</sup>

According to my present view Ps. 17 deals with an incubation, but

<sup>23</sup> Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>24</sup> אָקָרָא (v. 5) is used in an iterative sense; וַיַּעֲנֵי alludes to a certain historical occurrence. The sentence "for Yahweh sustains me" bears on the whole content of vv. 5-6. The expression "His holy mountain" refers possibly, as H. Schmidt suggests, to the most holy place of the sanctuary, where Yahweh dwelled (cf. H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen* [in Eissfeldt's *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*], and *Der Heilige Fels in Jerusalem* [Tübingen, 1933], pp. 89 ff.).

an incubation which did not lead to a dream-oracle, but rather to a real theophany. In v. 15 the poet says, "I shall behold Thy face in righteousness; awakening I shall be sated with Thy form." The commentators have had difficulty in finding a plausible explanation of the expression "awakening" (בהקנין). Some of them think of the resurrection from the dead, others of liberation from distress, still others of awakening in the morning from an ordinary nocturnal sleep; others again change the text. In an article in *ZAW*, LIX, 1942/43, pp. 1 ff., in which I examined Ps. 17, I suggested that the morning, when the awakening occurred, is here considered as the time when God used to intervene for the benefit of His worshippers. I supported this view by many examples. The phrase "I shall behold Thy face, I shall be sated with Thy form," I explained in analogy with many passages in the Bible in which "see God" means experience God's propitious intervention, God's help and salvation. Much indicates, however, that the poet is here thinking of an awakening from an incubation-sleep. The situation of the Psalm is that a pious man, who is seriously persecuted by his enemies, has come to the sanctuary in order to be informed that he was innocent and that he would be saved by God from his affliction. In this case he did not expect a dream-oracle but something more than that: he expected to wake up from his sleep and experience a real theophany. Favored with the wondrous experience of beholding God face to face he would feel assured that his case was just and that he would be saved by God. It might perhaps be objected that the only word "awake" is insufficient for characterizing the Psalm as a ritual preparation for an incubation-sleep. But what we do not find in the text was, of course, completed by the *Sitz im Leben* of the Psalm, recited as it was as a liturgical introduction to the following ritual act.<sup>25</sup>

One may feel tempted to explain Ps. 63:3 in the same way. The poet, who in his distress "thirsts" for Yahweh's help, expresses his belief that in the temple he will surely see (חזיתך *perf. confidentiae*)

<sup>25</sup> Among the representatives of the hypothesis that psalms 3, 4, and 17 refer to incubation-sleep we should particularly refer to S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, I (Kristiania, 1921), pp. 154 ff.; H. Birkeland, *Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmenliteratur* (Oslo, 1933), pp. 335 f., and G. Widengren, *The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents* (Uppsala, 1936), pp. 28, 256 f., 263, 291. Gunkel in his Commentary on the Psalms entirely rejects Mowinckel's suggestions. Among modern commentators there is no agreement. The last commentator on the Psalms, H.-J. Kraus, sees in 3:6, and 4:9 expressions of confidence in Yahweh's protection, whereas in 17:15 he finds an indication of a theophany in the sense of Isa. 6, experienced in the sanctuary after a night of divine trial (in *Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament*, Neukirchen Kr. Moers).



Yahweh, experiencing Yahweh's power and glory. The passage becomes quite clear if we here assume a reference to a theophany in the holy place.<sup>26</sup>

In the different reports of theophanies we hear little about the form in which God appeared. However, both the idea of מלאך יהוה and the statement that Yahweh came and stood before him who beheld the theophany prove that Yahweh could be seen in human shape. In the account of Jacob's wrestling with God in Gen. 32, as well as in the narrative of the visit of the three men to Abraham in Gen. 18, the deity is obviously imagined as a man with bodily features. The appearance of Yahweh in Isaiah's inaugural vision was that of a king, though the individual traits were not seen by human eyes. Even in the theophany on Mount Sinai some bodily features shine through (Exod. 33:22 ff.). In most cases what was heard in the theophany was regarded as more important than what was seen.<sup>27</sup>

Theophanies in holy places are referred to in all biblical sources and in all periods of Israelite history. That not only the great and leading personalities in the past were favored with theophanies is evident from the story of Hagar as well as from individual psalms, in which we find indications of theophanies. This would hardly have been the case if such experiences had not frequently taken place in real life. It is psychologically well understandable that under the influence of the sanctity of a holy place, and conscious of the presence of the Deity, a visitor was powerfully conditioned not only to have significant dreams but also to have visionary experiences. The theophanies which we have examined in this article are not to be confounded with the ecstatic visions of the prophets nor with dream visions; they were rather hallucinatory experiences with many analogies at all stages of human life. A good deal of the biblical reports may be legendary, some of them may even have been transmitted as pure cult legends, but this does not nullify the fact that experiences of this kind may really have occurred. To those who had such experiences the reality of Yahweh's presence and appearance in person was of course beyond all doubt.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly the author in II Chron. 3:1 has thought of a theophany bestowed on David on the holy Mount Moriah. Whether II Chron. 7:12 refers to a theophany or a dream is doubtful. Ps. 11:7 and similar passages in the Psalter bear only on visits to the sanctuary or, more generally, on experiences of God's helpful intervention in the life of the righteous. The theophany from Zion which is described in Ps. 50 is not real but liturgic-poetical.

<sup>27</sup> On the question of the anthropomorphic form of the theophanies see further the above-mentioned paper by Barr.



## INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND RETRIBUTION

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THE problems of the interpretation of the Old Testament views of corporate and individual responsibility are myriad, and each has many facets. Considering the breadth of President Emeritus Morgenstern's perspective, it would be strange if he had not dealt with this subject, and this he did in early issues of this *Annual*.<sup>1</sup> Although the present brief study is primarily concerned with seeing in perspective the statements on individual responsibility in Jeremiah (31:29-30) and Ezekiel (3:17-21; 14:12-23; 18:1-32; 33:1-20), with special reference also to Deut. 24:16, a preliminary warning should be given against depreciation of the significance of the individual in early Israel and against the view of a gradually emerging individualism which obscured or diminished the importance of or emphasis on the corporate entity which is Israel. Individualism did not begin with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, for Israelite thought always gave a large place to the individual and to the importance, value, and responsibility of the person.<sup>2</sup>

Even in the crucial Ezekiel passages the problem is not that of the individual *versus* the community; the author has a concern for Israel and its restoration as the Lord's covenanted people under the Davidic kingship.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the early (and late!<sup>4</sup>) view that God visits the sins of the fathers on their children does not imply any lack of concern for the individual father or son. In the Ezekiel passages the vantage point is not the significance of the individual (that is

<sup>1</sup> J. Morgenstern, "Moses with the Shining Face," *HUCA*, II (1925), pp. 20 ff.; "The Book of the Covenant, Part III," *HUCA*, VIII-IX (1931-32), pp. 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> S. J. B. Wolk, "Individualism," *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, V (1941), pp. 559 ff., finds the roots of individuality, equality, and human freedom in the desert backgrounds of Israel, within the Sinai covenant, and in the experience of slavery in Egypt. See also G. E. Wright, *The Challenge of Israel's Faith* (1944), pp. 78 ff. Contrast the general view in A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (1904), pp. 282 ff.; compare also W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms* (1953), pp. 86 ff., where it is held that, in contrast with earlier community responsibility concepts, the prophets at first — but only occasionally — taught the responsibility of the individual, the fuller development coming with Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the related chapters, 20 and 34.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Exod. 20:5, in a form of the Decalogue that reflects the P Source in Genesis (compare Exod. 20:5 and Gen. 2:3).

always taken for granted) or even the nature of man, but rather the nature of God, for it is taken as a problem of theodicy; the point of reference is the justice or fairness of God in His dealings with men (see 18:25-29; 33:17-20). There are implications regarding the nature of individual man, in terms of his sole responsibility for his sins, based on the general proposition that all souls (persons) are the Lord's, the father as well as the son (18:4). This general proposition is hardly new;<sup>5</sup> what is new is the form of its application. A doctrine of corporate responsibility may as well be deduced from it, for if the son as well as the father is the Lord's, the Lord could, if he willed, transfer the retribution from father to son. The author of Jer. 32:18-19, who links retribution of the guilt of the fathers on their sons to individual retribution, would hardly deny the general proposition.

It is a distortion of the picture to affirm that in pre-Exilic Israel Yahweh was the God of Israel and *only secondarily* the God of individual Israelites.<sup>6</sup> He could be equally both at the same time. Israel could at the same time be one and many, and the many were individuals. This is well illustrated in the Psalms, where the petitioner stands without qualification as an individual before his God, and then, without transition, he speaks as or for Israel;<sup>7</sup> the individual is mystically indentified with the nation, the nation exists as a self or corporate entity,<sup>8</sup> and yet the individual maintains his integrity as an individual. It would be difficult to maintain that the individual was any less important in the common (although not exclusively) pre-Exilic conception of "the people of the Lord" than in the later Exilic and post-Exilic view of Israel as an ecclesiastical community, as the "assembly" (עדה) or "congregation" (קהל) of the Lord.<sup>9</sup> E. A. Speiser has demonstrated the connotation of personal ties in the term עם, people, in which lies the suggestion of blood ties and emphasis on the individual, plausibly interpreting in Deut. 4:6 רק עם חכם ונבון הגוי הגדול הזה as amounting to saying that this large mass of humanity is made up of wise and discerning individuals.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Exod. 15:2, "This is my God . . . my father's God."

<sup>6</sup> H. W. Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (2nd ed., 1956), p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. 25, see v. 22; Ps. 28, see v. 9; Ps. 51, see vv. 18-19 (Heb. 20-21); Ps. 59, see vv. 11-13 (Heb. 12-14); Ps. 130, see vv. 7-8; Ps. 131, see v. 3. See A. R. Johnson, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God* (1942), pp. 12 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See J. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, I-II (1926), pp. 225 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See Num. 16:3; 17:4; 27:17; 31:16; Deut. 23:2-8; Josh. 22:16, 17; cf. Mic. 2:5; Neh. 13:1. See J. Morgenstern, "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," *AJSL*, LV (1938), pp. 26 ff.

<sup>10</sup> E. A. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," *JBL*, LXXIX (1960), pp. 158 ff. See also H. Orlinsky, *Ancient Israel* (1954), pp. 148-55.

Even in the most individualistic of the dicta on individual responsibility in Ezekiel, the author does not for a moment forget that his announcement, which concerns the rejection of a proverb quoted in Israel (18:2), is for Israel, and it is addressed to "the house of Israel" (vv. 25, 29, 30, 31; cf. also 33:10, 17, etc.). One of the motives of this form of individualism is to solve the problem of the relationship of the post-Exilic *community* to the pre-Exilic *community*,<sup>11</sup> the interest not being exclusively individualistic. In Jeremiah (31:29, 31) the declaration is more narrowly related to the concept of judging each generation for itself, and the "fathers" who have eaten sour grapes are not merely parents, but are the older generation of Israel, as often elsewhere and as the context here makes abundantly clear; see "their fathers" in v. 32, i. e., the fathers led out by the Lord from Egypt. The author is concerned with the old covenant made with the fathers and with the new covenant to be made with the Exilic community. But the new covenant is not different from the old covenant in being essentially more "personal" than the old covenant. Nothing could be more personal than the description of the old covenant in v. 32.<sup>12</sup> The new covenant differed in that it would be known by heart and would not have to pass from father to son, and would be made with a *people* having a new heart and a new spirit. We may doubt strongly the opinion that this prophecy in Jeremiah is set in deliberate antithesis to the Deuteronomic covenant made with the nation as a whole, this one made by contrast with the individual Israelites.<sup>13</sup> There is a contrast with the older Deuteronomic principle of awards (see below), but not at this point. The new covenant was also with Israel (Jer. 31:31), and both the old and new covenant bound the individual members. The new covenant is sealed with the old covenantal phrase, "I will be their God and they shall be my people" (31:33).<sup>14</sup>

It is very dubious that there is any particular correlation between any individualization of Israelite religion and a presumed developing concept of life after death.<sup>15</sup> From the earliest days there is little change

<sup>11</sup> L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* (1957), p. 162.

<sup>12</sup> "When I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt. . . . though I was their husband."

<sup>13</sup> H. W. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 168-9.

<sup>14</sup> The personal laments of Jeremiah (11:18-12:6; 18:18-23; 20:7-18) are no evidence of a brand new element in Israelite religion, for they are based on a liturgical form, the lament of the persecuted righteous, already present in the religious life of Israel; see H. G. May, "The Righteous Servant in Second Isaiah," *ZAW*, LXVI (1954), pp. 239 ff.; W. Baumgartner, *Die Klagedichte des Jeremia*, 1917.

<sup>15</sup> C. R. North, *The Thought of the Old Testament* (1948), p. 49; cf. H. W. Robinson *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.; W. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testament*, pp. 252 ff.

in the Israelite view of life in Sheol, the land of no return, demonstrable in the Old Testament. Sheol was the land of darkness beneath the earth, and therefore in Sheol one was cut off from the presence of the God of the heavens. There is nothing less personal or individualistic in the prayer in which the psalmist seeks healing of his illness and so deliverance from Sheol where there is no remembrance of God (e. g., Ps. 6) or in Job's lament which is overshadowed by the gloom of Sheol (Job chap. 3) than in the expression of sublime confidence and the divine concern in Ps. 139, where the worshiper affirms his belief that even in Sheol he will find God. It would also be difficult to demonstrate for the Old Testament period any necessary correlation between a developing concern for the individual and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, which in Israel did not arise until the third or perhaps the second century (cf. Isa. 26:14-19; Dan. 12:2, 3).<sup>16</sup>

In an earlier study the present writer ascribed to the "Editor" of the Book of Ezekiel the passages setting forth the doctrine of individual responsibility (3:17-21; 14:12-23; 18:1-32; 33:1-20).<sup>17</sup> Authorship and date are not the primary concern of this paper, although some light may be thrown on these matters indirectly. Rather, this is a further attempt to evaluate in theological perspective these and similar passages. The evaluation of the import and the influence of these passages has been distorted by the view that personalized, individualized religion was a late development in Israelite religion. Also, to some extent, they present an unrealistic, "atomistic" view of the individual, and their principle of individual retribution is hardly necessarily the highest point of Old Testament ethics. The viewpoint that God remembers none of the past good deeds done by a person who has turned from his righteousness (18:24) is possibly somewhat less a perceptive insight into divine will and human nature than the older view that God visits the sins of fathers upon their children, even though the former dictum is set in a context of repentance, urging the sinner to repent so that God may judge him exclusively in the light of his new goodness, ignoring his backsliding (18:30-32).<sup>18</sup> It is also set in the context of the responsibility of the prophet in warning the wicked man, although fail-

<sup>16</sup> Note the concern for Israel and its land in Isa. 26:15; cf. also Dan. 7:27.

<sup>17</sup> H. G. May, *The Book of Ezekiel*, IB, VI (1952), p. 49.

<sup>18</sup> Twenty of the twenty-three instances of the use of שׁוּב, turn, repent, in Ezekiel fall within three of the passages under special consideration here (Ezek. 3:17-21; 18:1-32; 33:1-20), from a single source. Two of the other uses are in 14:6, in a passage concerned with the responsibility of the idolater and the deceived prophet, and obviously of one piece with vv. 12 ff. and related to 3:17-21 and 33:1-20. As W. L. Holliday says (*The Root ŠŪBH in the Old Testament*, [1958], pp. 139-40), whether we assign these passages to an editor or to Ezekiel, we must take account of their shared characteristics.

ure to receive the warning does not mitigate the punishment.<sup>19</sup> Although the author does not neglect the community, the house of Israel, as noted above, this doctrine of responsibility as enunciated in Ezekiel does not adequately recognize the extent to which an individual participates in and is integrated with his community, historic and present, or the intensity of his integration with his own past and even his future. There is here a static view of man and an absolutism which is perhaps not sufficiently appreciative of the mixed motives and character of most men.<sup>20</sup>

Ezekiel chap. 18 concerns three generations of a man (a good man, vv. 5-9; his wicked son, vv. 10-13; his good grandson, vv. 14-17) and two present states of a man's behavior (a wicked man turned righteous, vv. 21-23, 27; a righteous man turned wicked, vv. 24-26). The latter is reiterated in 33:10-16. The Lord takes no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that he turn from his way and live, and after he has turned righteous, the Lord will remember against him none of the sins which he had committed. On the other hand, the righteousness of the righteous will not save him when he transgresses, for the righteous shall not be able to live by his righteousness after he sins. There is no transmission of merit from the past to the present for the sinner.<sup>21</sup> This reflects more the theologian in his study or the legalistic logician than the prophet preaching out of the crisis of the last years of Judah's history, as also do the related contemplations on the role of the prophet in 3:16-21 and 33:1-9. Chap. 3:16-21 is part of the very composite account of the call of Ezekiel. The detached, almost impersonal and non-occasionalistic character of these passages is more reminiscent of legalistic and wisdom literature. They speak not to a specific historical occasion, but to possible recurring situations. Since in chaps. 18 and 33 the problem of theodicy is involved, one turns naturally to the Book of Job for a similar concern. Job also faces the question whether "God stores up their (wicked men's) iniquity for their sons" (Job 21:19) and also doubts it, and suggests that God should recompense the iniquity to the wicked man himself, for the wicked do not

<sup>19</sup> I. e., the judgment of premature death, the meaning of "He who sins shall die"; see J. Morgenstern, *HUCA*, VIII-IX (1931-32), pp. 22-23.

<sup>20</sup> As H. W. Robinson states, Ezekiel overlooks the fact that there are more anomalies apparent in the fortunes of an individual than in those of a group (in *Record and Revelation* [1938], p. 343).

<sup>21</sup> That the ways of the Lord are fair (יָסוּד, literally "weighed") is reflected in the only other occurrence of the verb in the Nif'al, I Sam. 2:3. It is in a context influenced by Second Isaiah (with v. 2 compare Isa. 44:8), in a post-Exilic messianic passage in which the final defeat of the enemies of the Lord and the last judgment are depicted. See G. B. Caird, *I and II Samuel*, IB, II (1953), pp. 882-85.



care what happens after them, but Job finds no justice and believes the wicked are often spared (vv. 21-34).<sup>22</sup> Concern in the righteousness of the ways of the Lord appears in the "wisdom" addition to the Book of Hosea (14:9; cf. Ps. 145:17). The discussion in Ezekiel belongs in this milieu, and might even be contemporary.

The legalistic, casuistic phraseology of the Ezekiel passages is obvious, with literary analogies in the Deuteronomic legislation, and particularly in the Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26) and sometimes in the Priestly Code. If the criteria for the righteous man in Ezek. 18:5-8, etc. is based on any single legal code, that code must be H.<sup>23</sup> The introductory formula "A man, if" (אִישׁ כִּי) in 18:5 is characteristic of the H and P legislation, as in Lev. 13:40; 15:16; 19:20; 22:14, 21; 25:26, 29; 27:2, 14; Num. 27:8, etc. The priestly, legalistic character of Ezekiel 18 has been appreciated by W. Zimmerli.<sup>24</sup> The priestly formulae "He is unclean" (טָמֵא הוּא), "He is clean" (טָהוֹר הוּא) in Lev. 13:11, 13, 17, etc. parallel "He is righteous" (צָדִיק הוּא) in Ezek. 18:9. The list of qualifications of the righteous in 18:5-9, 10-13, 14-17 recalls the list of qualities of the blameless and righteous in the temple entrance or "gate liturgies" in the Psalms, particularly Ps. 15.<sup>25</sup> See also Ps. 24:3-6; cf. Ps. 50:16-20. The idiom "lend at interest" (בִּנְשָׁךְ נָתַן, Ezek. 18:8, 13; cf. 18:17) occurs in Lev. 25:37 (cf. Ps. 15:5, generally dated to the post-Exilic period. The peculiar word for idols (גּוֹלִלִים, Ezek. 18:6, 11, 14) is found outside of Ezekiel only in H (Lev. 26:30), in the late passage in Jer. 50:2, and in D2 passages (Deut. 29:16; I Kings 15:12; II Kings 17:12, etc.). It has been suggested that "eat upon the mountains" (Ezek. 18:6, 10, 14) should be emended to "eat with the blood" (אֵל הַדָּרִים for עַל הַדָּם, as 33:25), and this parallels Lev. 7:26-27; 17:14; 19:26. The regulation not to approach a woman

<sup>22</sup> Eliphaz, by contrast, believes the wicked do receive a deserved fate (4:8-9; 15:20-35), that there is no really righteous man (4:17-18; 15:14-16), but yet the innocent and upright do not perish (4:7). Zophar, probably the speaker in 27:13-23, maintains the orthodox view that the children of the wicked suffer for the sins of their fathers (see S. Terrien, *Job, IB*, III, [1954], pp. 1098-99).

<sup>23</sup> Prohibition against approaching a woman during menstruation, 18:6; cf. Lev. 18:19; 20:18. Against idols (גּוֹלִלִים), 18:6; cf. Lev. 26:30 and see Lev. 19:4; 26:1. Prohibition against sexual relations with one's neighbor's wife, 18:6, cf. Lev. 18:20; 20:10. Against lending at interest and taking increase, 18:8, 13, 17; cf. Lev. 25:36-37. Against oppression and robbery, 18:7, cf. Lev. 19:13. Note also "walks in my statutes" (הֵלֵךְ בְּחֻקָּי), 18:9, 17; cf. Lev. 18:3; 20:23; 26:3; "his blood shall be on himself" (דָּמִיו בּוֹ), 18:13, cf. Lev. 20:9, 11. See G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel* (1952), pp. 144-48 for a study of literary relations.

<sup>24</sup> See discussion by W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel, Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament*, XIII (1958), pp. 396 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Compare especially Ps. 15:5 with Ezek. 18:8.

at the time of menstruation (Ezek. 18:6) is H and P (Lev. 15:19-30; 18:19; 20:18; 22:12). "Increase" (תרבית, Ezek. 18:8, 13, 17) occurs in H (Lev. 25:36), and otherwise only in Prov. 28:8, also in association with interest (נשך).

The casuistic, legalistic form of Ezek. 14:12-23 is particularly reminiscent of the Holiness Code (see especially Lev. chap. 26).<sup>26</sup> If the Lord sends against a city famine, wild beasts, sword, or pestilence, if there were in it three paragons of virtue, Noah, Daniel, and Job, they would by their righteousness save but themselves; neither their sons nor their daughters would be delivered. Lest there be no doubt, this is carefully spelled out for each of the four acts of judgment. As a man is neither credited with past goodness nor condemned for past wickedness, or as he receives neither merit from a good father nor demerit from a wicked father, so the wicked land under the Lord's judgment receives no merit from the presence of these three men of virtue. Their virtue does not even provide merit for their children. If the Lord would treat any land this way, how much more so would he similarly treat Jerusalem. Of course the three good men also do not participate in the guilt of their community.<sup>27</sup> The three are selected as examples of blamelessness and righteousness, not because they are non-Hebrews.<sup>28</sup> If there is an additional reason other than their reputation for virtue, for their selection, it may be because they were living outside of Jerusalem, and the principle is first applied to any land and then to Jerusalem (vv. 12, 21). The writer has tried to show that the attempts to link this Daniel with the Danel of Ugaritic legend are unnecessary, and that the passage may come from the time when

<sup>26</sup> For literary parallels with H, see H. G. May, *IB*, VI, p. 134. The parallelism between Ezek. 14:12-23 and Lev. 26 in literary form and much of the content is striking; compare Lev. 26:21-22 and Ezek. 14:15; Lev. 26:25 and Ezek. 14:17; Lev. 26:18-19, 26 and Ezek. 14:12.

<sup>27</sup> Those who escape (פלט) and lead out sons and daughters (14:22) are, somewhat inconsistently, the wicked. Compare 12:16 and 6:8-10. Although the righteous may by his righteousness save but himself, the Lord will let a few escape who will acknowledge their abominations that they and the earlier exiles may know that Yahweh is God and not without reason has brought judgment.

<sup>28</sup> Noah is perhaps to be associated in some way with the theophorous element *Nāḥ* in Old Babylonian texts, and the Noah of the flood stories may plausibly be traced back to this early period and to the time of the Mari texts. But by the time of Ezekiel and his redactor Noah was well established as a patriarch in the ancestry of Abraham, and the non-Israelite character of the figures in Ezekiel would not have been a stress of the author. For a contrary opinion, see M. Noth, "Noah, Daniel, und Hiob in Ezechiel XIV," *VT*, I (1951), 251 ff. For the Mesopotamian data see *idem* and J. Lewy, "*Nāḥ* et *Ruṣpan*," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussand*, I (1939), pp. 273 ff.

there were developing the legends of Daniel which were to be found later in our Book of Daniel.<sup>29</sup> True, Ezekiel would probably not have referred to a younger contemporary thus, but Daniel may not have been a younger contemporary of the author. The legends of Daniel as a man of wisdom<sup>30</sup> and a paragon of virtue,<sup>31</sup> carried into exile in the reign of Jehoiakim, could have already begun their development; if the author of Ezek. chap. 14 is the later "Editor," they could be a century old.

In Jer. 31:29-30, in contrast with Ezek. 18:2-4, the denial of the validity of the proverb that the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge is set in an immediate eschatological context. "In those days" the proverb will no longer be said (Jer. 31:29). The eschatological context is emphasized by the words "Behold, days are coming" (vv. 27, 31) and by the allusion to the new covenant to be made "after those days" (v. 33).<sup>32</sup> This is in sharp contrast with the legalistic contemporaneity of Ezek. chap. 18, which, in itself, is no more truly eschatological than a legalistic section of the Holiness Code, and this non-eschatological format is also evident in Ezek. 33:1-20. The more obvious eschatological context of the Jeremiah passage is seen by a comparison with Jer. 32:18-19 where the same writer, in a context of reference to the creation, the Exodus, the entrance to Canaan, and to Jeremiah's time, addresses the Lord as the one who "requites the guilt of fathers to their children after them . . . whose eyes are open to all the ways of men, rewarding every man according to his ways and according to the fruit of his doings."<sup>33</sup> For the past and

<sup>29</sup> See H. G. May, *IB*, VI, p. 137; contrast W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel, Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament*, XIII (1958), pp. 321-22, and the literature cited there.

<sup>30</sup> Ezek. 28:3a, a parenthetic (prose?) reference to Daniel, and a possible expansion of Ezekiel's poem, and certainly at least much more fitting as an allusion to the wise knower of secrets of the Nebuchadnezzar-Daniel legends (Dan. 1:17, 20; 2:21-23, etc.) than to the Ugaritic figure. See H. G. May, "The King in the Garden of Eden — A Study of Ezek. 28:12-19," in the volume for J. Muilenburg, (1961), in press.

<sup>31</sup> Compare how Daniel refused the king's food to avoid defilement (1:8), refused to cease his daily prayers on threat of death (6:10), and is described as blameless (יָזֵיב) before God (6:23) and faithful (מֵהִימָן) with no error or fault (6:5). The Ugaritic text description of Danel in 2 Aqhat V:7, 8 (*ydn dn almnt ylt pt ylm*, "He judges the case of the widow; he settles the judgment of the fatherless") and the general description of him is insufficient justification for identification with the Daniel of the Ezekiel passages, as also is the omission of *yodh* in the name in Ezek. 14:14, 20; 28:3, for which there is contrary ms. evidence.

<sup>32</sup> See H. G. May, "The Biographer of Jeremiah," *JBL*, LXI (1942), pp. 146 ff.

<sup>33</sup> "Whose eyes are open" (אֲשֶׁר עֵינָיו פָּקֻחוֹת) in Jer. 32:19 has a close analogy in Job 14:3: "thou dost open thine eyes" (פָּקַח עֵינֶיךָ) upon man and "bring him into judgment." Compare Zech. 12:4, in a judgment scene: "I will open my eyes" (אֲפָקֵחַ)

present, the orthodox view is accepted. For the past the same author could interpret the disaster of 597 as a punishment for what Manasseh had done in Jerusalem (Jer. 15:4; compare also Jer. 16:10-13).

Jer. 31:29-30 cannot be separated from its context. It is true that it is strange in Jeremiah's mouth, but understood in its eschatological connotations is quite consonant with both the immediate context and the wider context of Jeremiah's "biographer."<sup>34</sup> The motivation for the origin of the doctrine, namely, that it is in part an attempt to explain the relationships and responsibilities of the later generation of the Exile to the sinful pre-Exilic generation, makes its presence here compatible with its context, and there is no inconsistency between it and v. 34.<sup>35</sup> Israel with a new heart will not be responsible for the sins of the past (v. 33). Of course in reality the days that are coming (v. 31) and "those days" are the author's days, represented as predicted by Jeremiah.<sup>36</sup>

How much in disagreement Jeremiah himself would have been with this doctrine of retribution, especially in its legalistic formulation in Ezek. 14:12-23, is evident from a comparison with Jer. 5:1-8. Jeremiah is exhorted to find, if he can, in the city of Jerusalem (Ezek. 14:21 seems almost a deliberate contrast) a single man who does justice and seeks faithfulness that the Lord might forgive the city. If one such man could be found, the city would be spared. This reflects a non-legalistic attitude toward retribution, quite distinct from that in the Ezekiel passages, and more in accord with Gen. 18:23-33, where there is entertained the possibility of saving the city of Sodom if but

אם עני, i. e., in bringing disaster on Judah's enemies. Compare Dan. 9:18. Likewise only in the late passages does the statement occur that the Lord judges each "according to the fruit of his doings." See Isa. 3:10, 11, which stands apart from the context and recalls the language of post-Exilic psalms such as Ps. 1 (R. B. Y. Scott, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1-39, IB, V* [1956], p. 190), Mic. 7:13, in a generally recognized late oracle; Jer. 17:10, where "according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings" again appears (cf. 32:19), from the later writer in Jeremiah, in the context of a psalm comparable to Ps. 1 and a "wisdom" composition (Jer. 17:5-8, 11).

<sup>34</sup> See H. G. May, *JBL*, LXI, p. 146; "Jeremiah's Biographer," *JBR*, X (1942), pp. 199-200.

<sup>35</sup> Compare W. Rudolph, *Jeremia, Handbuch zum Alten Testament* (1947), p. 169, who believes with reference to vv. 23-30 that "Hier kommen einige unechte Abschnitte." "O holy hill" (הר קדש) in v. 23 is strange to Jeremiah (see Isa. 11:9), but not to the later writer in Jeremiah (compare מעון קדש, Jer. 25:30). J. Morgenstern, *HUCA*, VIII-IX, pp. 2 ff. thinks Jer. 31:29, 30 may be an editorial gloss, for he cannot find in the rest of Jeremiah other expressions of the same principle.

<sup>36</sup> The prose passage, vv. 23-34, is an eschatologically centered literary unity; note the expressions "Once more" (v. 23), "Behold, days are coming" (vv. 27, 31), "In those days" (v. 29), "After those days" (v. 33).

ten righteous men could be found in it. This was in answer to Abraham's query: "Wilt thou indeed destroy the righteous along with the wicked?," for it also involves not merely justice for the righteous but what Professor Emeritus Morgenstern has called "vicarious salvation."<sup>37</sup> The Lord was willing to "spare the whole place for their sake," for the sake of (בעבור) the righteous few. Likewise, in contrast with 31:29-30, Jeremiah does expect the sins of fathers to be visited on their sons; in 13:14 the Lord says, "I will dash them one against another, fathers and sons together" (see also 16:1-4 and especially 11:22-23). In the spirit of the imprecatory psalms he prays that the Lord will destroy the sons of those who plotted against his life, make their wives childless and widowed, and slay their youths by the sword (18:21). In 14:16 the judgment is on "them, their wives, their sons, and their daughters."

The non-eschatological parallel to the "legislation" in Ezek. chap. 18 is to be found in Deut. 24:16, where the principle is applied to capital punishment; fathers are not to be put to death for the sins of their children, nor children for the sins of their fathers, but each is to be put to death for his own sin. Here the judgment is that for the court to apply, not as in Ezekiel a principle of divine judgment involving premature death. The legislation is an intrusion in the context. The preceding verses (14-16) deal with justice for the poor and needy, whether native born or sojourner, and the following verse (17) exhorts not to prevent the justice due to the sojourner, the fatherless, or widow, for Israel was a slave in Egypt. By contrast, v. 16 deals with a principle of judgment in capital cases. While the context is in good apodictic legal style ("Thou shalt not," vv. 14, 17, 19, etc.), in the second person, v. 16 is a third person statement of legalistic principle. No question of capital punishment is involved in the context. V. 16 is also in contradiction to normal Deuteronomistic principles; Deut. 5:9 affirms that God visits the sins of fathers on their sons to the third and fourth generation, and the Deuteronomist ascribed the Exile to the sins of Manasseh and for the evil which the Israelites had done since they left Egypt (II Kings 21:10-16; 24:3, 4). The principle of Deut. 24:16 is inconsonant with I Kings 11:12, where, for David's sake, punishment for Solomon's abominable practices is postponed to the days of Solomon's son.<sup>38</sup> The earlier Deuteronomist was very conscious of the principle of corporate responsibility. This is shown in the laws which have to do with purging evil from the community

<sup>37</sup> J. Morgenstern, *HUCA*, II, p. 22.

<sup>38</sup> Compare also II Kings 20:16-19.



by having the witness and the entire community stone the convicted idolater (Deut. 17:1-7), or by killing the man who had not obeyed the priest or the judge (17:12), or by handing over the murderer to the avenger of blood to "purge the guilt of innocent blood from Israel, so that it may be well with you" (19:13; see also 21:18-21).<sup>39</sup> It was the later Deuteronomist, responsible for the insertion of Deut. 24:16, who gave the legislation an historical precedent, the sort of thing the P source often does,<sup>40</sup> by adding the notation in II Kings 14:6 that Amaziah did not kill the children of the servants who slew his father, because of the legislation in the book of the law of Moses, quoting from Deut. 24:16. The later Deuteronomist felt the need of giving such historical precedent. The fact that he quotes Deut. 24:16 is no evidence that Amaziah himself was acquainted with the Law, but only that the writer knew it.<sup>41</sup>

In Ezekiel chap. 18 and 33:1-20 the appeal is to the justice rather than the mercy of God; he judges each strictly in accord with his ways, remembering neither past goodness nor wickedness (18:29; 33:20). Not remembering the evil a man has done is not an act of grace, but a principle of measured justice, for God also remembers not the good that a man has done when he turns wicked. This is the *law* for divine judgment. God's purpose in establishing this as the principle of his action as Judge is to cause the wicked man to turn from his wickedness, for the Lord takes no pleasure in the death of anyone (18:30-32). In such a context it is difficult to imagine the repentant sinner praying to a God of mercy and grace that he be forgiven; his prayer would rather be an affirmation of his repentance, for he knows that he is forgiven if he repents. Also, the emotion to which appeal is made seems to be fear of the Lord rather than love of him (18:14). It is less God the Father who says "All souls are mine" (18:4) than God the Judge who by virtue of his being God can pass judgment on men as individuals. This can be put in perspective by comparing it with Ps. 25, with its plea to the God of mercy and steadfast love who is asked not merely not to remember the sins of the psalmist's youth but to deal according to his steadfast love and for his goodness sake (vv. 6, 7). God here reacts not as a judge in accord with predetermined court procedure, but as one who has been beseeched by a repentant devotee and

<sup>39</sup> See the discussion by M. Noth, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (1951), pp. 28 ff. Exorcism of guilt from the community, as in the scapegoat rites, involves an ideology in contrast with that in the doctrine of individual responsibility under discussion; see C. Lattey, "Vicarious Solidarity," *VT*, I (1957), p. 272.

<sup>40</sup> Gen. 2:2-3; Exod. 12:1-20; 16:23-30; Num. 15:32-36, etc.

<sup>41</sup> J. Montgomery, *Kings*, ICC, p. 439; contrast G. E. Wright, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, IB, II (1953), pp. 476-7.

who, for his name's sake (v. 11), will pardon the guilt which the sinner feels is so great that he does not really deserve to be forgiven. This is the God who understands the lonely and the afflicted (v. 16), and the humble petitioner prays that he may be taught by the Lord. Or compare the spirit of Ps. 38, where the sinner makes his plea not as one demanding his rights, but as one overwhelmed with guilt (vv. 3-4); unlike the repentant wicked man in Ezek. 18, he knows he is still guilty and stands in need of the grace of God. In Ps. 103 the psalmist asserts, "He does not deal with us according to our sins or requite us according to our iniquities" (v. 10); Ezek. chap. 18 presumes that he does.<sup>42</sup> The psalmist believes that as a father pities his children, so the Lord pities those who fear him and that God's righteousness is "to the sons of sons" (vv. 13-17).

Ezek. chap. 20 at first glance is seemingly inconsonant with this interpretation of the doctrine of retribution in the Ezekiel passages, for in v. 44 we read: "And you shall know that I am the Lord when I deal with you for my name's sake, not in accord with your evil ways or according to your corrupt doings, O house of Israel." The author is the same. A careful reading of the context discloses that this really means that God will not judge the house of Israel according to its *past* sins and wickedness, for the reference is to the New Israel with a new spirit whose offerings will be acceptable on his holy mountain,<sup>43</sup> and whose past sins will not be held against it. The Lord declares that he withheld the full deserved punishment against the fathers in the land of Egypt and in the wilderness for his name's sake, i. e., that his name should not be profaned among the nations (vv. 4-27). Now Israel is in Exile, and the Lord will enter into judgment with them, and will purge Israel of the rebels and transgressors who shall not enter the land (vv. 33-39). However, returned to its land, the *purged* house of Israel will loathe itself for the evils that it has committed, i. e., be repentant. The differences between this chapter and Ezek. chap. 18 can be explained by the fact that here the author is concerned more exclusively with Israel as a nation, its past and future, and that his concern is therefore eschatological. The passages in Ezekiel we have been considering earlier have had to do with individual retribution; here the author's concern is the restoration of the nation. In dealing with the restoration of the nation in Ezek. chap. 36, it is affirmed that the Lord dealt with Israel in accord with its deeds and conduct in dispersing Israel among the nations (v. 19). Now, out of concern for his holy name, that it not be profaned among the nations, not for

<sup>42</sup> Compare Ps. 40:11, 12 (Heb. 12, 13).

<sup>43</sup> V. 40, קדשי, see Jer. 31:23 and note 35 above.

Israel's sake, Israel will be returned, will be cleansed from all uncleanness and given a new heart and a new spirit, and loathing itself for all its iniquities, will prosper in its land (vv. 22-32). Any differentiation in ideology between this and Ezek. chap. 18 that might be found can be explained by the fact that here also the author is concerned with Israel's retribution and restoration, not with individual retribution. There are not here, however, essentially different theological viewpoints.

The same cannot be said when we compare the position of the author in Ezekiel and that of Second Isaiah. The doctrine of "for his name's sake" in Second Isaiah is associated with the restoration of unrepentant Israel (e. g., Isa. 48:9-11; cf. 42:18-20; 43:22-28; 48:1, 8), where we have more clearly a doctrine of grace.<sup>44</sup> In stronger contrast is the ideology of the Servant Songs; the suffering of a righteous one, whether the nation or an individual, atones for the sins of the gentiles (or of Israel, or of both Israel and the nations), even though they know it not (53:4, 6). The righteous Servant died (53:8, 9; contrast the statement in Ezek. 18 where the righteous live), although of course he eventually triumphed. In Ezek. chap. 18 or 14:12-23 a man is declared righteous only by his own virtue, for righteousness cannot be imputed from the righteous to the wicked; quite in contrast is the position here, for the righteous one makes many to be accounted righteous (יצדיק צדיק, 53:11). In the Ezekiel passages each must bear his own iniquities, "the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon himself, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon himself" (18:20), but the Servant bears the iniquities of the wicked (53:11, 12; cf. vv. 5, 6).<sup>45</sup> The denial of possible imputation of merit in the Ezekiel passages is also in contrast with the concept of forgiveness for the sake of the patriarchs or because of the promises given to the patriarchs,<sup>46</sup> or the representation of the Lord withholding judgment for the sake of David.<sup>47</sup>

The further ramifications of our subject are many, and cannot be

<sup>44</sup> Compare Ps. 106:7-8, 40-45.

<sup>45</sup> It has been maintained that in Ezek. 4:4-6 the prophet bears figuratively, or makes amends for, the iniquity of the house of Israel and the house of Judah. The phraseology does suggest something of this (תשא את עונם and שמת את עון בית ישראל עליו) in v. 4; compare חטא נשא and עונתם הוא יסבל; דפניע בו את עון כלנו in Isa. 53:6, 11, 12), although in the dramatic action oracle the prophet more personifies than makes amends for Israel and Judah. See L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* (1957), pp. 174-5.

<sup>46</sup> Deut. 9:5, 27-29; II Kings 13:23; compare Gen. 12:13; 16; 26:24; contrast Jer. 15:1. See J. Morgenstern, *HUCA*, II, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>47</sup> See I Kings 11:12, 32, 34, where for the sake of David judgment is postponed until after the death of Solomon.

treated here. The parallel between Ezek. 33:1-6 (cf. also 3:16-21) and Hab. 2:1-5 deserves detailed examination. The picture of the prophet as a watchman recalls the Ezekiel passages, but more especially Hab. 2:4 with its dictum that he whose soul (cf. Ezek. 18:4) is not upright shall fail (?), but the righteous shall live by his faith (וצדיק באמונתו יחיה) is strangely reminiscent of the doctrine of retribution in Ezek. chaps. 18 and 33. There are also curious parallels between Hab. 2 and Second Isaiah.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Compare vv. 15, 16 with Isa. 51:17-33 (see also Jer. 25:15 ff.) and v. 18 with Isa. 40:18-20 (see also Jer. 10:1-5) and note the universalistic note in v. 14.

## THE NAME OF THE GOD OF MOSES

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THIS question has lastly been dealt with in Professor D. N. Freedman's article in *JBL* LXXIX (1960) pp. 151 ff.

Freedman accepts Albright's explanation of the divine name *yhw*h (see below) and wants to strengthen this hypothesis by finding old formulae, giving the "name" of God in short sentences as e. g., *yhw*h *qanna'* Exod. 34:14, where the supposed Hif. *yahwæ* still has the value of a predicate "the Zealous One Creates"; "as both the first and common elements in the series *yahweh* was the logical and inevitable abbreviation, and thus emerged as the 'name' of God" (*op. cit.*, p. 152).

As I am not able to accept Albright's explanation, I want to advance by another road. First I want to try and demonstrate that the common exegesis of Exod. 3:13-15, upon which the supposition that Moses was the "inventor" of the Tetragrammaton is usually based, is not valid.

It is generally recognized that in 6:2-3 P states that the name Yahweh was not known till it was revealed to Moses, and that to the patriarchs God had appeared as El Shaddai. It is also quite evident that this is an unhistorical theological theory of P's, contradicted by what the sources show us about the use of the Tetragrammaton in old Israel. The earliest Israelite historian J uses the name Yahweh in the patriarchal stories without any reservation, and in his opinion it was known already by the third generation of mankind; at the time of Enosh, the son of Seth, "(men) — or as the Vulgate says: he — began to call upon the name of Yahweh" Gen. 4:26. Behind this statement of J's lies an earlier tradition: no doubt the patriarch Enosh = "Man" originally indicated the first living man. According to the tradition, from which the one taken up by J emanated, the first man already started the Yahweh cult, and this presupposes that the name of the god, whom he served, had been revealed to him in some way or other.

Transposed into modern scientific terms this means that in J's opinion the pre-Mosaic "Israelites," i. e., the tribes that — under the leadership of Moses — became the people of Israel, already knew and worshiped a — or the — god Yahweh.

Is this opinion of J and of the tradition behind him correct or not?



The generally adopted opinion of the exegetes, also taken for granted by Professor Freedman, is that "Exod. 3:13-15 (usually regarded as E) supports this view with an account of the revelation of the name of God, which had not previously been known" (Freedman's wording). I cannot share this *opinio communis* about Exod. 3:13-15. I think it is a misinterpretation of the text.

Let me first say a few words about the usual ascription of those verses to E, even if this question is of minor importance to our theme. As I no longer believe in the theory of a coherent literary "source" E, I neither see any cogent or convincing reasons for a source analysis of the pericope Exod. 3-4. In all essentials it belongs to J, containing, however, secondary elements, whether later and more glossatory additions to J or secondary layers in the tradition, already booked by J. Such traditio-historically secondary elements *may* partly have been added by J himself, expressing his understanding of or theological reflections on transmitted matter.

As for the interpretation of the verses Exod. 3:13-15, we only have to visualize in our imagination the scene, which Moses here expects to encounter, when facing his compatriots with his message, a scene which the story-teller wants even his listeners to see with the eyes of their minds. After an absence of several years the fugitive Moses returns, comes to his compatriots, first of all [of course] to their leaders, the chieftains and elders of the clan (3:16) and says: A god — or the God — has sent me to you to lead you out of Egypt, the house of bondage. Moses quite naturally foresees that they will not believe him with these words only. In some way or other he has to legitimize himself and his alleged mandator. In all likelihood their first natural response would be of the same nature as Pharaoh's answer in 5:2: Which god? We do not know this god! Then Moses may have answered: It was the god of our (your) fathers, cf. 3:6, 13, 15, 16. Again the elders would ask: The god of our fathers, you say! But do you not know his name? Otherwise, how can we believe that it is He who has spoken to you and sent you? There are hundreds of gods, and among them there are also such as might be credited with the intention of deceiving you. Or you may have heard the voice or seen the vision of your own heart.

Against these objections Moses could only legitimize himself by telling them *the name* of the god of their fathers, his real cult name, not only some everyday epithet. We must not forget that with the polytheistic background and environments of the old Israelite traditions and life, to *know* a particular god, first of all, means to know his name. If you do not know the name of a god, how can you "call upon

him?" By only crying "Oh God," how can you be sure that the right god hears and answers? To "call upon (a) god" simply means to worship that god and vice versa. That is the reason why a psalm, especially a psalm of lamentation and prayer, regularly begins with the invocation "Oh Yahweh!" Cf. also the scenery in Ps. 24: only the express mentioning of Yahweh's full cult name opens the temple gates to the procession of worshipers. Against this background must be seen the fact that the common epiphany formula, used in the whole of the Ancient East, was the "I am . . ." formula. "I am Ishtar of Arbela," "I am the god Nabû," etc. and likewise in Israel "I am Yahweh."<sup>1</sup>

Now, exactly in the same situation as the elders of Israel are imagined to have been vis-à-vis Moses, is Moses himself vis-à-vis the numen that speaks to him in Exod. 3. As he "turns aside to see the great sight, why the bush is not burnt," he hears the voice of the numen (*ha'elohim*, v. 6), and at once understands that he is confronted with a god. Of course the story-teller knows that the god is Yahweh, but how should Moses know it? There are many gods and lords, as St. Paul says. Therefore it is necessary that the god should introduce himself, and he does so by means of the traditional formula "I am the god of thy father."

Albrecht Alt has tried to prove that this expression is to be understood in the same sense as the Hellenistic *θεὸς πατρῶος* "the (special) god of N. N."<sup>2</sup> The present author must confess that he has not been convinced by the arguments of Alt; the sources from which he draws the latter are so much later than the old Israelitic — let alone the patriarchal — age, that they can scarcely be relevant to the meaning of the biblical expression. Moreover, if Alt were right, then the original expression would not be "the god of the fathers," but e. g., "the god of Abraham," "the god of Jacob," etc., and this consequence is also drawn by Alt; he looks upon the expression "the god of the fathers" as a generalization of the former expression.

However, vv. 13 and 15 show that "the god of thy father" in v. 6 is not to be taken individually: the god that thy individual father has worshiped; the singular "thy father" is here to be taken in the collective sense: the god whom thy fathers have worshiped. And again in v. 18 this expression is explicitly explained as "the god of the

<sup>1</sup> See H. Gressmann in *ZATW* 34, 1914, pp. 286 f.; L. Köhler in *ThR* N.F. 1, 1929, p. 179; W. Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," *Geschichte u. A.T.* [*ZMTh* 16 = *Alt-Festschrift*] (Tübingen, 1953), pp. 179 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. Alt, *Der Gott der Väter* [*BWANT* II I.12], (Stuttgart, 1929), = *Kleine Schriften* I (München, 1953), pp. 1 ff.

Hebrews." If so, then it is quite evident that at least in *this* tale the words "the god of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" vv. 6, 15, 16; 4:5 are secondary, — which does not necessarily mean: literally secondary "glosses," but traditio-historically secondary.

Well, the numen of the burning bush has so far introduced himself as the god of the fathers of Moses, the god of the Hebrews. Among the thousands of gods — *bēnê 'elohim* — in heaven and on earth there may also be such malicious demoniac beings, as have their delight in deceiving man. How can Moses know that it really is the god of his fathers speaking? Here it is important that the numen concerned can tell his name. It is just as necessary for Moses in his situation as later on it will be for the elders to know the real name of the god speaking to him. A satisfactory answer to his question in v. 15 is just as important to Moses himself as to the elders.

Now the listeners might expect the usual formula to follow: I am Yahweh. Instead of this we hear the words in v. 14: *'əhyæ 'ăšær 'əhyæ*. "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel: *'əhyæ* hath sent me unto you." Instead of the name we get an explanation of the name. How do we explain that?

Here we have to abandon some modern theories. As is well known, many modern historians have interpreted the sources so as to mean that Moses adopted the name and the cult of Yahweh from the Qenites and thus introduced a new god to the Israelites. Others have left the role of being the original worshipers of Yahweh to the Midianites. Both parties have pointed to the fact that the priestly family, into which according to the legend Moses was taken up, is sometimes called Qenites, at other times Midianites. In both cases the conclusion is wrong.

It is certainly a fact that both Qenites and Midianites were worshipers of Yahweh. As for the Qenites we have the early testimony in Gen. 4:15, as was already seen by Stade:<sup>3</sup> the mark put by Yahweh on the eponymous ancestor of the tribe was one that marked him out as standing under the special protection of Yahweh, and the actual kernel of this aetiological legend is that every member of the clan wore such a mark. Further we have the Qenite Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, Judg. 4:11. In other legends this role is given to the Midianite Jethro, Exod. 3:11; 4:18, etc., and in the legend in Exod. 18 we are explicitly told that this Jethro instructed Moses in the ordinances and laws of Yahweh.

However, it is illegitimate to conclude from this that in pre-Mosaic

<sup>3</sup> B. Stade, "Das Kainszeichen," *ZATW* 14, 1894, pp. 250 ff.

times the Qenites and/or the Midianites were the only worshippers of Yahweh. At least just as legitimate is the conclusion that *the name of Yahweh was known to all North-Sinaitic tribes*, and that they all took part in his annual feast. Moses himself asks permission of Pharaoh to let the Israelites take part in it, as they have done for ages — in the feast of the god of the Hebrews, Exod. 6:1-3. If the Azriyau of Jaudi, mentioned in the annals of Tiglatpilezer, was a North-Syrian prince, as the context seems to indicate, his name is another testimony of a tribe, immigrated from the South, "originally" worshipping Yahweh.

Quadesh-Sinai — situated as it was at the crossing of the West-East and the North-South routes — and its god must have had a position among the Sinaitic tribes similar to that of Mecca and Allah in the ages before Mohammed. In that case there must also have been general peace among the tribes — a *treuga Dei* — at the time of the annual feast; if not, it would have been impossible to take part in it. Here we have another negative testimony. In Exod. 17:16 a line is quoted from an old stanza, or a proverb circulating among the tribes: "Hand on the banner of Yahweh! Yahweh hath war with Amalek from generation to generation." Amalek is known as an ill-reputed robber tribe, with whom old Israel lived in a permanent state of feud. The quoted proverb proves that between Yahweh and Amalek there was no peace. Even Yahweh had a permanent feud with Amalek. This tribe was excluded from the *treuga Dei* among the other tribes. That is all that is told about Amalek. In all probability Amalek was a newcomer in the region of the Northern Sinai peninsula, an intruder, whose way of life put them at enmity with all the other "indigenous" tribes. In all probability the newcomer was a representative of the real camel-breeding bedouins, and that was a new way of life which inevitably must bring them into opposition to the older sheep- and goat-breeding seminomads of the region. As Amalek was the only tribe of the region, having no part in the *treuga Dei* and so in the cult of the other tribes, all the latter would be of old participants in the feast and cult of Yahweh.

And now we return to Exod. 3. If the above conclusions are correct, the *name* of Yahweh by itself would not suffice for the legitimization either of the speaking numen, or of Moses before the elders of his people. The mere name of the god of the Hebrews could be expected to be known by many others than the alleged messenger of the god.

Now, in the opinion of the ancient Israelites names were symbolic, as the numerous anecdotal etymologies of names in O.T. will demonstrate. Symbolic not only with regard to their actual and literal

signification, but also with regard to all the symbolic meanings that might be found in them. A name may have a deeper meaning than the one discernible at first glance and recognizable by everybody. To find the deeper, hidden meaning of the names of the gods was one of the tasks of the "theologians" of those days. A man who knows the "real" deeper meaning of the name of a god, really "knows the god" in question. The old Israelites hardly knew what the name of Yahweh really meant in the scientific, etymological sense of the word. What mattered was the *meaning* that the inspired and "wise" knower of God could *find* in it. To Deutero-Isaiah Yahweh is *Hu'* (הו') (see below), the only really acting God in creation and in history. In the same way, the religious philosopher, speaking to his compatriots — and to us — in the old tale in Exod. 3, tells us, what is the deeper meaning found by himself and the circle he represents, in the name of the god of the fathers.

What Exod. 3:16 tells us is that this deeper meaning of the name was revealed to Moses by God himself. Moses at once understands that the mysterious words refer to the name of Yahweh, and also that the god who speaks to him from the burning bush and can reveal the hidden meaning of the Name, must certainly be Yahweh himself, and such a revelation is sufficient proof that Yahweh has sent him. When the elders of the people hear that he knows even the mysterious meaning of the name, then they must believe that he is telling the truth.

*In J's opinion it was not the name of Yahweh, which was revealed to Moses here — that was known already by Enosh centuries before — but the deeper meaning, which according to Yahwistic tradition and the theology of the "school" of J, was hidden in the name.*

So Exod. 3 does not support the theory that the name of Yahweh was not known to the Israelites before Moses, quite the contrary: the tale tells us that Moses was sent by the god of the fathers, of himself and of his people, and that they certainly knew his name of old. The latter was no part of the new revelation and of the Covenant. The preamble of the Decalogue is of course no proof of the opposite opinion; this introductory epiphany formula connects the Decalogues with the promulgation of the will of Yahweh at the cultic feast of epiphany and renovation of the Covenant, the New Year's festival of Israel in Canaan.<sup>4</sup>

There is no reason to doubt that the opinion of J is correct, when he looks upon Yahweh as the well-known god of the fathers of the Mosaic generation. The name of Yahweh takes us back to the most

<sup>4</sup> See the author's *Le Dècalogue*, (Paris, 1927), pp. 114 ff.



important cult places of the Sinaitic tribes in pre-Mosaic times, the holy places at Qadesh (and Sinai). By the way, I take for granted that the Reed Lake, *yam suf*, is not the Red Sea, but Birket et-timsāh,<sup>5</sup> and Mount Sinai is not Djebel Serbal nor any other mountain in the South of the Peninsula, but to be found near Qadesh.<sup>6</sup>

Of course J's explanation of the name is no exact etymological explanation: it is popular etymology, *eine Volksetymologie*. In this case, however, no low popular etymology, but a "learned" theological one, bearing witness to profound religious and theological thinking. In the divine name J and his "school" have found the essential feature of Yahweh's nature expressed. He is the god who "is," *hāyā*, in the fullest meaning of the word; in the word 'əhyā "I am" he has expressed what he really and first of all is.

Vriezen is quite right in his opinion<sup>7</sup> that in the "paronomastic relative clause" 'əhyā 'āšər 'əhyā followed by the 'əhyā as the *name* of the God — "thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel: 'əhyā hath sent me unto you" — the stress is not on the "I" but on the verb *hāyā*. But this "being" is not the abstract Greek *ēvai*, the mere existence *per se*. To the Hebrew "to be" does not just mean to exist — as all other beings and things do as well, — but to be active, to express oneself in active being,<sup>8</sup> "The God who acts." "I am what in creative activity I always and everywhere turn out to be," or "I am (the God) that really acts" — in this way we might paraphrase the meaning which J has found in the divine name.<sup>9</sup> — What meaning Moses may have found in it — if he has reflected on it at all — no one can tell: we cannot reach behind J and perhaps the theological "school" in Jerusalem, which he may represent.

Now it is interesting to see, that Deutero-Isaiah has also found in

<sup>5</sup> See S. Mowinckel, "Sivsjöen = Birket-et-timsāh," [Dansk] *Teologisk Tidsskrift* III, 9, 1918, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See S. Mowinckel, "Kadesj, Sinai og Jahve," *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* Vol. 9, 1942/3, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Th. C. Vriezen, "'Ehje 'āšər 'ehje," *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet z. 80. Geburtstag*, (Tübingen, 1950), pp. 498 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See C. M. Ratschow, *Werden und Wirken. Eine Untersuchung des Wortes hajah als Beitrag zur Wirklichkeitserfassung des Alten Testaments*, BZATW 70, (Berlin, 1941). Cf. Th. Boman, *Das Hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem Griechischen*, (Göttingen, 1952), pp. 34 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Insofar Vriezen is right when saying "Das Sein Gottes ist das Wirklich-sein, das aktuelle Sein, das Da-sein" (*op. cit.*, p. 508). However, when he identifies this "actuality" with "existentiality" ("seine Existentialität") and sees in the words "die Zusicherung Gottes, dass er immer gegenwärtig ist," it seems to me that he has scarcely caught the full contents of the Hebrew "to be." The activity, always and everywhere, is the main thing.

the divine name a meaning very similar to that of J. In the theology of Deutero-Isaiah the ultimate aim of Yahweh's acting in history and nature is expressed in the phrase "that ye may know and believe and understand that I am He," *ki 'ani hu'*, 43:10, cf. 41:4; 48:12. What that means is expressly explained: "I am the first, I am also the last" 48:12, cf. 41:4, the only really active and creative God both in nature and in human history. It can scarcely be denied that *hu'* is here very close to a sort of divine "name." "He" is the only real one, with whom Israel has to do. It is saying too little, when Buhl comments: "in this context the phrase gets the meaning: 'I am unchangeably the same.'" See also Ps. 102:28: *w'ěattā hu'* "thou art He."

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Now I am convinced that Deutero-Isaiah has "accidentally" come very near to the original etymological meaning of the divine name in old Israel — "Yahweh" as we preliminarily pronounce it. With this we have touched on the question: what is the *original form and meaning* of this name?

First I must confess that I find Professor Albright's explanation of the Tetragrammaton as a Hifil impf. 3rd masc. sg. of the vb. *hāyā* < *hāway*, accepted by many scholars, very improbable. The idea "He who causes to be, who brings into existence," seems to me much too philosophical and abstract in relation to the religious interests of the "primitive" pre-Mosaic age. Maybe it is not unimportant to note that designations like "Creator," "Heaven," "Providence" and the like have been popular especially in "rationalistic" periods, like the period of the "Aufklärung" in the theology of the 18th century. Albright's explanation presupposes a conception of the divinity either as Creator of the world, as producer of fertility. That the conception of the divinity among the seminomads should have had its main interest in the idea of world creation seems to me very improbable. And if the idea of bringing fertility and the like into existence should have been the central idea, one must ask what sort of fertility the poor oases of the Sinai peninsula were supposed to bring forth. The opinion of Albright can hardly be that Yahweh was originally looked upon only as the god of the fertility of the small body of seminomads.

Secondly: in the ancient Semitic nomenclature a name containing a verbal form, whether impf. or perf., would otherwise always be an abbreviated form of the name concerned; the full form contains also a subject of the verb. But then this subject is some designation of a god, and the name in question is no divine name, but the name of

a human person, and expresses the relationship of the god to the bearer of the name. As far as I know in the ancient Semitic world there is no divine name consisting of a verb only.

Thirdly: if the original form of the name was an impf. *yahwæh* (or the like, see below), how then shall we explain the form *yāhu*, so often attested both as the divine name, as in the Elephantine papyri (*yhw*), and as an element in compound theophoric personal names? If derived from a vb. *hāyā* < *hāwā* the original form would have been *yahway*, relatively early contracted into *yahwê(h)*, *yahwæ(h)*,<sup>10</sup> in accordance with the regular linguistic evolution of the verba tert. y. Now it is certain, however, that the older form of *yahwæ* is *yahwa*. This form is attested especially in New-Babylonian transcriptions of Jewish names from the 5th century B. C.<sup>11</sup>: Abi-yāma, Aḥi-yāma, Gadai-yāma, etc. That this -yāma represents the God of the Jews, cannot now be doubted, see the discussion by Eissfeldt.<sup>12</sup> It is not easy to see how an eventually original -æ (*ä*) could have become an -a, in strict contradiction to the regular *a(y) > æ(ä)*; it is scarcely sufficient with Eissfeldt to point to the non-differentiation of *ä* and *æ(ä)* in Babylonian punctuation (and Jewish-Babylonian pronunciation). The "Umlaut" *a > æ(ä)* is more easily explained as having taken place after the analogy of the normal ending of nomina III *h*, and perhaps also under the influence of the theological reflection on the meaning of the name to be found in Exod. 3:16.

If, therefore, *yahwa* must be considered an older form than *yahwæ*, the derivation from the vb. *hāyā* < *hāwā* is very improbable.

This leads us to the question: which is relatively the older form of the divine name in Israelitic religion?

As is well known, a form *Yahu* is epigraphically attested, especially in the Elephantine papyri, and theophoric personal names seem to indicate the same form.

In the above mentioned article in *ZATW* 46, Driver has championed the thesis that *yah* was the original form of the name. His article is a very valuable collection of evidences, with many good observations and conclusions with regard to details; in my opinion his main thesis, however, is neither convincing nor probable, and he

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Beer-Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* I (Sammlung Göschen) 1952, § 22, 4d.

<sup>11</sup> The cases known before 1927 are listed by G. R. Driver, "The original form of the name of 'Yahweh': evidence and conclusions," *ZATW* 46, 1928, pp. 7 ff. For further evidence see D. Eissfeldt, "Neue Zeugnisse für die Aussprache des Tetragramms als Yahwe," *ZATW* 53, 1935, pp. 59 ff., where even other traces of a form *yahwa(h)* are discussed, see p. 71.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

seems to me to make things more complicated than they really are. The form *yô-*, both written and spoken in later times as the first element of theophoric names, can only be explained as a contraction of *yā(h)u*. So the original form in such names was *yāhu-*, and in older times this form must have been meant by the writers, whether it was written plene *yhw* or defective *yh*, as sometimes found in ostraca, papyri, etc., see the evidences in Driver's article pp. 14 f. This *yh*- may also sometimes represent an orthographical variant to *yw*, pronounced *yô-* (later form, see below). The spelling *yhh*, twice found in the Elephantine papyri, is probably only irregular orthography or rather a misprint of the scribe's.

The initial *yāhu-* has later on been contracted into *yô-*, as demonstrated by the *yhw-* and *yw-* in such names as *Yahunatan* > *Jonatan*, *Yahuyada'* > *Yoyada*, etc. The latter was the normal pronunciation in later times, as can be seen from the masoretic punctuation (see below). In script, however, the archaic form *yhw-* was still used, as especially the Chronicler demonstrates. However, when the Masoretes found this *yhw-* in the texts and knew that everybody, themselves included, used to say *yô-*, they had no other course according to their principles of vocalization than to put a shewa under the *y*. Certainly no one ever said *Yehonatan*. What the Masoretes may have done among themselves or when reading the texts in the synagogue and at school, I do not know.

As final element of compound theophoric names the divine name both in O.T., papyri and ostraca appears as *-yhw* and *-yh*, — the former representing a *-yāhu*, the latter an abbreviated *-ya(h)*. The final form *-y'*, (with aleph) occasionally found in Aramaic papyri is evidently only an orthographic variant of *-yh* = *-yā*. The final *-yw* e. g., in the masoretic punctuation of the personal name *'aḥyo*, probably represents a spoken *-ya-u*, the intermediate state between the original *-yāhu* and the contracted *-yô*, otherwise only to be supposed in the initial use of the Tetragrammaton in compound names.

Both the initial forms *yāhu-* and *yô-* and the final forms *-yāhu* and *-ya* are supported by the Assyrian transcriptions *yaû-* and *ya-* (initial) and *-yāu*, *-yaû*, *-ya* (final) and by the Neo-Babylonian (5th cent. B. C.) transcriptions *yahû-*, *yāhu-*, *yâhû-* (initial).

As final element in compound names the form *-yahwa/æ* is nowhere attested, neither in the O.T. nor in ostraca and papyri. It is represented only by the final *-yama* in Neo-Babylonian transcriptions of Jewish personal names, see above.

In my opinion we must conclude from this, that the form *Yahu* is older than *Yahwa/æ*. In this connection it is very important that we

never find *yahwa/æ* as the first element of theophoric names. Then there is no evidence of the form *yahwa/æ* (*yhw̄h*) older than those in the Neo-Babylonian 5th century transcriptions — with one apparent exception only: the *yhw̄h* of the Mesha' stone, on which, however, see below.

Now we can return to the question as to the original meaning of the divine name Yahu.

Many years ago the present writer suggested<sup>13</sup> an explanation of the name as *ya-huwa*, *ya* being the interjection well known from Arabic, and *huwa* the pers. pron. 3rd masc.: Oh He! As I have observed later on, similar suggestions have been made before<sup>14</sup> with reference to the ecstatic cries of the Islamic dervishes "Allah hu!" R. Otto was inclined to take this *hu* as an "ekstatische Urlaut" without any special rational meaning, only expressing the emotional reaction on the experience of "das Numinose."<sup>15</sup> The above-mentioned phrase from Deutero-Isaiah, however, seems to me to speak in favor of the commonly accepted explanation "Allah is He."

That "He" is used as a designation of the god, resp. God, is a fact known even elsewhere. In popular Norwegian this is often the case, not only in fixed phrases, like "Han regner," "Han blåser," "Han sner" = He is raining, He is blowing, He is snowing, but even in more "religious" sayings like "Han vilde det vel så" = "Maybe this was His will," "Han vet det" = "He knows it," etc.

But we are not restricted to the above analogies for proofs of probability. The use of the pron. "He" as designation of the deity among the Hebrews is directly attested, viz., in the personal name 'Abihu (*'byhw*), Exod. 6:23; 24:1. As generally agreed, proper names containing 'abi as first element are theophoric: 'abi'el "(My) Father is (the) God," 'abiyah(u) "My Father is Yahweh, 'abi 'asaf "(My) Father adds" etc. Abihu can then only be interpreted as "(My) Father is He," or "He is (my) Father," where "He" stands for the god of the bearer of the name.<sup>16</sup> — A second instance is probably Jehu' (*yhw'*). On good grounds Driver<sup>17</sup> has doubted the correctness of the masoretic vocalization and claimed *yāhu'* to be the original pronunciation; cf. the Assyrian transcription *yaua*. If so, the first

<sup>13</sup> As far as I remember in a letter to the late Professor Rudolf Otto, who has quoted it somewhere in one of his books.

<sup>14</sup> E. g. by K. Müller and R. A. Nicholson, s. R. Otto, "*Das Heilige*," (Breslau, 1922), p. 263 n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff.

<sup>16</sup> The 'bi'u in the Samaria ostraca may be meant as 'abi'u = 'abihu.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 20 n. 1.



element *ya-* can only be the abbreviated form of *yahu*, *hu'* is the pers. pron., and the meaning of the name becomes "Yahweh is He." Note the aleph at the end!

Another testimony of the use of the pron. "He" as a "name" for God may be found in IQS VIII 13, where Isa. 40:3 is quoted; the Tetragrammaton, however, in the introductory formula is replaced by the personal pron.: *lpnwt šm 't drk hw'h'*. As the scribe does not write *drkw*, his *hw'h'* certainly means something more than an ordinary suff. 3rd pers. masc., it is meant to be a real compensation of the divine name.

Just on the background of the conception and experience of "das Nominose" it is most likely that the god concerned is spoken of as "He": "He" with whom we have to do in cult and devotion, "He" whose mystical forces we feel and experience; "He" whose inmost essence and being we cannot see and understand, "das ganz Andere"; "He" on whom our whole existence is dependent; "He" whom we cannot meet without fear and awe, and yet again and again cannot help seeking. *Mysterium tremendum et fascinans*, whose name we are not worthy to pronounce, nay, not even to know, because knowing and pronouncing the name means taking possession of and dominating the bearer of the name. The god without a name is an analogy to the god without an image. As the inmost essence and nature of "the numinous" cannot be conceived and expressed in any image, so it can neither be expressed in any name from human language and human world of conceptions. This is not modern feeling only, it is the general and typical way of religious feeling and thinking.

Consequently nothing prevents the supposition that even the pre-historic ancestors of the North-Sinaitic tribes simply used to call the god of Qadesh-Sinai, whose feast they used to celebrate every year: "He". "Oh He"! — *ya-huwa* — was therefore originally the cultic cry of exclamation and invocation, with which the worshipers met their god, gradually used as a symbolic designation and finally felt to be a name. That divine names have originated from cultic exclamations is known elsewhere, cf. *Ἰαχχος*, *Ἐβίος*.

If this explanation of the original form and meaning of the name Yahweh is correct, then — out of the same religious feelings and ideas — both J and Deutero-Isaiah have come very near to the original essence of the name, the meaning of the Tetragrammaton, each in his own way, however, filling it with a deeper and wider intention, obtained both through the religious history of Israel, through their own personal experiences, and, as far as Deutero-Isaiah is concerned, also as a result of the much wider world, within which he saw

the activity of God. The history of the name may be expressed like this: originally "He," with whom we have to do, whom we meet in the experiences of the cult. J: "He" who acts in the history of Israel, besides whom Israel shall have no other god; Deutero-Isaiah: "He" who is the only real God in the fullest sense of the word — "He alone."

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From this supposed original *yahuwa*, which may have been meant as late as in the *yhw*h of the Mesha' stone, both attested forms *yahu* and *yahwa/æ* can easily be derived as two different abbreviations. The abbreviation of *yahuwa* into *yahu* is quite in accordance with the abbreviation of the pers. pron. 3rd masc. *huwa* into *hu*, which must have taken place rather early, even if the old orthography and pronunciation was known as late as in the Qumran texts. The abbreviation *yahu* is the regular form of the divine name both as initial and final element of compound theophoric personal names.

Even the form *yahwa/æ* can be explained linguistically as an abbreviation of *yahuwa*. Because consisting of two words an exclamation like *ya-huwa* would naturally have two stresses, the heavier one on *hu*, the lighter one on *ya*: *yà-húwa*. When the exclamation of the name was repeated, e. g., at the moment in the cult when the congregation would cheer the coming God, the *teru'at mælæk*,<sup>18</sup> it might easily happen and by and by become a traditional usage, that the first syllable of the name was stressed: *yáhuwa*, *yáhuwa*! From such an accentuation the abbreviated form *yahwa* can be explained.

It goes without saying that it is merely by chance that the modern hybrid form "Jehovah" has come very close to the supposed original form *yahuwa*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. P. Humbert, *La Terou'a*, (Neuchatel, 1946), pp. 30 ff., 37 ff.



# THE LINGUISTIC AND RHETORICAL USAGES OF THE PARTICLE ׀ IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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AMONG the Hebrew particles there is one group that plays a distinctive lexical and rhetorical role.<sup>1</sup> They are the signals and sign-posts of language, markers on the way of the sentence or poem or narrative, guides to the progress of words, arrows directing what is being spoken to its destination. They serve to indicate how words are disposed into the fabric or texture of speech, how the literary types are fashioned into connected wholes. They confirm or establish or stress what is being said, or underline and give notice to what is about to be said, or mark the goal or climax of what has been said. They are by no means static linguistic entities, morphemes to be scrutinized independently of their contexts, but are rather agents of movement. The intended meaning becomes alive and dynamic in the ways that the particles are employed. Whether negations, affirmations, interrogatives, interjections, or instruments of connection, they perform their work in many different ways and wear many guises. Their meaning is often contingent upon the particular function they seek to serve, so that the same word may be rendered quite differently in the same context. Without an understanding of their precise function not only are the nuances of a text often obscured, but the articulation and accents of the thought are also lost to view. If we are to appreciate this group of particles, then, it is essential that we discern their function in living speech; we must be sensitive to their sounds in oral discourse, think of them at times as "vocal gestures," and recognize what they are designed to do. It is possible that they were originally ejaculations or cries or exclamations, calling the hearer to attention, bidding him heed, giving him notice or warning, or stirring him to action.<sup>2</sup> Their phonetic quality suggests as much, and their position

<sup>1</sup> We are thinking here of such words as the following: אלה, אוי, או, את, איכה, אך, אכן, הוי, הלא, הנה, הנם, כה, כי, כן, לכן, עליכן.

<sup>2</sup> See N. H. Tur-Sinai, "The Origin of Language" in *Language: an Enquiry into its Meaning and Function*, edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen (1957), p. 44:

Language arose as an exclamation, an emotional cry, at first not voluntary, but reflex, a reaction to external influence. But this reflex cry is not language

in many different kinds of predications would seem to confirm some such view. Be that as it may, it is clear that a comprehension of their various usages is necessary if we are to appreciate the nature of Hebrew rhetoric in the many different forms which we encounter in the Old Testament.

Perhaps the most notable illustration of the importance of the Hebrew particle is the morpheme **וְ**. It is not only one of the words most frequently employed in the Old Testament, but also one with the widest and most varied range of nuance and meaning. Pedersen calls it the most comprehensive of all Hebrew particles.<sup>3</sup> All the lexicons point to its original demonstrative character. It is designed to give emphasis, to give force to a statement.<sup>4</sup> Brockelmann speaks of its original usage as a demonstrative interjection,<sup>5</sup> and Pedersen similarly.<sup>6</sup> This is confirmed by the fact that it frequently falls outside the pattern of Hebrew meter; it is thus given special stress by standing metrically isolated while still giving force to the colon which follows.<sup>7</sup> But **וְ** is more than a demonstrative; it is also a deictic word; that is, it points or shows the way forward. "It may mean that something is now coming to which we must pay attention."<sup>8</sup> Since it is the destiny of words to lose their original dynamic associations and connotations — *libelli sua fata habent!* — it is not surprising that **וְ** should be diluted to the more colorless **וְ** or completely omitted from contexts which would originally have made much of it (e. g., in introducing direct

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and is not sufficient to explain linguistic expression except in a small proportion of language phenomena, viz., interjections such as "oh, ah, ha" and onomatopoea, as "crow, cuckoo, to buzz, twitter," and the like. There is no recognizable way from it to the other facts of language. And this is just the problem facing us: "How did the emotional cry engender a fully developed idiom, capable of expressing the most varied concrete and abstract ideas?"

Compare especially p. 50: "Prior to names and to any concrete term, language thus had short demonstrative words serving to point out and refer to the simplest relations: here and there, above and below, flat, pointed, and the like."

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture I-II* (1926), p. 118. A rough estimate of the number of times the word appears in the Old Testament is about 4,500.

<sup>4</sup> Gesenius-Buhl (17th ed.), Brown-Driver-Briggs, Köhler-Baumgartner *inter alia*.

<sup>5</sup> *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprache*, II Band Syntax (1913), p. 111: "Im Hebr. können einzelne Wörter im Sätze auch durch die demonstrative Interjection **וְ** hervorgehoben werden . . ."

<sup>6</sup> *Israel: Its Life and Culture I-II*, p. 118.

<sup>7</sup> T. H. Robinson, "Anacrusis in Hebrew Poetry," *Werden und Wesen des alten Testaments*, edited by Paul Volz, Friedrich Stummer, and Johannes Hempel (1936), pp. 37-40.

<sup>8</sup> Pedersen. *ibid.*, p. 118.



discourse or in the divine self-asseverations). We need not enter at this point into its usages in the cognate tongues; it is sufficient to mention its presence in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Moabite, Egyptian Aramaic, and its relation to כ, כה and the Aramaic כך. That the word has a long pre-history is suggested by the fact that in our earliest Hebrew poems it already conforms to a fixed style, as in the Song of Lamech:

שמען קולי	עדה וצלה
האונה אמרתי	נשי למך
וילד לחברתי	כי איש הרגתי לפצעי
ולמך שבעים ושבעה	כי שבעתים יקסיקין

(Gen. 4:23-24)

Our intent in the following discussion is (1) to summarize the elemental usages of כִּי in emphatic word-contexts, (2) to examine its function in predications of greater extent (cola and sentences), (3) to explore the areas where it introduces motivations of various kinds, and, above all, (4) to indicate how the originally *demonstrative* or *emphatic* meaning of the word combines with its *deictic* character to influence the style and composition of various literary types and forms.

1. כִּי with על כן to express emphatic cause or result:<sup>9</sup>

... and Gideon said, Alas, O Lord Yahweh, **כי על כן** I have seen the angel of Yahweh face to face. (Judg. 6:22)

... while I fetch a morsel of bread, that you may refresh yourselves, and after that you may pass on, **כי על כן** you have come to your servant. (Gen. 18:5). So similarly in formulae of courtesy.

2. כִּי with הנה to give dramatic and climactic force to the oracle:<sup>10</sup>

**כִּי־הנה**, Yahweh commands,  
And the great house shall be smitten into fragments,  
And the little house into bits (Amos 6:11)

**כי הנני**, will raise up against you a nation,  
O house of Israel, says Yahweh. (Amos 6:14)

**כי הנה** the Lord, Yahweh of hosts,  
Is taking away from Jerusalem and from Judah  
Stay and staff . . . (Isa. 3:1)

<sup>9</sup> Here and in the citations *infra* no attempt is made at completeness; the passages may be said to be representative. Gen. 19:8; 33:10; 38:26; Num. 10:31; Jer. 29:28. In all of these the demonstrative and deictic features of כִּי are plain.

<sup>10</sup> Isa. 3:1; 26:21; 65:17; 66:15; Ps. 11:2; Amos 4:13; Jer. 1:15; Mic. 1:3; Hab. 1:6.

3. **כי** with **עתה**, again introducing a climactic affirmation or giving force to the predication, as the following superbly illustrates:<sup>11</sup>

**כי לולא התמהמהנו כי־עתה שבנו זה פעמים** (Gen. 43:10)

**כי־עתה** I shall lie in the earth;

Thou wilt seek me, but I shall not be. (Job 7:21)

4. **כי**. **אמנם**. The asseverative force of **כי** is accentuated by the emphasis of the adverb from the root **אמן**.<sup>12</sup> Note the association of other particles in the same context:

**אמנם ידעתי כי־כן**

But how can a man be just before God? (Job 9:2)

**כי אמנם** you are the people

And wisdom will die with you. (Job 12:2)

**ועתה כי אמנם כי אם גאל אנכי**

a kinsman nearer than I. (Ruth 3:12)

5. **יען כי** may introduce the invective followed by the threat with its characteristic emphatic **לכן**.<sup>13</sup>

**יען כי** this people draw near with their mouth

And honor me with their lips . . .

Therefore, behold, I will again do marvelous things with this people . . . (Isa. 29:13, 14)

6. **עקב כי**.<sup>14</sup>

And now the sword shall never depart from your house:

**כי עקב** you have despised me . . . (II Sam. 12:10)

7. **על כי**.<sup>15</sup>

**הלא על כי־אין אלהי בקרבי מצאוני הרעות האלה** (Deut. 31:17b)

<sup>11</sup> Gen. 22:12; 26:22; 29:32c; 31:42; 43:10; Exod. 9:15; Num. 22:13; Isa. 49:19cd; Job 3:13; 4:5; 8:6; 13:19. Further stylistic usages are encountered in the words of the covenant mediator or of the cult prophet, such as "For now I know," and especially in the priestly oracles of salvation.

<sup>12</sup> Job 36:4; also I Kings 8:27; II Chron. 6:18.

<sup>13</sup> Isa. 3:16; 7:5; 8:6. More frequently of course with **אשר**.

<sup>14</sup> Amos 4:12. With **אשר** in Gen. 22:19; 26:5, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Compare the use of **על** without the **כי** in the invectives of Amos 1:3-2:16, also Ps. 139:14.

8. כִּי־<sup>16</sup>

כִּי־ I walk in the valley of deep gloom,  
I will fear no evil. (Ps. 23:4)

9. אֵף כִּי־<sup>17</sup>

אֵף כִּי־ God say you must not eat of any tree of the garden?  
(Gen. 3:1)

10. אֵךְ כִּי־ The opening particle, the imperative, the infinitive absolute, and the whole tenor and context suggests the emphasis, and the כִּי־ אֵךְ re-enforces it.

Now then, hearken to their voice; אֵךְ כִּי־, you shall solemnly warn them, and show them the ways of the king who shall reign over them. (I Sam. 8:9; cf. II Kings 5:7)

11. The word is often used adversatively to denote a striking contrast:<sup>18</sup>

כִּי my eyes are toward thee, O Yahweh God. (Ps. 141:8a)

12. כִּי לִוְלִי־<sup>19</sup>

וְאוֹלָם as Yahweh, the God of Israel lives, who has restrained me from hurting you | לִוְלִי כִּי you had made haste and come to meet me truly (כִּי אִמֵּן) by morning there had not been left to Nabal as much as one male. (I Sam. 25:34)

13. כִּי־אֵאֵן<sup>20</sup>

כִּי | יִדַּעְתִּי הַיּוֹם כִּי לֹא Absalom were alive and all of us were dead today, כִּי־אֵאֵן you would be pleased. (II Sam. 19:7)

An excellent example of the diverse use of כִּי in the same verse is II Sam. 2:27

And Joab said, "As God lives כִּי לִוְלֵא you had not spoken, כִּי אֵאֵן the men would have given up the pursuit of their brethren in the morning."

<sup>16</sup> Isa. 1:15; Hos. 9:16. כִּי נֹס appears more frequently: Num. 22:23; I Sam. 22:17; Isa. 7:13; 26:12; 66:8; Jer. 6:11; 14:5, 18; 23:11; 46:21, etc.

<sup>17</sup> I Kings 8:27; Prov. 15:11.

<sup>18</sup> I Chron. 29:14; Isa. 8:23; 28:28. Most frequently after the negative. See 14 *infra*.

<sup>19</sup> כִּי לִוְלֵא: Cf. Gen. 31:42; 43:10; II Sam. 2:27; also II Sam. 19:7; Num. 22:29.

<sup>20</sup> Job 11:14 f.; 22:23-26.

14. Emphatic negative, where the **כי** accentuates the negative, **כי לא** No, but:<sup>21</sup>

And he said, "**כי לא** as the commander of the army of Yahweh I have now come." (Josh. 5:14)

Compare Lam. 3:22 for similar use of **כי לא**, meaning *never*:

The steadfast love of Yahweh **כי לא** ceases (with emendation. Cf. RSV).

**כי לא** his mercies come to an end.

15. **אם כי** | performs various functions according to the context. Note how the **כי** fortifies the conditional in I Sam. 20:9. Its deictic function is equally notable:

**אם כי** I knew that it was determined by my father **כי** evil should come upon you, would I not tell you. (Cf. also Josh. 23:12)

Or the **כי** may accentuate the concessive as in Lam. 3:31 f.

**כי** the Lord will not cast off for ever,  
**אם כי** he cause grief, he will have compassion.

The nuance of **אם כי** in Exod. 22:22, succeeding the initial **אם**, and the three infinitive absolutes point to the emphatic character of the casuistic law:

**אם-ענה תענה אחרו כי אם-צעק יצעק אלי שמע אשמע צעקו**

More interesting is the way in which it introduces the covenant formulation:<sup>22</sup>

**אם כי** you listen attentively to my voice and do all that I say, then I will be an enemy to your adversaries. (Exod. 23:22)

Observe the impressive context which precedes vv. 20 f.

<sup>21</sup> Gen. 17:15; 18:15; 42:12; 45:8; Deut. 13:9 f.; II Sam. 16:18; I Kings 2:20; 3:22 f.; Isa. 36:19; Job 39:27. Cf. also the causal **כי** after negatives: Gen. 3:4-5; 24:34; Isa. 7:7 f.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. J. Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations," *Vetus Testamentum*, IX (1959), pp. 347-65. That we are dealing here with fixed stylistic forms is confirmed not only by the presence of the conditionals in covenantal context (Exod. 19:3b-8; Josh. 24; I Sam. 12; Jer. 7:1-15, etc.), but also by the place in which they appear at the close of the treaties of ancient Near Eastern Texts and at the conclusion of the great legal collections.

An excellent example of the function of כִּי אִם is seen in Prov. 2:1-6. The particle relates itself to the preceding predication by accentuating the conditional אִם (3a) and then presses the conditional forward to the כִּי אִם which follows (4a). All of the protases, dominated by the three-fold conditional כִּי or אִם כִּי, are designed to focus upon the emphatic particle אִם (5a), which reaches its culmination in the characteristic motivation, introduced by the causal כִּי (6a):

My son, אִם you received my words  
 And treasure up my commandments with you,  
 Making your ear attentive to wisdom  
 And inclining your heart to understanding;  
 כִּי you cry out for insight  
 And raise your voice for understanding,  
 אִם you seek it like silver  
 And search for it as for hidden treasures;  
 אִם you will understand the fear of Yahweh  
 And find the knowledge of God.  
 כִּי Yahweh gives wisdom;  
 And from his mouth come wisdom and understanding.

....

Then (אִם) you will understand righteousness and justice  
 And equity and every good path;  
 כִּי wisdom will come into your heart,  
 And knowledge will be pleasant to your soul.

(Prov. 2:1-10)

Observe also those contexts where כִּי אִם appears after negative clauses with the meaning of *except* or *unless* in emphatic contexts:<sup>23</sup>

כִּי as the rain and the snow come down from heaven,  
 And return not thither כִּי אִם water the earth,  
 Making it bring forth and sprout,  
 Giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater,

<sup>23</sup> Gen. 32:27; Ruth 3:18. Compare also those passages where it follows a noun in the sense of *nothing but* (Gen. 28:17; Isa. 42:19; Mic. 6:8), also where it is a sharp antithesis to a prohibition or negative clause, as in I Sam. 8:19: "Nay, but!"; Ps. 1:2. For the usage of כִּי אִם, see Num. 13:28; Deut. 15:4; Judg. 4:9; Amos 9:8. See Arno Kropat, "Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen." *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XVI (1909), p. 31. Also T. J. Meek, "I Kings 20:1-10," *JBL*, LXXVIII (1929), pp. 73-75, where it is demonstrated that אִם כִּי cannot be rendered adversatively in vs. 6 (contra RSV), but simply "for if."



So shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth;  
 It shall not return to me empty,  
 אִם כִּי it shall accomplish that which I purpose,  
 And prosper in the thing for which I sent it.

(Isa. 55:10-11)

Finally, אִם כִּי appears as an emphatic and climactic contrast to a preceding affirmation with the meaning of *nevertheless*:

אִם כִּי Kain shall be wasted. (Num. 24:22)

The foregoing discussion has amply demonstrated the intimate association of the particle כִּי with other emphatic particles, has confirmed our estimate of the diversity of its function in a vast variety of rhetorical and literary contexts, has established its importance as an instrument of stress or emphasis, and has illuminated the ways in which it relates itself to its rhetorical contexts, whether by bringing the predication to a focus or by directing it forward to its goal or by indicating the movement of the particular literary unit. We shall now turn to some of its stylistic usages in relation, not to individual particles but clauses, cola, or complete literary forms.

1. First of all we may consider instances where the כִּי clause is equivalent to the demonstrative pronoun, where the clause "covers" the demonstrative or is synonymous with it:<sup>24</sup>

By this I know כִּי thou art pleased with me,  
 כִּי my enemy has not triumphed over me. (Ps. 41:12)

These things I remember  
 As I pour out my soul:  
 כִּי I went with the throng,  
 And led them in procession to the house of God,  
 With glad shouts and songs of thanksgiving,  
 A multitude keeping festival. (Ps. 42:5)

2. Similarly the instances where the כִּי clause is equal to the interrogative pronoun, *what, who*, etc.:<sup>25</sup>

What is my strength, כִּי I should wait?  
 And what is my end, כִּי I should be patient? (Job 6:11)

<sup>24</sup> Ps. 56:10: "This I know כִּי God is for me." Job 13:16. Cf. Exod. 3:12.

<sup>25</sup> For the כִּי clause with מַה, Gen. 20:9 f.; 31:36; I Sam. 20:1; 29:8; I Kings 11:22; Job 21:15; Isa. 22:1, 16; Mal. 3:14. Cf. Job 3:12; 6:11; 7:12, 17; 15:12-14. For its association with מִי, Judg. 9:28; I Chron. 29:14; Isa. 36:5; II Sam. 7:18, etc.

What is man כִּי thou art mindful of him,  
And the son of man כִּי thou dost care for him. (Ps. 8:5)

Who am I כִּי I should go to Pharaoh, and כִּי bring the sons of Israel out of Egypt. (Exod. 3:11)

Who am I, O Yahweh God, and what is my house, כִּי Thou hast brought me thus far. (I Chron. 17:16)

3. Notable are the instances where the כִּי is used emphatically at the end of a clause, illustrated also in the Akkadian and Ugaritic texts. Here it often has the meaning of *how*.<sup>26</sup> The original demonstrative meaning is especially clear.

And God saw כִּי good it was. (Gen. 1:12b, 18b, 25b)

... the sons of God saw the daughters of men כִּי fair they were ... (Gen. 6:2)

All nations surrounded me;

In the name of Yahweh כִּי I cut them off. (Ps. 118:10)

4. The particle is not infrequently employed with ה interrogative  
הֲכִי:<sup>27</sup>

And David said "הֲכִי (יִשְׁעוּר) any one left of the house of Saul, that I may show him kindness for Jonathan's sake?"  
(II Sam. 9:1)

And Esau said, "הֲכִי (RSV "is he not rightly") called Jacob?"  
(Gen. 27:36)

The rhetorical effect of הֲכִי is best illustrated by Job 6:22 f. where it introduces a whole series of emphatic questions:

<sup>26</sup> Gen. 12:14; 18:20; Job 22:12 ("how lofty they are"); Deut. 31:29; Jer. 2:19; Lam. 3:22. H. L. Ginsberg, "Notes on 'The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods,'" *JRAS* (1935), p. 56: "In *kypt*, *k* represents the כִּי i. 1 of the Hebrew lexica, i. e., a particle with purely demonstrative or emphatic force; cf. *k(tšh)*, II, AB 2, 29, *kil'akn*, *ibid.*, 4-5, 104; *kyšh*, *ibid.*, 7, 53. Note that as a rule a verb which is strengthened by this sort of *k* generally stands at the end of its clause in the language of Ugarit; and this is always the case in the O. T.: Gen. 18, 20; Ps. 49:16; 118:10 f. (Thr. 3:22)." Robert Gordis, "The Asseverative Kaph in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *JAOS* 63 (1943), pp. 176-78; W. F. Albright, "The Refrain 'And God Saw KI TOBH' in Genesis," *Mélanges bibliques redigés en l'honneur de André Robert*, pp. 22-26. See especially Gesenius-Buhl's lexicon, *ad loc.* for an excellent statement of the demonstrative force of the כִּי in such contexts.

<sup>27</sup> Gen. 29:15; II Sam. 23:19; Job 6:22. For negative כִּי הֲלוֹא cf. I Sam. 10:1. Cf. I Sam. 24:20; Isa. 36:19.

הכִּי־אִמְרָתִי, "Make me a gift?"

Or, "From your wealth offer a bribe for me?"

Or, "Deliver me from the adversary's hand?"

Or, "Ransom me from the hand of oppressors?"

5. Frequently, too, it introduces a direct quotation, tantamount to *thus* or *this* or *here* or *as follows*.<sup>28</sup>

And he said כִּי I will be with you. . . . (Exod. 3:12)

He said כִּי these seven ewe lambs you will take from my hand, that you may be witness for me כִּי I have dug this well.

(Gen. 21:30)

6. Not dissimilar are the numerous cases where כִּי introduces the object clause, notably, of course, after verbs of seeing, hearing, believing, remembering, forgetting, but *especially* after *knowing* where the rhetorical context is noteworthy, as in the cultic asseverations of the priest or cultic prophet or the king in the liturgies of the Psalter.<sup>29</sup>

But Yahweh said to Moses, "Put out your hand, and take it by the tail, . . . כִּי they may believe that Yahweh, the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has appeared to you." (Exod. 4:4 f.)

Now I know כִּי Yahweh will help his anointed. (Ps. 20:7)

7. It is only to be expected that the particle should precede the oracular formula כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה, and, of course, in climactic contexts.<sup>30</sup>

כִּי thus says the Lord Yahweh. (Amos 5:3a)

כִּי thus says Yahweh to the house of Israel. (Amos 5:4a)

<sup>28</sup> It is not without significance that כִּי is often translated asseveratively as *surely* or *truly* in such contexts. See, e. g., Gen. 29:33; Exod. 4:25; Josh. 2:24; Judg. 6:16; I Sam. 2:16; 10:19. In many cases the particle is related with other emphatic particles or introduces a solemn affirmation or negation.

<sup>29</sup> Gen. 1:10c; 6:6; Isa. 14:29 and especially Exod. 6:7; 7:5, 17; 8:11, 22; 9:14, 29, 30; 10:2; Deut. 4:35, 39; 7:9; 31:21, 27, 29; Pss. 4:4; 41:12; 46:11; 51:5; 56:10; 59:14; 83:19; 119:75; Isa. 49:25; 52:3; Ezek. 2:5; 5:13; 6:7, 10, 13, 14; 7:4, 9, 27; 11:10, 12; 12:15, 16, 20. An examination of these and many similar contexts substantiates the view that we are dealing with conventional cultic speech. A survey of the verb וַיָּכֵר with כִּי would prove fruitful.

<sup>30</sup> Isa. 18:4; 21:16; 57:15; Jer. 4:3, 27; 10:18; 16:3, 5; 20:4; 22:6, 11 etc. etc. The oracular introduction with כִּי is frequent in Jeremiah, but the shorter text represented by the LXX sometimes omits it. In Second Isaiah the particle is given special force because of the prophet's tendency to expand it with impressive theologoumena.

8. Consistent with the foregoing is the presence of the particle before emphatic statements of many kinds. Illustrative are II Sam. 14:14 and Num. 23:23. Often these are rendered by the asseverative *surely*, etc., but by no means always. See the discussion of motivations below.

9. We have observed some of the usages of **כִּי אַם**, but often **כִּי** is used alone as a conditional, as we shall have occasion to see in the casuistic laws. Here again we witness the emphatic or demonstrative and the deictic functions of the word. It can be employed as an introduction to the protasis or to the apodosis.<sup>31</sup>

**כִּי** you make many prayers,  
I will not listen. (Isa. 1:15b)

**כִּי** you pass through the waters, I will be with you;  
**כִּי** you walk through fire, you shall not be burned.  
(Isa. 43:2)

וּפְרַשְׁתָּ אֵלָיו כַּפֶּיךָ:	אִם־אֵתָהּ הַכִּינוֹת לִבְךָ
וְאֶל־תִּשְׁכֵּן בְּאֹהֶלֶיךָ עוֹלָה:	אִם־אֹנוֹן בִּדְרֵךְ הַרְחִיקָהּ
וְהָיִיתָ מִצַּק וְלֹא תִירָא:	כִּי־אֲנִי   תִּשָּׂא פָנֶיךָ מִמוֹם
כַּמִּים עֲבְרוּ תִזְכֹּר:	כִּי־אֵתָהּ עֹמֵל תִּשְׁכַּח

(Job 11:13-16)

10. Very characteristic, of course is the causal **כִּי**, which is particularly noteworthy for the role it plays in the many kinds of motivations of various literary forms.<sup>32</sup>

**כִּי** God knows **כִּי** in the day you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil.  
(Gen. 3:5)

**כִּי** you have done this, cursed are you among all animals.  
(Gen. 3:14)

<sup>31</sup> Exod. 21:2; Deut. 6:25; II Sam. 2:27; Job 22:23 ff.; Prov. 2:3 ff. For a detailed and comprehensive treatment of conditional clauses in the Old Testament, see Paul Friedrich, *Die hebräischen Conditionalsätze*, (Königsberg, 1884), which is particularly illuminating for its examination of related particles and other parts of speech and larger predications.

<sup>32</sup> II Sam. 12:10; I Kings 13:21b; 21:29; Isa. 7:5; 15:1, etc. See the discussion of motivations below. For some interesting comments upon causal **כִּי**, see Therese Frankfort, "Le-כִּי de Joel 1:12," *Vetus Testamentum* X (1960), pp. 445-48 and compare A. S. Kapelrud, *Joel Studies* (1948), pp. 23-44. The frequency of the causal particle in Joel is worth observing.

11. Related to the conditional and causal usages is the temporal **כי** at the beginning of a clause or sentence:<sup>33</sup>

**כי** Israel was a child, I loved him,  
And out of Egypt I called my son. (Hos. 11:1)

**כי** you till the ground, it shall no longer yield to you its strength;  
you shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth.  
(Gen. 4:12)

12. A vivid comparison or similitude is sometimes introduced by **כי**:<sup>34</sup>

**כי** as the heavens are higher than the earth,  
So are My ways than your ways  
And My thoughts than your thoughts.  
**כי** as the rain and the snow come down from heaven,  
And return not thither but water the earth,  
Making it bring forth and sprout,  
Giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater,  
So shall My word be that goes forth from my mouth.  
(Isa. 55:9-11a)

13. More impressive is the way the particle concludes a parable and interprets its meaning:<sup>35</sup>

**כי** the vineyard of Yahweh of hosts  
Is the house of Israel,  
And the men of Judah  
Are his pleasant planting. (Isa. 5:7-a-d)

14. Not infrequent is the use of **כי** as an introduction to a dramatic scene:<sup>36</sup>

**כי הנה**, he who forms the mountains, and creates the wind,  
And declares to man what is his thought;  
Who makes the morning darkness,  
And treads on the heights of the earth —  
Yahweh, the God of hosts, is His name! (Amos 4:13)

<sup>33</sup> Gen. 6:1; Num. 33:51; Job 7:13; Ps. 32:3; Isa. 1:12; 8:19. Cf. Job 11:14 f.

<sup>34</sup> Isa. 11:9cd; 24:13; 25:4 f.; 61:11; 62:5; 65:22cd; 66:22; Jer. 5:26 f.; Hos. 5:14; Obad. 16.

<sup>35</sup> Isa. 51:3; 52:2 f.; 54:3; 55:9.

<sup>36</sup> Isa. 3:1 ff.; 9:4, 5, 6; 16:8; 24:13; 25:4; 34:5 f.; Jer. 4:15, 19ef; Joel 1:6 ff.; 2:11; Amos 6:11, 14; Mic. 1:3; Obad. 16.

15. Most characteristic and moving is the introduction to climactic divine self-asseverations:<sup>37</sup>

כִּי I Yahweh your God am a jealous God . . . (Exod. 20:5b)

כִּי I am Yahweh your God,  
The Holy One of Israel, your Savior. (Isa. 43:3ab)

16. Concessive clauses are introduced by כִּי:<sup>37a</sup>

כִּי they fast, I will not hear their cry וְכִי they offer burnt offering and cereal offering, I will not accept them; כִּי (*adversative*), I will consume them by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence. (Jer. 14:12)

17. Nothing is more common than the appearance of the particle after an urgent imperative<sup>38</sup> in numerous literary contexts: judgment, warning, exhortation, exhortation, prayer, lament, hymn, promise, invitation, thanksgiving, the herald's call or message (*Botenspruch*), etc., etc. For the assurance or promise see 21 *infra*.

Arise, O Yahweh!

Deliver me, O my God!

כִּי thou dost smite all my enemies on the cheek. (Ps. 3:8)

18. Similarly the particle occurs after an urgent question:<sup>39</sup>

מִבְּטֵן יֵצְאֵתִי וְאֵנוּעַ:	לִמָּה לֹא מֵרַחֵם אֲמוֹת
וּמִה־יִשְׁדִּים כִּי אֵינִקְ:	מִדּוּעַ קִדְמוֹנֵי בְרָכִים
יִשְׁנֵתִי אִו   יִנּוּחַ לִי:	כִּי־עַתָּה שִׁכְבַּתִּי וְאִשְׁקוּט

(Job 3:11-13)

19. In the same category is the employment of כִּי after exclamations, most notably after the cry of "Woe!"<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Isa. 41:13; 43:10; 45:22cd; 46:9cd; 52:6. Compare also Isa. 22:25d; 24:3b; 25:8d; 34:16de; 40:5c; 58:14d.

<sup>37a</sup> Eccles. 4:14; Ps. 21:12; Prov. 6:35; Isa. 54:10; Jer. 14:12; 49:16ef; Ezek. 11:16; Mic. 7:8. See the perceptive discussion by Th. C. Vriezen, "Einige Notizen zur Übersetzung des Bindewortes KI," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran*, BZAW 77 (1958). *Eissfeldt Festschrift*, pp. 266-73. Note especially the discussion of Num. 23:23; Ruth 1:12 f.; and Ps. 37:24.

<sup>38</sup> Ps. 6:5 f.; 12:2 (*bis*); 25:16; 16:1, 2 f.; 31:10 f. (*bis*), 18; 38:2 f., 4 f., 16, 18 f. (*bis*); 39:13; 41:5; 44:23-25; 51:3-5; 54:1-5; 69:18, etc., etc.

<sup>39</sup> Job 3:20-25; 7:21; 22:2; Ps. 44:21-23; Isa. 7:13; 28:9; 36:5; Jer. 4:22; Mic. 6:4. Cf. Gen. 31:15 f. Compare also Gen. 20:9; Judg. 14:3; 1 Sam. 20:1; Isa. 22:1; 52:5; Mic. 4:9.

<sup>40</sup> I Sam. 4:7c; Isa. 3:11; 6:5 (*ter*); Jer. 6:4; 15:10; 48:16; Ezek. 24:6 f.; Hab. 2:6-19, etc.



Wail, Alas for the day!

כי the day is near. (Ezek. 30:2)

Woe to them!

כי they have brought evil upon themselves. (Isa. 3:9de)

Woe to us, כי we are ruined! (Jer. 4:13d)

20. The rhetorical function of כי is illustrated nowhere so clearly as in its tendency to appear in successive lines or sentences, both in prose and in poetry:<sup>41</sup>

And I said, "Woe is me! כי I am lost; כי I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell among a people of unclean lips; כי my eyes have seen the King, Yahweh of hosts." (Isa. 6:5)

Comfort, O comfort my people,

Says your God.

Speak kindly to Jerusalem,

And proclaim to her —

כי her warfare is ended,

כי her iniquity is pardoned,

כי she has received from Yahweh's hand

Double for all her sins. (Isa. 40:1-2)

Among the numerous literary contexts where כי plays an emphatic rhetorical role, see the call of Jeremiah (Jer. 1:4-10).

21. The motivation (*Begründung*) for the oracle of assurance is commonly introduced by כי:<sup>42</sup>

Then you shall see and be radiant,

Your heart shall thrill and rejoice (with emendation);

כי the abundance of the sea shall be turned to you,

The wealth of nations shall come to you. (Isa. 60:5)

22. The strophes are often introduced by כי:<sup>43</sup>

כי Yahweh is enraged against all the nations (Isa. 34:2a)

כי my sword has drunk its fill in the heavens (Isa. 34:5a)

<sup>41</sup> Gen. 3:19; Isa. 9:3-5; 10:20-23; 15:1, 5-6; 25:1cd, 2, 4; 26:3-5; 28:18-22; 43:2 ff.; 57:14-16; 65:8-10; Job 3:24 f.; I Chron. 29:14-18; Ps. 118:1-4, 10-12.

<sup>42</sup> Isa. 60:9, 10, 12, 16, 20; 65:20; Jer. 3:12.

<sup>43</sup> Pss. 5:5; 18:32; Isa. 22:5; 16:8; 17:10; 60:10; 61:8; Amos 5:12; Obad. 15. J. Muilenburg, "The Literary Character of Isaiah 34," *JBL* LIX (1940), pp. 339-65; "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style," *Velus Testamentum Congress* Volume I (1953), pp. 97-111.

כִּי Yahweh has a sacrifice in Bozrah (Isa. 34:6e)

כִּי for Yahweh has a day of vengeance. (Isa. 34:8a)

22a. The conclusion of the strophe is often introduced with כִּי:<sup>43a</sup>

כִּי־יודע יהוה דרך צדיקים ודרך רשעים תאבד:  
(Ps. 1:6)

23. At other times both the introduction and conclusion of the body of the poem are marked by כִּי:<sup>44</sup>

כִּי־ Yahweh, Most High, is terrible. (Ps. 47:3)

כִּי the shields of the earth belong to God;  
He is highly exalted. (Ps. 47:10)

24. The body (*Hauptstück*) of the poem is frequently introduced by כִּי:<sup>45</sup>

כִּי thou hast rejected thy people, the house of Jacob.  
(Isa. 2:6)

25. It also marks the conclusion of the poem or oracle:<sup>46</sup>

כִּי thou hast delivered my soul from death,  
My feet from falling (see BH *appar. crit.*),  
That I may walk before God  
In the light of life. (Ps. 56:14)

26. Or it may be the means of interpreting the meaning of a preceding dramatic utterance, as in the two oracular proclamations introduced by כִּי after the moving dirge of Amos 5:2. Cf. also Isa. 2:2-4, 5 f., 7-11 = 12-19; 28:7-13 (note v. 11); 63:15 f.; Amos 6:9-11.

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<sup>43a</sup> Ps. 6:6; 9:5, 11b, 13, 19; 16:8b; Isa. 28:8, 20; 52:15cf; 60:5, 9, 16, 20; 62:5; Amos 6:14.

<sup>44</sup> J. Muilenburg, "Psalm 47," *JBL* LXIII (1944), pp. 235-256. Compare Ps. 109:2 and 31; Isa. 30:9 and 18.

<sup>45</sup> Isa. 1:2c, 3:1, 16; 8:6, 11; 14:29c. So frequently in hymns, laments, exhortations, invectives, threats, etc. See our discussion of motivations below.

<sup>46</sup> Pss. 1:6; 4:9b; 5:13; 11:7; 21:13; 37:40c; 47:10; 99:9c; 100:5; Isa. 1:20c; 5:7; 7:9; Jer. 2:13; 4:3 f.; 4:8cd, 22, 27; 31:34e.

We may now inquire more precisely into the function which the particle כִּי performs in Hebrew speech in the contexts of various types or genres. We have seen that the word is employed in many linguistic and rhetorical settings, that it is characteristically associated with emphatic words or clauses, that it frequently appears in a strategic position in the poem or narrative, whether at the beginning or at the end, and that it often confirms or underlines what has been said, or, at times, undergirds the whole of the utterance and gives point to it. Now if this morpheme was originally a demonstrative interjection, as Brockelmann and others have contended, it is interesting to observe that this emphatic character is almost always present. Within the Old Testament it is of course impossible to trace the history or development of the particle because its usage has already been established in the earliest records, although it is clear that it is employed much more profusely in certain strata than in others, and that certain usages prevail in some books or sources, while others prevail in others. We can learn much, however, by noting where the word most characteristically appears in a given *Gattung*, the degree to which it reflects an oral provenance, and what the precise nuance or meaning is in the place that it occupies in the *Gattung*. Now when one attempts to survey the types or genres of Old Testament literature in the light of the usage of כִּי, it soon becomes apparent that it is most frequently employed as a word of motivation. This, of course, has already become clear in the way it is related to exclamations, imperatives, asseverations, promises and assurances, questions, conditionals, etc. We may turn, then, to a brief examination of some representative genres of Hebrew speech in order to clarify this motivating function.

1. First of all the forms of legal teaching in the Old Testament, most notably the casuistic and apodictic laws.<sup>47</sup> The formulation of the casuistic law is not native to Israel, but is encountered in the other legal collections of the ancient Near East.<sup>48</sup> But not infrequently there is added to the casuistic law "grammatically subordinate sentences in which the motivation for the commandment is given." These motivations are found in the different codes of Old Testament law, and it

<sup>47</sup> Albrecht Alt, *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts*, published originally in the *Berichten über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1934), and reprinted in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Band I, pp. 278-332.

<sup>48</sup> As in the Urnammu, Lipit Ishtar, Eshnunna, Hammurabi, Hittite, and Assyrian laws.

seems probable that they are distinctively Israelite, since nowhere in the other collections do we meet them.<sup>49</sup> It must be borne in mind that the words of motivation are of many kinds, but it is the particle כִּי above all others which is employed most characteristically. In Israel the casuistic law is expanded by motivations, though it is probable that these represent for the most part later accretions to the original:<sup>50</sup>

If ever you take your neighbor's garment in pledge, you shall restore it to him before the sun goes down; כִּי that is his only covering, it is his mantle for his body; in what else shall he sleep? And כִּי he cries to me, I will hear כִּי־חֲנוּן אֲנִי.

(Exod. 22:25 f.)

If there is among you a poor man, one of your brethren, in any of your towns within your land which Yahweh your God gives you, you shall not harden your heart or shut your hand against your brother . . . You shall give to him freely, and your heart shall not be grudging when you give to him; כִּי for this Yahweh your God will bless you in all your work and in all you undertake. כִּי the poor shall never cease out of the land; therefore I command you, You shall open wide your hand to your brother . . . (Deut. 15:7-11)

Interestingly, it is the apodictic law which most frequently receives the motive clause, as in the different decalogues:<sup>51</sup>

You shall have no other gods before me . . . You shall not bow down to them or serve them כִּי I Yahweh your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who

<sup>49</sup> B. Gemser, "The Importance of the Motive Clause in Old Testament Law." Supplements to Vetus Testamentum Congress Volume I, pp. 50-66. Note Gemser's comment on p. 52: "In absolutely none of these lawbooks or-codes or-collections (*sic!*) can one single instance of motive clauses be discovered. The motive clause is clearly and definitely a peculiarity of Israel's or Old Testament law. The famous and fortunate distinction by A. Alt of casuistic and apodictic laws does not explain this conspicuous difference between the legal forms of the Ancient Near East and Israel." Gemser gives a useful survey of the motive clauses in the various Old Testament legal codes, describes the terminology of motivation, and classifies the kinds of motivation to which appeal is made.

<sup>50</sup> Exod. 20:25 f.; 22:20-23; 23:9; Lev. 25:47-55; Deut. 15:7-11, 12-18; 21:1, 10, 14, 15-17, 22-23.

<sup>51</sup> See W. Zimmerli, "Das zweite Gebot" in *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet* (1950), pp. 550-53.

hate me, but showing steadfast love to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments. (Exod. 20:3, 5-6)<sup>52</sup>

No man shall take a mill or an upper mill-stone in pledge, כִּי he would be taking a life in pledge. (Deut. 24:6)

Consecrate yourselves therefore, and be holy; כִּי I am Yahweh your God. (Lev. 20:7)

2. Motive clauses introduced by כִּי are also present in many blessings:<sup>53</sup>

Happy is the man who finds wisdom,  
And the man who gets understanding,  
כִּי the gain from it is better than gain from silver  
And its profit better than gold. (Prov. 3:13 f.)

3. Similarly, the curse:<sup>54</sup>

Cursed be their anger, כִּי it is fierce;  
And their wrath, כִּי it is cruel! (Gen. 49:7ab)

4. Conspicuous are the motivations for the naming of a child, which sometimes assume the form of nativity oracles:<sup>55</sup>

And Adam knew his wife again, and she bore a son and called his name Seth, כִּי God has appointed for me another child instead of Abel, for Cain slew him. (Gen. 4:25)

And Yahweh said to him, Call his name Jezreel; כִּי yet a little while, and I will punish the house of Jehu for the blood of Jezreel, and I will put an end to the kingdom of the house of Israel. (Hos. 1:4)

<sup>52</sup> Exod. 20:7, 8-11; Deut. 5:9, 11, 14 f., 16; Exod. 34:14, 18, 24. The motivation of the holiness of Yahweh is of course frequent in the Holiness Code: Lev. 20:26; 21:8, 15, 23; 24:22; 25:17; 26:1, 44. For the theological significance of these motivations, see Gemser and also von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Band I, pp. 199 ff. For the use of the particle in the rituals see R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* (1954) and especially K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16* (1959).

<sup>53</sup> Pss. 28:6; 31:22; 89:16-19; 112:1-6; Prov. 8:34 f. Cf. Deut. 33:8 f.; Ps. 1:6. For discussion of this *Gattung* and of the curse, see Gunkel-Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen* (1933), pp. 293 ff.

<sup>54</sup> Gen. 3:14 f., 17-19; Isa. 3:11, Mal. 2:2.

<sup>55</sup> Gen. 17:5; 29:32, 33, 34 (cf. 35); 30:19 f.; Isa. 8:3 f.; Hos. 1:6, 8 f.; Matt. 1:20 f. Compare Isa. 62:4.

5. Israel's Wisdom literature is rich in the use of the particle, as is illustrated in the exhortations of the sage:<sup>56</sup>

Hear, my son, your father's instruction,  
And reject not your mother's teaching;  
כִּי they are a fair garland for your head,  
And pendants for your neck. (Prov. 1:8 f.)

6. Closely akin to the exhortations of the sage are the admonitions, warnings, and prohibitions with their characteristic nuances:<sup>57</sup>

Be not envious of evil men,  
Nor desire to be with them;  
כִּי their minds are full of violence,  
And their lips talk of mischief. (Prov. 24:1 f.)

7. The particle finds a characteristic place in the oracle of assurance (*Erhörungsorakel*) as it is spoken in the cult or in the divine assurance to an individual:<sup>58</sup>

Be not afraid of them,  
כִּי I am with you to deliver you, says Yahweh.  
(Jer. 1:8)

8. The summons to lamentation is characteristically followed by the reason for the summons:<sup>59</sup>

Wail, O ships of Tarshish,  
כִּי your stronghold is laid waste. (Isa. 23:14)

9. Similarly the summons to praise and singing is frequently followed by the causal כִּי:<sup>60</sup>

O sing to Yahweh a new song;  
Sing to Yahweh, all the earth!  
Sing to Yahweh, bless His name;  
Tell of His salvation from day to day.

<sup>56</sup> Prov. 4:13, 15 f., 20 ff., 23; 5:20 f.; 22:17 f.; 23:26-28.

<sup>57</sup> Prov. 1:15 f.; 3:11 f., 25 f.; 4:15 f.; 5:20 f.; 6:1-3, 25 f.; 22:22 f.; 23:17 f., 19-21.

<sup>58</sup> Jer. 1:14-19; 11:21-23; 15:19-20; Pss. 21:8-12; 22:23-25; 57:10 f.; 86:12 f.; 109:30 f.

<sup>59</sup> Isa. 23:1; Joel 1:5-7, 8, 11, 13; Jer. 4:8; 9:9, 16-19, 20 f.; Mic. 1:10-12, 16; Jer. 49:3. Cf. Jer. 14:2-4; 16:5.

<sup>60</sup> Pss. 33:1-4; 100; 117; 135:1-7; 136; 147:1; 148; 149:1-4. Cf. also the hymns of the divine enthronement: 47; 96 (*supra*); 99.



Declare His glory among the nations,  
 His marvelous works among all the peoples.  
 כִּי great is Yahweh, and greatly to be praised;  
 He is to be feared above all gods.  
 כִּי all the gods of the peoples are idols;  
 But Yahweh made the heavens. (Ps. 96:1-5)

10. The petitions of the prayers of Israel are naturally developed by the causal כִּי:<sup>61</sup>

Be merciful to me, O God, be merciful to me,  
 כִּי in Thee my soul takes refuge. (Ps. 57:2)

11. Oracles of judgment are often grounded in the same way, particularly the announcement of the imminent Day of the Lord:<sup>62</sup>

כִּי Yahweh of hosts has a day  
 Against all that is proud and lofty,  
 Against all that is lifted up and high. (Isa. 2:12)

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It is clear that the many motive clauses throughout the literature of ancient Israel, in all their literary guises and patterns, in all their rich diversity of occasion and circumstance, in all their varying contexts and settings, constitute a major feature, not merely of a manner of speaking or of the formal structures in which thoughts are ordered and articulated, but also of the faith of Israel. In the motivations we have a vivid reflection of the pedagogical and educational methods of the wisemen, of their concern to make clear and to explain to their hearers what life is like, the rewards for right conduct and the consequences of evil, why it is that men must think well of good and think ill of wrong and act accordingly. They are intent upon showing the ways of God with men. They know that *es bildet sich ein Charakter in Strom der Welt*, and they witness in many ways to the divine intention behind the course of a man's life. They are telling their auditors that their decisions are fateful for their happiness and contentment, for

<sup>61</sup> Pss. 56:1; 59:2-5; 61:2-4, 5 f.; 63:2-4; 69:2-10; 71:4-5; 83:2 ff.; 86:1-5; 88:2-4.

<sup>62</sup> Isa. 13:6; 31:7; 34:8; 63:4; Jer. 46:21ef; 50:27cd, 31cd; Joel 2:1, 11; 4:14; Zeph. 1:7. Cf. Jer. 34:5; Ezek. 30:2 f.; Joel 1:15.

their peace and well-being. The motive clauses frequently have a pastoral purpose. They seek to provide an impetus and inspiration for obedience. They are meant to restore men to what they were intended by God to be when they were created. They expose to them the resources that are at their disposal, to warn them against the disregard and flouting of the grace of the Torah, which is given them as a light upon their way, indeed their very life. Priest and prophet are one in their memories of the sacred past, of the Exodus event which evoked both thanksgiving and the motive for obedience, and of the Sinai event which reminded them of their belonging to the transcendent Lord and King. It is these events which undergird many of the motivations, whether they are expressed or implied. In the motivations Yahweh is establishing his point of contact with his people. In them he is telling Israel why he has done as he has done, that he has not acted without cause (Ezek. 14:22). In them he is calling Israel to its responsibility. In them Israel is made to confirm from within that he is justified in his acts and words. He does not act capriciously; he has a reason for his course of action, he has a plan and a purpose and a design behind his divine rule in the world. But more than that, in the motivations Israel can confirm voluntarily that the ways of God are right, that his ways should be their ways also, and that his intentions should be the source of their illumination, the guide of their actions, and the motives for their desire to do what they ought to do.<sup>63</sup>

Finally, the particle 'נ is important for its function in many of the literary types. This has already been demonstrated in the foregoing discussion, especially in our scrutiny of the motivations. Here we shall do no more than list some of the major literary genres in which it plays a distinctive rhetorical, literary, and above all a "theological" role. That the word does not appear in many of the exemplars of a particular *Gattung* is by no means a refutation of our contention; the Hebrew poet or narrator, while deeply influenced by custom and convention, is never a slave to form, and he resists a literary stereotype. It is the versatility in which forms are employed that accounts to a degree at least for the literary supremacy of the Old Testament. Moreover, we must remember that particles other than 'נ were at the disposal of the Old Testament poets and lawgivers and narrators.

<sup>63</sup> B. Gemser, von Rad (Vol. I, note 49). Also Hans Walter Wolff, "Die Begründungen der prophetischen Heils- und Unheilssprüche," *ZAW* 52 (1934), pp. 1-21. Wolff analyzes the different patterns of the various forms and types together with the particles of motivation. On the a-b type he comments: "Aber mit grosser Regelmässigkeit leitet die Konjunktion 'נ den Begründungssatz ein."

1. *The oath.* The oath is not only a formal but also an emphatic way of speaking; it is only to be expected that the contexts in which it is employed should be emphatic and that emphatic particles and phrases should accompany it. Its essentially oral character calls attention to the vitality of the particular particle in its context. Most characteristic is its appearance after the oath "As Yahweh lives," but it is not restricted to this formulation. To be noted also is its employment after verbs of swearing. Our first example illustrates the gravity and solemnity of the context:<sup>64</sup>

... and David called to the army, and to Abner the son of Ner, saying, "Will you not answer, Abner?" Then Abner answered, "Who are you that calls to the king?" And David said to Abner, "Are you not a man? Who is like you in Israel? Why then have you not kept watch over your lord the king? כִּי one of the people came in to destroy the king your lord. This thing that you have done is not good. As Yahweh lives אשר יהוה חי you have not kept watch over your lord Yahweh's anointed. And now see (ועתה | ראה) where the king's spear is, and the jar of water that was at his head."

(I Sam. 26:14-16)

Lift up your eyes round about and see;

They all gather, they come to you.

As I live, the oracle of Yahweh, כִּי you shall put them all on as an ornament,

And you shall bind them on as a bride does. (Isa. 49:18)

And Saul said, "God do so to me and more also; כִּי you shall surely die (with inf. abs.), Jonathan." (I Sam. 14:44)

כִּי as I swore to you by Yahweh, the God of Israel, saying "כִּי Solomon your son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne in my stead"; כִּי כֵן will I do this day.

(I Kings 1:30)

<sup>64</sup> After verbs of swearing, see Gen. 22:16; Isa. 45:23; Jer. 22:5. After oath clauses like *חי יהוה*, I Sam. 14:29, 44; 20:3; 25:34; 29:6; Jer. 22:24. Cf. Gen. 42:16. In Job's oath of clearance, note 31:11, 12, 18, 23, 34. Cf. J. Hempel, *Die altthebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben*, pp. 60, 79 f., 140, for an illuminating discussion of the oath. For discerning linguistic comment, see S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (1913), pp. 117, 118, 247, and 229. Here the significance of successive כִּי particles in the oath formulations is discussed.

2. The invective (*Scheltrede*) provides the motivation for the usually following threat (*Drohrede*), and the terminology of motivation is particularly abundant and diverse.<sup>65</sup> The oracles against the nations in Amos 1:3–2:16 use על, which is doubtless an abbreviation for the original כִּי על. We have already seen how the original *Woe* is characteristically followed by the particle.<sup>66</sup>

עשה הרחוק כי הארץ מלאה משפט דמים והעיר מלאה חמס: והבאתי רעי  
גוים וירשו את בתיהם והשבתי גאון עזים ונחלו מקדשיהם: (Ezek. 7:23 f.)

3. Exhortation (*Mahnrede*) is constantly amplified by the reason or basis which prompts it:<sup>67</sup>

For thus says Yahweh to the house of Israel:

Seek Me and live;

But do not seek Bethel,

And do not enter into Gilgal

Or cross over to Beersheba;

כִּי Gilgal shall surely go into exile,

And Bethel shall come to naught. (Amos 5:4 f.)

4. The hymn is an excellent example of how the כִּי appears at certain strategic points in the composition, notably as the introduction to the body of the poem and frequently, too, to the conclusion.<sup>68</sup>

5. What is true of the hymn is also true of the lament, especially the lament of the individual:<sup>69</sup>

O that my vexation were weighed,

And all my calamity laid in the balances!

כִּי then it would be heavier than the sand of the sea;

Therefore my words have been rash.

כִּי the arrows of the Almighty are in me;

My spirit drinks their poison (Job 6:2–4a)

<sup>65</sup> See Hans Walter Wolff, *ibid.*, p. 2 and *passim*.

<sup>66</sup> Gen. 3:14; Isa. 3:16 f.; 29:13 f.; Jer. 30:15 f. See oracles of judgment above. Cf. Amos 4:12.

<sup>67</sup> Deut. 4:6, 7, 24, 31, 32, 39 and often in Deuteronomy; cf. also Zeph. 2:3 f.

<sup>68</sup> Gunkel-Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, pp. 42 f. Exod. 15:21; Pss. 30:2; 47:3; 89:3; 95:3; 96:4; 98:1; 106:1; 107:1; 116:1 f.; 147:1; 148:5. See also 13:6; 47:8; Isa. 12:6.

<sup>69</sup> Job 9:25–35; 13:23–28; 14:7, 16; Pss. 5:2–7; 26:1; 28:1–5; 35:1–8; 38:2 f.; 51:3–8.

6. The priestly oracle of salvation (*der priesterliche Heilsorakel*) employs the particle most impressively since it provides the basis for the divine assurance in the language of the first person asseverations of theophanic speech:<sup>70, 71</sup>

Fear not, כִּי I am with thee;  
Be not dismayed, כִּי I am thy God. (Isa. 41:10)

Then fear not, O Jacob, my servant, says Yahweh,  
Nor be dismayed, O Israel;  
כִּי הִנְנִי I will save you from afar,  
and your offspring from the land of their captivity.

. . .

כִּי I am with you to save you, says Yahweh. (Jer. 30:10 f.)

7. The lawsuit or judicial speech (*Gerichtssrede*) which belongs to the whole realm of Israel's legal existence, is naturally influenced by the force of the particle.<sup>72</sup> It introduces the reason for the judicial summons:

Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth;  
כִּי Yahweh has spoken:  
Sons have I reared and brought up.  
But they have rebelled against me. (Isa. 1:2)

<sup>70</sup> J. Begrich, "Der priesterliche Heilsorakel," *ZAW* 52 (1934) Neue Folge. Band 11, pp. 81-92. See also L. Köhler, "Die Offenbarungsformel 'Fürchte dich nicht!' im Alten Testament," *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* XXXVI (1919), pp. 33-39. For other examples in theophanic contexts see Gen. 21:17; 26:24; Deut. 20:1; 31:6. See also Köhler, *Deuteriojesaja stilkritisch untersucht* especially for the discussion of theophanic style.

<sup>71</sup> The writer is happy to record his indebtedness to Professor Morgenstern for his earliest interest in biblical theophanies. His articles in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* written many years ago (XXV [1911]; XXVIII [1913]) still deserve careful reading and pondering. It is now clear that theophanic terminology is present in numerous cultic and liturgical contexts. Second Isaiah has been deeply influenced by them as the following passages *inter alia* demonstrate: 41:8-13; 43:1-5; 44:2-5; 51:7 f.; 54:4-8. Jer. 30:10 ff. is probably influenced by Second Isaiah. See Ps. 50:7-11 and Deut. 31:28 f.

<sup>72</sup> Deut. 31:28 f.; Ps. 50:7-11; Mic. 6:1-8. J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuteriojesaja*. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft von Alten und Neuen Testament, (1938); Herbert B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," *JBL* LXXVIII (1959), pp. 385-95; J. Muilenburg, *Interpreter's Bible* V (1956), *passim*.

8. It is not surprising that the Torah liturgy should also have it. The composition of Isa. 56:1-8 rewards close inspection; observe how the Torah of 1b is motivated by the כִּי clauses of 1cd, the admonitions of vs. 3 by the divine oracle of vv. 4-7 introduced by יהוה אמר and culminating in the motivation of 7ef. The Torah liturgy in Isaiah 33 culminates appropriately in the magnificent climax:<sup>73</sup>

כִּי Yahweh is our judge, Yahweh is our ruler,  
Yahweh is our king; he will save us. (v. 22)

9. The announcement of the herald or messenger (*Botenspruch*) proclaims the urgency of the report or news by the motive clause introduced by כִּי or by other motivating particles, above all למען, especially in Second Isaiah.<sup>74</sup>

Flee for safety, O people of Benjamin,  
From the midst of Jerusalem!  
Blow the trumpet in Tekoa,  
And raise a signal on Bethhaccerem;  
כִּי evil looms out of the north,  
And great destruction. (Jer. 6:1)

10. A study of the employment of the particle in prose contexts would prove fruitful because it would reveal many other nuances of usage, show how it helps to articulate the predication, and demonstrate the frequency with which it is used to direct the narrative to its conclusion. Among the many passages which illustrate its function are the following: Gen. 3:1-20; 12:10-15; Deut. 4:1-7, 15-40; Josh. 24:16-27; II Sam. 19:6-8; Ruth 1.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Gunkel-Begrich, *ibid.*, 408 f.; Aubrey Johnson, "The Psalms," *Old Testament and Modern Study* (edited by H. H. Rowley), 1951, p. 178. See also H. Gunkel, "Jesaja 33, ein prophetische Liturgie," *ZAW* XLII (1924), pp. 177-208; *ibid.*, "Der Micha-Schluss," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* II (1924), pp. 145-78, translated into English in *What Remains of the Old Testament*, pp. 115-49. Gunkel regards the Torah liturgies in the prophets as imitations; it is more probable that they bore some relation to the cult. Cf. Aubrey Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, 1944.

<sup>74</sup> L. Köhler, *Deuterijosaja stilkritisch untersucht* (1923), pp. 102 ff.; Martin Noth, "History and the Word of God in the Old Testament," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 32 (1950), pp. 194-206; Adolphe Lods, in *Studies of Old Testament Prophecy* (edited by H. H. Rowley), pp. 103-10. It is interesting to observe that in the ancient Near Eastern parallels I have examined the motivations are absent (as in the laws). See Isa. 40:1-2; 41:11-13, 17-20; 44:1-5, 21 f.; 45:18-23; 51:1-8, 12-16.

<sup>75</sup> J. Pedersen, *ibid.*, I-II, pp. 119 f.



It goes without saying that no attempt has been made at completeness in the foregoing discussion. Nor has account been taken of other particles which belong to the same general class as ׀. But it is hoped that enough has been said to suggest something of the importance that our word has for a grasp of Hebrew rhetorical expression, and with that of course our understanding of the mentality of Israel as it is reflected in its use of words. For from an original exclamatory interjection or cry it has developed into a vast variety of nuances and meanings, yet always preserving in one fashion or another its original emphatic connotations, and, far from standing isolatedly in its contexts, it presses speech onward *from* one remembered point *to* another anticipated end. It would be an error to suppose that such a study has only aesthetic or literary value. On the contrary, it may often aid us in our interpretation and appreciation of the precise meaning of the ancient text. At a deeper level and one that is as difficult to penetrate as it is important to assess is the relation between the use of the particles, in the present case the particle ׀, and Israel's understanding of time as it is reflected in terminology, syntax, literary forms and structures, and the movement of words.

## THE "SECOND COMMANDMENT" AND THE IMAGE IN JUDAISM

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THE term "art" — pictorial or visual — when applied to Judaism, tends to evoke an array of negations. Some critics, claiming that a literal interpretation of the Second Commandment was always the rule in Jewish life, have virtually discounted the possibility of visual art among the Jews. The Second Commandment, they have insisted, was designed to accentuate the spirituality of God in contrast, for example, to the Greek worship of beautiful form. The Jew, it has been argued, was concerned with the "beauty of holiness"; the Greek, with the "holiness of beauty." Other writers have attributed the Jew's supposed iconoclasm, his rejection of visual art, to an inherent conservatism calculated to preserve Jewish identity in a variety of places and circumstances. Still others have explained the anti-iconic Second Commandment, and the abstinence from painting assumed to have been enjoined by that Commandment, on the grounds — extraordinary grounds, to be sure — of an allegedly defective sense of color on the part of the Jews. The Jew, it has been said, is more an "aural" than a "visual" being; his feelings relate more to time than to space, and his primary concern is with God's word, not God's picture. We are asked to believe, therefore, that the Jew, though excelling in the splendor and rapture of the word, was denied a talent for the visual.<sup>1</sup>

How is one to account for the common misunderstanding about the Jew vis-à-vis the visual arts? The misunderstanding has arisen largely because writers on the subject have quoted indiscriminately from literary sources such as the Bible, Josephus, and Philo, to bolster their preconceived notions, while they have neglected to consider that these sources derive from diverse social contexts and from different epochs. In ignoring key factors like time and social milieu, scholars have virtually hypothesized an identity between the semi-nomadic Jew's view of art and the views of Jews, such as King Solomon or Joseph Caro, with sharply contrasting attitudes. A more adequate understanding of the complex problem of art and its role in Jewish

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Howarth, "Jewish Art and the Fear of the Image," *Commentary*, IX, No. 2 (February, 1950), 142-50.

life is afforded through an examination of certain key statements in the Bible and in later works. Through such an examination the scholar will be enabled to grasp the intricate relationship between these statements and the particular social and cultural contexts which gave rise to them.

A. *The Implication of the Second Commandment in Biblical Times.*

The earliest pronouncement about art seems to be the so-called Second Commandment in Exod. 20:4. Only the phrase, "You shall not make yourself a graven image," has been associated by many Bible scholars with the desert experience; the rest of the Commandment may be a much later addition.<sup>2</sup> In attempting an evaluation of this commandment, one does well to bear in mind the direct interconnection that inevitably exists between man's way of life and his ideas about God. Man, that is to say, characteristically invests the divine with powers and attributes relevant to his own particular environment and way of life.

Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews in the wilderness, was regarded much as a tribal leader who had an intimate relationship with the tribes. He accompanied the tribes to give them protection and His home was wherever the tribes happened to be. In speaking or writing about Him, the nomad conceived of Him in human terms. (Exod. 33:23: "I will take away My hand, and you shall see My back; but My face shall not be seen"; Exod. 24:11: "He did not lay His hand"; Exod. 24:10: "there was under His feet.") Yet His only visible feature was the cloud in which He enwrapped Himself during the desert wanderings. (Exod. 33:9: "when Moses entered the Tent, the pillar of cloud descended, and stood at the door of the Tent; and [the Lord] spoke with Moses"; Num. 12:5: "And the Lord came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the Tent.") God was believed to travel with the tribes, and His presence was associated with the holy Ark and the Tent. These cult objects, the Ark and the Tent, can be definitely attributed to a desert experience, and are in perfect consonance with the practices of certain primitive nomads, ancient as well as modern.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York, 1956), pp. 34 ff. and M. Noth, *Das zweite Buch Mose, Exodus* (Göttingen, 1959), pp. 130-31.

<sup>3</sup> On the many difficult problems relating to the Ark and the Tent, cf. E. L. Ehrlich, *Kultsymbolik im Alten Testament und im nachbiblischen Judentum* (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 22-24. Cf. also J. Morgenstern, *The Ark, the Ephod, and the "Tent of Meeting"* (Cincinnati, 1945), and K. H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild* (Berlin, 1956), pp. 134 ff.

That God's presence was intricately bound up with the Ark, a notion surviving even into a later epoch when the transition from a nomadic to a sedentary state had already been accomplished, is discernible in the account of the battle against the Philistines at Eben Ezer. When the Ark was brought into the camp, the author of I Sam. 4:7 ff. tells us, "the Philistines were afraid, for they said: 'God has come into the camp.'" Indeed, with the capture of the Ark, God exiled Himself among the Philistine captors and wrought great havoc in their midst (I Sam. 5:2 ff.). Again, we read in II Sam. 6:6 ff. that Uzzah touched the Ark and was killed.

The proscription against making graven images, as it is set down in the Second Commandment, must therefore be understood within the context of a semi-nomadic experience, an experience whose forms persisted even into the subsequent sedentary milieu. God, though conceived of and comprehended in human terms, remained invisible within the cloud, and thus could not be depicted visually in physical terms. The purpose of the law forbidding images seems to have been to assure loyalty to the invisible Yahweh and to keep the nomads from creating idols or adopting the idols of the many sedentary cultures with which they came in contact during their desert sojourn. Eventually, of course, when the Israelites themselves had passed beyond nomadism, their contact with the surrounding sedentary cultures did lead them to adopt a number of idolatrous practices characteristic of a sedentary way of life.

The erection of the Solomonic Temple marked the consolidation of a new phase in Jewish history, a phase radically different from the semi-nomadic era of the Tent. Yahweh was now no longer the wandering God, the tribal chieftain of a semi-nomadic people. He was identified with the land and the monarch. He was the God of a unified people and, as such, needed to be placed within a permanent abode, a beautiful structure like that of the king, who enjoyed a permanent capital resplendent with luxurious palaces. Emulating other oriental rulers, Solomon adapted the palaces and Temple buildings of neighboring monarchs and introduced an elaborate priestly ritual for the Temple of Yahweh.

Were the Second Commandment in its entirety to be taken literally, the construction of Solomon's Temple, with its graven images, such as the cherubim and the twelve oxen which supported the molten sea, would obviously have been a direct violation and transgression. Yet no censure was invoked by the biblical writers.

Although Yahweh probably remained the unseen God of the desert experience, as well as the chief God, other gods, introduced through Solomon's numerous commercial and diplomatic alliances with foreign

countries, were not successfully prevented from invading the country, as is evident from I Kings 11. Again it should be noted that later writers censured Solomon, not for transgressing the Second Commandment, but only for the henotheism which flourished during his reign (I Kings 11:4 ff. and I Kings 14:8 ff.).

The invisible God of the wilderness tribal experience, the God who had travelled within a cloud, was now gloriously enshrined within a permanent sanctuary (I Kings 8). Two specially designed cherubim were fashioned to guard His desert Ark. Although we cannot be certain that the concept, *יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִּים* (who sits upon the cherubim), stems from the time of Solomon's Temple, it seems reasonable to assume that the cherubim served in the capacity of a throne for the invisible God, just as the visible gods of the Orient, the gods of the Canaanites, the Hittites, and the Arameans, were represented as either seated or standing upon similar animal thrones.<sup>4</sup>

While the cherubim were appropriate enough for Solomon's Temple, their presence in the desert Tent seems anachronistic with the desert experience. So late an account as II Sam. 6:2 ff., speaks of David's returning only the Ark, and I Kings 8:1 ff., speaks of Solomon's bringing only the Ark to the Temple. No mention is made in either account of the cherubim, or the elaborate "lampstand of pure gold" fashioned by Bezalel (Exod. 37:17 ff.), or of any of the other costly materials which according to Exodus were in the Tent. Many Bible scholars have concluded, therefore, that these appurtenances to the Tent did not exist in the desert, but were inserted into the account at a later time by the final redactors.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> As confirmed by W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1942), pp. 202-3, 229-30. If the cherubim had been intrinsic features of the Tent, why should it have been necessary to fashion them again for the Temple? Cf. the similarity in language between Exod. 37:7 ff. and I Kings 6:23 ff. and 8:7 ff. Cf. now M. Haran, "The Ark and the Cherubim, Their Symbolic Significance in Biblical Ritual," *Israel Exploration Journal*, IX, No. 1 (1959), 30-38 and IX, No. 2 (1959), 89-94, for an exhaustive treatment of the problem. Haran believes that the cherubim served as a throne for Yahweh. Cf. also H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 588-89, for depictions of Hittite gods, standing or sitting on the backs of animals, and F. P. Bargebuhr, "The Alhambra Palace of the Eleventh Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIX, Nos. 3-4 (1956), 213, and 249, n. 66.

<sup>5</sup> Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff. assigns this section to the Priestly Code. Cf. also Noth, *op. cit.*, pp. 220 ff. It is most likely, however, that the tradition of Bezalel was known to the priestly writers and was not invented by them. They probably utilized and embroidered it in order to show that the appurtenances of the Temple were already found in the Tent of the desert. By thus making the Tent a movable Temple, the Zadokite priests hoped to establish a claim of an unbroken tradition as



Likewise the costly materials, not to mention the skills in weaving, embossing, and the like, which were necessary to produce the appurtenances described in Exodus are, of course, completely out of keeping with a semi-nomadic existence. It is inconceivable that a semi-nomadic tribal group would possess such costly materials; it is equally unlikely that such a group would have the surplus necessary to purchase such valuable goods, much less the wherewithal to train and develop such highly skilled artists in its midst. There is little reason to doubt, therefore, that the Pentateuchal description of the elaborate appurtenances and decorations of the Tent was inserted during a much later period, probably in an attempt to give Mosaic sanction to the elaborate Temple cult as well as to glorify the already venerated past. It is a fact that archeological investigation of the pottery and ceramics of the monarchical period has shown them to be much cruder than their Canaanite counterparts, a crudeness which testifies eloquently to the lack of native skills available for Solomon's project. For this very reason we find in I Kings 7:13 ff. that the king had to import Hiram of Tyre to fashion the two pillars of bronze, the molten sea supported by twelve oxen, the stands of bronze, and the like, for his Temple.

It is entirely understandable that a nation so underdeveloped artistically, yet surrounded by such advanced cultures as Egypt and Mesopotamia with their splendid artistic traditions, would attempt to read into its history and Sacred Scripture a tradition of artistic accomplishment which would place it on a footing at least as high as that of its more sophisticated neighbors. Surely, the God of Israel could not have endowed the newly formed nation with less talent than any other nation; to have done so would have been to admit its backwardness, and hence the inferiority of its God. Then, too, although graven images had been forbidden in the desert experience, the changed conditions of life under the monarchy now made it necessary to find a way to invest such images with religious sanction.

By contrast, it is particularly instructive in this regard to read the biblical descriptions of Hiram and Bezalel. I Kings 7:14 characterizes Hiram, a court artist of wealthy, highly cultured Phoenicia, as "filled with wisdom, intelligence and knowledge, to work any work in bronze,"<sup>6</sup> whereas Exod. 31:3 ff. says of Bezalel, a mere desert artist,

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hereditary functionaries of the cult from the time of the Tent in the desert, and to justify therewith the artistic appurtenances of the Temple.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. II Chron. 2:13, a much later version of the construction of the Temple, a version which attributes to Hiram a range of talents which seems to place him on the same universal artistic plane as Bezalel — "skilled to work in gold, silver, bronze,



that God Himself "filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, intelligence and knowledge and all craftsmanship, to devise artistic designs, to work in gold, silver, and bronze, in cutting stones for setting, and in carving wood, to work in every craft." Hiram, a Phoenician court artist, is described as having received no direct inspiration from God and as having been skilled only in the working of bronze, whereas for Bezalel, the Jewish desert artist, the claim is made not only that he received his inspiration directly from God, but that he was endowed with skills surpassing those of even the greatest artists in the ancient Near East. What nation could boast of an artistic tradition equal to this?<sup>7</sup>

Thus it becomes clear that the projection of an artistic tradition back into the desert experience served to overcome two inherent difficulties. On the one hand it allowed the new nation to boast of a worthy artistic heritage, and on the other hand it prepared the way for the making of graven images which would otherwise have been considered a transgression of sacred law.

As was pointed out earlier in these pages, attitudes toward art within a society generally express the needs of such a society, or, at least, the needs of certain elements within it. Any statement in reference to Jewish art can be evaluated adequately only by taking this important factor into consideration. A clear demonstration of this principle is provided in I Kings 12:28, where we read that Jeroboam, the new king of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, met the threat to his power and prestige by discouraging his subjects from worshipping in the Temple at Jerusalem, capital of the Southern Kingdom of Judah. Jeroboam, we are told, "made two calves of gold" and represented them to his people as "your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt." To be sure, the account

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iron, stone, and wood, and in purple, blue, fine linen, and in crimson, and to grave all types of engraving and devise any artistic design that may be assigned to him." It should be noted, however, that Hiram's skills were not held to be derived from or inspired by God and that he was merely requested to add his skills to those already existent among the Jewish craftsmen in Judah — "to be with the wise craftsmen who are with me (i. e., Solomon) in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father provided." (II Chron. 2:6). Cf. K. Gallinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia* (Göttingen, 1954), p. 83, for such variations of the name Hiram as חִירָם אֲבִי in II Chron. 2:12; חִירָם in II Chron. 4:11; and חִירָם אֲבִי in II Chron. 4:16.

<sup>7</sup> The story of Bezalel, the craftsman inspired by God, seems to follow the epic pattern. Thus in the related Canaanite myths, it is a divine craftsman who builds the house for Baal. Cf. J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1950), p. 133, and S. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956), pp. 10 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Harry M. Orlinsky for calling this fact to my attention. On the name Bezalel, cf. Noth, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-97.

in I Kings censures Jeroboam, but one may well wonder whether the redactors of the Bible, who were Southern Judeans, censured Jeroboam because he transgressed the Second Commandment or because they were determined to defend the Jerusalem Temple and its cult against all rivals.

A further demonstration that attitudes toward art reflect the needs of certain elements in a society, is supplied by such prophets as Amos and Hosea. The pronouncements of these prophets who lived during the time of the kings have often been invoked as examples of how scrupulously the Second Commandment, with all its ramifications, was observed and enforced. Those who cite prophetic statements in this connection entirely overlook the fact — a fact that these prophets themselves certainly did not overlook — that the establishment of a flourishing monarchical structure in Palestine endangered the semi-nomadic way of life which had never disappeared and which these prophets equated with loyalty to Yahweh. These prophets who spoke out so vehemently against idol worship, (Hos. 8:4, 13:2) and against objects of art, (Amos 3:15; 6:4) were moved, not so much by a revulsion against art or by a desire to enforce the Second Commandment, as by a pressing need to preserve the semi-nomadic way of life. The importation of foreign cults, which had resulted from the commercial interests of the kings, the elaborate Temple ritual and the maintenance of a privileged priesthood, the luxurious life at court and the comforts and pleasures of the wealthy landowners, all threatened to undermine the influence and heritage of the semi-nomad. These prophets, who spoke for the uprooted, the impoverished and the unprivileged elements in the society, tried to prevent the destruction of a social structure which they venerated as divinely ordained. They blamed the evils within Jewish society — evils which were particularly noticeable during times of stress — on the extravagances of the monarchy, the priesthood, and the wealthy landowners. Furthermore, since these institutions and classes had not existed during the desert experience, the prophetic pronouncements could idealize the wilderness wanderings; they could imply that abolition of these new institutions and their extravagances would insure the welfare of the unprivileged classes. The exhortations of these prophets and their zealous desire to guard the purity of the original Yahweh cult must be understood and evaluated in this light.

Of particular importance to a study of the problem of art in biblical times are the statements about art which are linked up with the Deuteronomic reform. These statements are, in essence, nothing more than insertions into, and amplifications of the Second Command-

ment in the Book of Exodus; the same is true of the very severe strictures against idols in the Book of Deuteronomy itself. Stemming from the reign of the seventh century Judean king, Josiah, these utterances have often been cited as reflective of the Jewish historic experience and the Jewish attitude towards art, not only under the regime of King Josiah, but throughout all of the Jewish history which preceded his reign. Yet the severely anti-iconic strictures characteristic of Josiah's reign had little genuine association with the scrupulous observance of the Second Commandment. Already, even before Josiah's time, idols and "high places" devoted to Yahweh or Baal, or to both, were not only profuse, but, in fact, as indicated in II Kings 23:4 ff., had become accepted practice. Josiah, however, apparently at the insistence of the Jerusalem priesthood, on whom he may have depended for support and who no doubt lost prestige — and tithes — when many sacrifices were diverted to the numerous "high places," insisted on the centrality of worship. To accomplish this end, an unwavering affirmation of Yahweh's exclusiveness and the centrality of the Yahweh cult was necessary; all attempts to decentralize the cult and to worship other gods had, of course, to be eliminated. Viewed against the historic background, then, the severity of Josiah's iconoclastic strictures bear little relation to the Second Commandment, particularly since there is no evidence in II Kings 23 that he removed any of the elaborate graven images from the period of Solomon, such as the cherubim, from the Temple at Jerusalem. Josiah's denunciations of idolatry were primarily measures designed to strengthen the monarchy and its priestly allies.

B. *The Implication of the Second Commandment in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods.*

The rise of Hellenism following the conquest of Palestine and the Near Eastern world by Alexander brought in its wake momentous and drastic changes for Judaism. It marked the gradual introduction of the polis (i. e., the Greek-type city) into a society that had remained essentially agricultural. This, in turn, called forth new artisan, shopkeeper, and merchant classes, classes which ultimately came to exercise rather complete control over the older agricultural classes. The emergence of these new classes posed a number of new problems. The Pentateuchal laws, which were made for a society that was largely agricultural and featured, as such, sacrificial offerings to a central cult in order to insure the sufficiency of the crops, had little meaning for the new classes which had been elevated into domination of Jewish

life. Since no provision was made in the Pentateuch for these classes they felt their share in the agriculturally oriented Jewish religion to be highly attenuated, for they were unable to offer either their merchandise or their handicrafts to the Temple as sacrifices.

The discontents arising in Jewish life as a result of the encounter with Hellenism involved more than the complaints of an urban populace fettered with a cult that was intrinsically rural. There were intellectual consequences as well. While the Jewish merchant and craftsmen found fault with the non-urban character of the religion, Jewish thinkers, particularly those living in a Greco-Roman environment outside of Palestine, who sought to remain loyal to Judaism, found fault with Judaism's non-philosophical character. Jewish intellectuals attracted to Hellenistic philosophy measured their tradition against the heritage of Plato and Aristotle, and found Judaism wanting.

The ideas of the Pentateuch, founded as they were on revelation and divine authority, came to be regarded by many as incompatible with the systems expounded by Hellenistic thinkers. To remedy this in the realm of historiography, Josephus sought to refashion the annals of the Jews in imitation of the works of Greek historians such as Thucydides and Polybius. In the realm of philosophy, Philo attempted to allegorize the Pentateuch and sought thereby to reconcile it with Platonic thought.

Josephus, the celebrated Jewish historian who lived during the first century C. E., attempted to use Greek historiography as a model for his own recapitulations of Jewish history. A striking feature of Josephus' work is that, unlike the Bible, it is virtually devoid of appeals to divine authority, to divine intercession in, or divine direction of, history. His work appeals, rather, to reason, to the objective viewing of facts, to their essential truth and consistency. Yet, in presenting history in this objective fashion, Josephus' task was complicated by the Jewish revolt against Rome and by the ultimate defeat of the Jews, in which he had been personally involved. Josephus had been in command of the army in Galilee before his surrender to the Romans. Taken to Rome as a privileged captive, Josephus had settled down at the Flavian court to write his volumes on Jewish history and tradition — *The Jewish War*, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, and *Against Apion*. He also wrote an autobiographical work. He attempted, in these books, to portray Jewish history as longer, more reliable, and more factual than Greek history or, for that matter, than the history of any other people. The Torah he described as a constitution similar to the legal systems with which the Greeks and Romans were familiar;

Moses he presented as a lawgiver, the Jewish counterpart to Solon. In all this, of course, Josephus felt himself compelled to adopt a highly apologetic tone; the nature of his task demanded it, for he had set out, on the one hand, to rationalize and justify to his Jewish compatriots his betrayal of their cause and, on the other hand, to defend and win sympathy for Judaism in a Greco-Roman world hostile to the Jews.

Committed to writing history in the manner of the Greek and Roman historians, Josephus sought to render his presentation as consistent and as objective as possible. Yet, since he was determined to excuse certain of his own actions as well as those of his fellow Jews which might give offense to his Roman patrons, he was equally committed to writing an *apologia*.

The predicament in which Josephus found himself — the dilemma of the factual as against the apologetic — is nowhere more obvious than in his remarks regarding art. The demands of his *apologia* led him to circumvent the implications of the facts he was presenting. Hence, for example, in recounting Jewish demonstrations against Roman images and military standards, Josephus found it necessary to ascribe them to a Jewish insistence on the strict observance of the anti-iconic Second Commandment rather than to a Jewish hatred of Rome's oppressive rule. As he states it:

Furthermore our Lawgiver forbade the making of images, not as if prophetically indicating that the power of the Romans was not to be honored, but as though scorning a matter that was useful neither to God nor man. (*Against Apion*, II, 6).

Of interest in this connection is Josephus' treatment of the episode in which, during the last days of Herod, the leaders of the revolutionary party incited their followers to tear down the golden eagle — symbolic of Rome — which had been set up by Herod over the great gate of the Temple. Josephus excused this act of insurrection on the grounds that Herod had violated the Second Commandment in erecting the eagle; the insurrectionists had been justified in destroying the eagle because in so doing they had sought to uphold the law, not to evince hatred of Rome. Nevertheless, it is evident from Josephus' account that the ruling authorities among the Jews had sided with Herod in condemning the culprits to death, for in *Antiquities*, XVII, 6, 3-4, he relates that Herod "summoned the leaders of the Jews" who "said that these deeds had been done without their knowledge, and that it seemed to them that these deeds should not be exempt from punishment." Josephus' demurral notwithstanding, the religious authorities had obviously seen no infringement of the law in Herod's



erection of the eagle, which "he had dedicated" (to the Temple). Since the eagle was not an image intended for idolatrous purposes the king undoubtedly had the sanction of the important religious authorities from the very beginning (*Antiquities*, XVII, 6, 2, and *Wars*, I, 33, 2-3).

Again, in recounting how under the hated procurators riots broke out in reaction to the appearance in Jerusalem of a military detachment with its standards on which the image of the Roman Emperor appeared, Josephus disposed of the incident by observing that "our law forbids us to make images." (*Antiquities*, XVIII, 3, 1, and *Wars*, II, 9, 2.)<sup>8</sup>

His insistence that acts of rebellion against Rome were to be attributed to a zealous upholding of religious law forced Josephus, for the sake of consistency, to condemn King Solomon himself; the graven images of the Temple, Josephus claimed, had made Solomon guilty of violating the Second Commandment. Although the biblical account itself had never seen fit to censure King Solomon on such grounds, Josephus declared, in *Antiquities* VIII, 7, 5 that

as he (Solomon) advanced in age, and his reason became in time too feeble to recollect the customs of his own country . . . . he sinned, and went astray in the observance of the laws, namely when he made the images of the bronze bulls that supported the molten sea, and the images of the lions around his own throne, for it was impious to make them.<sup>9</sup>

Yet, despite his valiant attempts at consistency, Josephus was compelled on occasion to allow certain facts concerning art to stand without censure or the claim of violation of the Second Commandment. These instances invariably involved royal Jewish personages who either had presented gifts of art to the Romans or had imitated Roman artistic practices. Consequently, while, on the one hand, he criticized Herod for violating the law of the land in erecting the eagle

<sup>8</sup> This study is not intended to be an exhaustive treatment of all Jewish sources bearing on art in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. For other sources in Josephus bearing on this subject and for different interpretations of sources cited, cf. R. Meyer, "Die Figurendarstellung in der Kunst des späthellenistischen Judentums," *Judaica*, V, No. 1 (March, 1949), 1-12 and C. Roth, "An Ordinance Against Images in Jerusalem, A. D. 66," *Harvard Theological Review*, XLIX, No. 1 (July, 1956), 169-77.

<sup>9</sup> Though Josephus condemns Solomon for such non-Pentateuchal additions to the Temple as the molten sea, he accepts without censure the cherubim in Solomon's Temple, which were also graven images. Since the cherubim were included in the Pentateuch, Josephus, who was a priest in the Temple of Jerusalem, had obviously accepted them without question. He describes them in the section dealing with the Tent in the desert as follows: "in form unlike anything that man has seen, though Moses said that he saw them carved on the throne of God." (*Antiquities*, III, 6, 5).



over the Temple (*Antiquities*, XVII, 6, 2, and *Wars*, I, 33, 2-3), he reported without censure, on the other hand, that Herod's palace in Jerusalem had been decorated with figures (*Wars*, V, 4, 4).<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the pictures of her children sent by Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus II, to Antony (*Antiquities*, XV, 2, 6), were neither censured nor condemned as violations of tradition. Nor did Josephus see fit to criticize the popular Jewish king, Herod Agrippa I, who had had statues of his daughters made (*Antiquities*, XIX, 9, 1).

Had Josephus, in these latter instances, insisted on the strict observance of the Second Commandment, his criticism would have been interpreted by the Romans as a direct insult to their friendship and ties with Jewish royalty. Where, however, insurrections and riots were concerned, had he not ascribed them to zeal for the Second Commandment, they would have been viewed by the Roman reader as overtly anti-Roman acts of hostility on the part of the Jews. In either case, Josephus, caught on the horns of a dilemma, had no choice but to resolve the issues without antagonizing his Roman patrons.

An examination of Philo's attitude towards the visual arts is particularly helpful in leading us to determine the extent to which he superimposed Platonic thought patterns on the existent biblical thought patterns. In *On the Giants*, XIII, 59, he offered it as his opinion that

[Moses] banished from his own commonwealth painting and sculpture, with all their high repute and charm of artistry, because their crafts belie the nature of truth and work deception and illusions through the eyes to souls that are ready to be seduced.<sup>11</sup>

In *The Decalogue*, XIV, 66-67, Philo denounced those who

filled the habitable world with images and wooden figures and the other works of human hands fashioned by the craftsmanship of painting and sculpture, arts which have wrought great mischief in the life of mankind. For these idolators cut away the most excellent support of the soul, the rightful conception of the Ever-living God.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Yet the palace of Herod Antipas in Tiberias (*Life*, 12), which had figures of living creatures, he urged to have destroyed, despite the protestations of the local authorities. He counselled in this manner on the pretext that he was ordered to do so and that the figures were a violation of Jewish law. This action of Josephus was motivated no doubt to prove to the Jews of Galilee that he sided with the radical elements in Judea and upheld their cause against Rome and its friends.

<sup>11</sup> *Philo*, with an English translation by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (London and New York, 1929), II, p. 475.

<sup>12</sup> *Philo*, with an English translation by F. H. Colson (Cambridge, Mass. and

These sentiments appear to agree with the anti-iconic attitude found in a number of biblical passages. In fact, however, they differ radically from those of the Bible. What Philo has done is to echo the Platonic concept that certain arts — the "amusement" and "imitative" arts — should be banned from the ideal state, since they are deceptive and arouse passions which the reasonable faculty is unable to control.<sup>13</sup> The biblical antagonism to art had been called forth primarily by the desire to avoid an idolatry which might endanger the purity of the Yahweh cult. Philo's strictures bore little relation to the Temple cult, which in its own day was known far and wide for its artistically wrought appurtenances, but were expressed in terms of how one might best attain the goals established by a philosophic system.

Two hundred years later some of the early Church Fathers, in their fight against paganism and its cult of images, were confronted with a similar problem of reconciling Platonic tradition with naïve, revelatory texts (the Old and New Testaments), and came to similar conclusions about the visual arts. Clement of Alexandria declared, for example, that

Moses, much earlier, made an express and public Law against the making of any carved or molten or moulded or painted image and representation, in order that we might not direct our attention to sensible objects, but might proceed to that which is perceptible to the mind.<sup>14</sup>

Again the stress is placed on the idea that the representation of objects is unworthy, because it is deceptive and misleading to the earnest seeker of philosophic truth.

London, 1937), VII, pp. 39-41. For other passages in Philo bearing on this subject, cf. E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (New Heaven, 1935), pp. 256-59. Cf. also H. A. Wolfson, *Philo — Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Cambridge, 1948), I, pp. 29-30.

<sup>13</sup> The prevalent conception that Plato banished the artist (or poet) from his ideal commonwealth is largely a misunderstanding of passages in *The Republic*. Plato wished to banish only "amusement" art because he felt that it provoked childish passions and emotions which had no useful purpose in the ideal republic where law and reason should rule. Philo, for his own purposes, may have preferred to interpret Plato as desirous of banning the artist from his ideal republic. Cf. R. G. Collingwood, *The Principles of Art* (New York, 1958), pp. 47 ff. and 98 ff., and G. M. A. Grube, *Plato's Thought* (Boston, 1958), pp. 179 ff. I am indebted to Rabbi Jack Bemporad for these references.

<sup>14</sup> *Stromata*, V, 5 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, IX, 50). Cf. E. Bevan, *Holy Images* (London, 1939), pp. 107 and 84 ff. for the attitude of the early Church towards art. Cf. also J. Kollwitz, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Bilderverehrung," and H. F. von Campenhausen, "Die Bilderfrage als theologisches Problem der alten Kirche," in *Das Gottesbild im Abendland* (Witten und Berlin, 1959), pp. 57-108.

Clearly, the statements of Philo cannot be used to establish an antagonism toward images on the part of Judaism; nor do they indicate a strict enforcement of the Second Commandment during the Hellenistic period.

Similarly, were one to take literally the statements made by some of the early Church Fathers with regard to artistic expression, they would lead one to believe that pictorial art in the early Church was virtually non-existent. What, however, of the elaborately painted catacombs and the sculptured sarcophagi of the patristic age? Scholars who have appealed to Philo or certain early Church Fathers to establish a thesis of Jewish or early Christian iconoclasm have simply overlooked the fact that, in their attitudes toward art, Philo and his patristic successors voiced the philosophic sentiments and aspirations of highly select groups. These utterances cannot constitute evidence to support a contention that the Second Commandment was observed, nor can they serve to explain the existing practices of the masses in general.

It is evident, therefore, that sources like Josephus and Philo cannot be cited in support of any thesis which would affirm the ubiquitous observance of the Second Commandment.

The conclusion to which one is inevitably drawn from an examination of the surviving material, both literary and archeological, from the Biblical and Hellenistic-Roman periods, is that a rigidly and uniformly anti-iconic attitude on the part of the Jews remains as much a myth as the Procrustean bed on which Jewish art history has so often been made to lie.

## AMOS WAS A NAVI

SIMON COHEN

Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati

THE appearance of the literary prophets in Israel is one of the great moments in religious history. To appreciate it fully we must understand the true position of these prophets, the function that they felt they must fill, and the source of their authority. For this purpose the best object of study is the prophet Amos, who not only founded the movement, but also created a pattern of terms and a form of expression that served as a model to all his successors. The much debated question that arises in this connection is: Did Amos regard himself as a Navi (נביא) or did he not?

The essential problem can be stated briefly. In all the pertinent passages in the Book of Amos except one, Amos acts as if he claims the title of Navi. Thus in chapter 3, in defending his own activity, he expressly states that the intentions of God are revealed to His prophets (v. 7), a privilege which he always claims for himself. He follows this by the statement that the call to prophecy is as irresistible as the involuntary shudder that comes to one who hears the roaring of a lion (v. 8). He is indignant that the people of Israel have forbidden the prophets to speak (2:12). On the other hand, in his defiant reply to Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, he seems to say, "I am no prophet, nor am I the son of a prophet"<sup>1</sup> (7:14). Yet in this very passage there is a contradiction, for both Amaziah (vv. 12, 16) and Amos himself (v. 15) describe the activities of the latter as "prophesying" (הנבא). Accordingly, this "denial" on the part of Amos that he was a Navi is in direct disagreement with all other pertinent passages in the Book of Amos.

Translators and commentators of the Book of Amos have recognized this contradiction and have again and again tried to explain it away.<sup>2</sup> The oldest suggestion is that of the LXX, which throws the sentence into the past tense: "I *was* not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet," implying that Amos was originally not a Navi, but became one through the call of God which came to him (7:15). This is con-

<sup>1</sup> לאֲנִבִּיאַ אֲנִי וְלֹא בֶן־נְבִיאַ אֲנִי:

<sup>2</sup> A more elaborate discussion can be found in H. H. Rowley, "Was Amos a Nabi," *Eissfeldt Festschrift*, pp. 191-98, who holds to the first view given below, and J. Morgenstern, "Amos Studies," *HUCA* XI (1936) 47-60, who upholds the third view.

sistent with the thought of Amos, but an impossible rendering, because under no conditions can the employment of a personal pronoun without a verb be regarded as anything but present tense. A recent explanation<sup>3</sup> proposes to regard the phrase as a question: "Am I not a prophet? Am I not the son of a prophet?"; but the absence of the interrogative particle tells against it, and the reference to "son of a prophet" contradicts the idea of a direct call from God. Most of the commentators, therefore, have tried to explain the words of Amos to mean: "I am not a prophet, that is, I am not a professional prophet (בן נביא)," i. e., one of the prophetic guild; but this explanation, though to some extent compatible with the thought of Amos, is extremely forced, in that it does violence to the meaning of the conjunction *Waw*, and uses it in a way not found elsewhere in the Bible.

A further objection to all these explanations is the failure of Amos to claim any other title than that of Navi. If he wished to disassociate himself from that term, why did he not coin a new one for his own activity, as he could easily have done, and as Jeremiah, in one passage, actually did (Jer. 20:9)?

Since all these explanations are unsatisfactory, it is necessary to make a new approach, and this can be done by a consideration of the terms Navi and Ben Navi, as used in the Scriptures. Navi is used throughout in the Bible in the sense of one who professes to declare the will of God to the people; it is used alike whether the Navi is a true or a false one.<sup>4</sup> Ben Navi is used but seldom, and except here, always in the plural. All the passages except one refer to the disciples of Elisha (II Kings 2:3, 5, 7, 15; 4:1, 38; 6:1; 9:1); the other example is that of the anonymous prophet who spoke to Ahab (I Kings 20:35). Such men were obviously acolytes who received prophetic training and in course of time would be allowed to function as cultic prophets of the type that the literary prophets always denounced (e. g., Jer. 23). The distinguishing mark of such "prophets" and their disciples was a tattoo or other mark placed on their foreheads, as the commentators to the passage in I Kings 20 have already noted. They have pointed out that the "son of the prophet" here deliberately covered his forehead with a wound-bandage (v. 38), and it was only when he removed it that the king recognized him as a prophet (v. 41).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Watts, *Vision and Prophecy in Amos*, p. 11, cites the original proposal and the discussion which followed.

<sup>4</sup> The exact figures are: historical books, 110 true, 21 false; prophetic books, 74 true, 68 false, 6 neutral; legislation, 2 true, 7 false; other books, 7 true, 2 false.

<sup>5</sup> A good discussion of this subject is found in Loring W. Batten, *The Hebrew Prophet*, pp. 71-72, 336-38.

Amos, however, had not been a disciple of a professional prophet and bore no such mark on his forehead. Amaziah, therefore, in addressing Amos, did not call him Navi, but *Hozeh* (חֹזֶה), "seer, fore-caster," obviously a lesser title. Amos would resent this term; he would insist, on the basis of his direct call from God: "I *am* a Navi, even though I am not a Ben Navi." And these very words are to be found in the crucial passage in Amos 7:14! All that is necessary is to ignore the masoretic punctuation of this verse and to break the opening words of the reply of Amos into two phrases, as follows:

"No!

"I am indeed a Navi (prophet), but not a Ben Navi (professional prophet)."<sup>6</sup>

Both of these phrases are idiomatic, grammatically perfect Hebrew. The use of *לא* as a negative reply is found in various forms in the Bible. The plain unqualified negative is to be seen in the Ephraimites' answer to the watchmen at the fords (Judg. 12:5) and the priests' answer to the prophet (Hag. 2:12). It is contained, with the addition, "my lord," in such passages as Ephron's answer to Abraham (Gen. 23:11), that of the sons of Jacob to Joseph (Gen. 42:10), or in the prophet's answer to God (Zech. 4:5, 13). A more literary form is *לא כן*, "not so," found in such passages as Gen. 48:18, Exod. 10:11, and II Sam. 18:14; in other passages a contrasting phrase is introduced by the emphatic *כי*, as in Gen. 19:2, Judg. 15:13, I Sam. 8:19, and several other passages. The plain simple negative, as found in Amos 7:14, is all the more expressive because it is stripped of all literary elegance or courteous dissent. It is the bluntest, most defiant word that Amos could hurl into the face of the amazed Amaziah. It has the ring of authenticity; we feel that here is exact reporting of the words of Amos. The claim to be a prophet, which follows, is not only grammatically correct, but thoroughly in agreement with the expressed words of this pioneer of a new conception of prophecy.

This new reading of the opening words of Amos is so natural and logical, and so consistent with the thought of the prophet that the only objection that can be raised against it is that it changes the traditional and accepted masoretic punctuation. But this objection has no real

<sup>6</sup> *לא!*

*נביא אנכי ולא בן נביא (אנכי)*

The last word is doubtful, as it was not in the text underlying the LXX. If the phrase is read without it, it would have the same 2+2 beat that is found in all the other poetic sections of Amos' reply.



force, as the traditional punctuation did not arise until centuries after Amos; it was not even prevalent in the time of the LXX (3rd to 1st centuries B. C. E.), which on more than one occasion ignores it.<sup>7</sup> It can not be accepted in view of the contradiction it raises in the words of Amos, even though it appears to have risen in the post-Exilic period.<sup>8</sup>

In direct contrast to the old reading, this new proposed division of the words of Amos 7:14 gives a clear and even more emphatic presentation of the thought of Amos. This "no" at the beginning is an emphatic negation of the entire speech of Amaziah. The priest had expressed three ideas: that Amos was a *Ḥozeh*, that he could earn his living by prophesying elsewhere and that he must not speak in Bethel under penalty of punishment. Amos answers: "Positively not!" To the insinuation that he needs to prophesy to earn a living, he replies that he has other ways of getting his sustenance;<sup>9</sup> the prohibition of speaking is rebutted by the statement that God has bidden him speak directly to Israel.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the epithet *Ḥozeh* is rejected in favor of the desired term *Navi*.

Thus this passage in the first of the literary prophets, properly read, sets the key for the entire movement. It did not replace the term *Navi* by a new word, but gave it a new meaning. It was a denial of the prophecy of the past, an affirmation of the prophecy of the future. It repudiated the right of the government to suppress its teachings; it claimed the old title of *Navi*, not as a professional soothsayer and cultic servant, but rather as one who had heard the call of God and was irresistibly compelled to speak His word in defiance of all opposition. In this sense, and with this new purpose, Amos *was* a *Navi*.

<sup>7</sup> Thus, in Gen. 22, the words, "on the third day," are read with v. 3, instead of with v. 4, as in the MT; in I Sam., the last two words of chapter 11 are joined by the LXX to the first verse of chapter 12.

<sup>8</sup> The phrase "I am not a prophet" is found in Pseudo-Zechariah (Zech. 13:5). Since this writer borrowed from earlier prophets, taking his earthquake (14:5) from Amos 1:1 and his healing river (14:8) from Ezekiel 47, it is probable that he lifted this phrase from Amos 7:14 and in the masoretic punctuation. But who can date Pseudo-Zechariah more exactly than to say that he was post-Exilic?

<sup>9</sup> V. 14. I would suggest, instead of the meaningless בוקר, an emendation to בוצר, "vine-gleaner," which fits in well with "pruner of sycamores" and involves the change of only one letter.

<sup>10</sup> V. 15. The key word is נָא; the message of the prophet must be delivered in person.

## SINAI-ERZÄHLUNG UND BILEAM-SPRÜCHE

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ZWEI Abschnitte des Pentateuchs, Exod. 19–34 und Num. 22–24, lassen die auch sonst im Alten Testament erkennbare Verschiedenheit der Stellungnahme zu politischer Macht und wirtschaftlichem Wohlstand, zu Landbesitz und Opferkultus besonders deutlich werden, indem je ein Strang in den genannten Abschnitten diesen Werten in uneingeschränkter Bejahung gegenübersteht, der andere sie mit einer gewissen Zurückhaltung betrachtet und sie zu haben rät, als hätte man sie nicht. Zu erschöpfender literarischer Analyse der Sinai-Erzählung und der Bileam-Geschichte, die beide zugestandenmaßen uneinheitlich sind, reicht jene in ihnen zu beobachtende Verschiedenheit freilich nicht aus, um so weniger, als jedenfalls in der Sinai-Erzählung eine nach diesem Kriterium vorgenommene Analyse viel Stoff übrig lassen muß, der ihm gegenüber neutral ist. Aber mit diesem Vorbehalt darf der Versuch, die Sinai-Erzählung und die Bileam-Geschichte nach dem genannten Prinzip aufzuteilen, doch einmal gemacht werden. Dabei kann in der Bileam-Geschichte die Prosa-Erzählung, die weder eine positive noch eine negative Stellungnahme zu Macht und Wohlstand, Land und Kultus erkennen läßt, unberücksichtigt bleiben, die Untersuchung sich also auf die beiden Gedicht- oder Spruchpaare in Num. 23–24 beschränken, in denen jene Verschiedenheit um so klarer hervortritt. Dagegen werden die beiden Stränge der Sinai-Erzählung, die eine so verschiedene Stellungnahme zu den Gütern dieser Welt einnehmen, als ganze zu betrachten sein und auch in ihrem vollen Wortlaut mitgeteilt werden müssen. Wo, wie das hier und da der Fall ist, ein Erzählungsstrang zu Gunsten eines anderen Einbußen erlitten hat, wird in der Wiedergabe des Erzählungsinhalts die Ergänzung in eckige Klammer gesetzt und in der Mitteilung des Wortlauts die Lücke durch . . . kenntlich gemacht. Von einer Kenntlichmachung der wenigen und unbedeutenden Textkorrekturen, die von den im folgenden gegebenen Übersetzungen vorausgesetzt werden, ist abgesehen.

## I

In Exod. 19–34 hat der meistens dem J zugeschriebene und daher auch im Folgenden so bezeichnete Strang von Israels Ankunft am Sinai und von Jahwes Vorverhandlungen mit Mose erzählt: **19** <sup>3</sup>Und Jahwe rief ihm vom Berge zu, <sup>9</sup>und Jahwe sprach zu Mose: Siehe, ich will in dichtem Gewölk zu dir kommen, damit das Volk hört, wenn ich mit dir rede, und sie dir immerdar vertrauen. [Mose solle dem Volke davon Mitteilung machen und sein Einverständnis einholen. Das geschieht.] Und Mose teilte die Antwort des Volkes Jahwe mit. Jahwe kündigt nunmehr für den dritten Tag seine Herabfahrt auf den Sinai an und befiehlt Mose, das Volk anzuweisen, daß es sich dafür vorbereite: <sup>11</sup>Und sie sollen für den dritten Tag bereit sein: denn am dritten Tag wird Jahwe vor den Augen des ganzen Volkes auf den Sinai herabfahren. <sup>13</sup>Keine Hand darf ihn berühren; denn vom Steinschlag oder vom Blitz getroffen wird . . . [Mose führt den Befehl aus:] <sup>15</sup>Und er sprach zum Volke: Seid für den dritten Tag bereit, rühret kein Weib an! <sup>16</sup>Und am dritten Tage, als es Morgen ward, kamen Donner und Blitze und eine schwere Wolke legte sich auf den Berg und ein sehr starker Posaunenton erschallte. <sup>19</sup>Und als der Posaunenton immer stärker wurde, <sup>20</sup>fuhr Jahwe auf den Berg Sinai herab. Und Jahwe rief Mose auf die Spitze des Berges, und Mose stieg hinauf. <sup>21</sup>Und Jahwe sprach zu Mose: Steig herab, beschwöre das Volk, daß sie ja nicht zu Jahwe durchbrechen, um zu schauen, und dann viele von ihnen umkämen! <sup>22</sup>Selbst die Priester, die sich sonst Jahwe nahen dürfen, sollen sich heiligen, daß Jahwe nicht gegen sie losbreche! Dann ist von dem Eindruck, den **20** <sup>18</sup>die Donnerschläge und die Fackeln und der Ton der Posaune auf das Volk machen, die Rede und von dem Zweck, dem nach Jahwes Willen diese Phänomene dienen wollen, <sup>20</sup>damit die Furcht vor ihm euch begleitet und ihr nicht sündigt. [Nachdem das Volk seine Bereitwilligkeit erklärt hat, den Gott, der sich ihm soeben offenbart hat, als seinen Gott anzuerkennen und sein Gebot anzunehmen,] befiehlt Gott Mose, zu ihm emporzusteigen und sein Gebot entgegenzunehmen: **34** <sup>1</sup>Und Jahwe sprach zu Mose: Haue dir zwei Tafeln von Stein <sup>2</sup>und sei für morgen früh bereit und steig morgen früh auf den Berg Sinai und stell dich dort für mich hin auf die Spitze des Berges. <sup>3</sup>Keiner darf mit dir hinaufsteigen, und es darf sich auch keiner auf dem ganzen Berge sehen lassen. Auch Schafe und Rinder dürfen nicht an diesem Berge weiden. <sup>4</sup>So haute er sich zwei Tafeln von Stein. Und am anderen Morgen stieg Mose auf den Berg Sinai, wie ihm Jahwe befohlen hatte, und nahm zwei Tafeln von Stein mit sich. <sup>5</sup>Und Jahwe

fuhr in einer Wolke herab und stellte sich dort zu ihm. <sup>10</sup>Und er sprach: Siehe, ich schließe einen Bund, <sup>11</sup>beobachte wohl, was ich dir heute gebiete. Dann folgen die Gebote. Nach v. 28, wo es heißt, daß Mose die Worte des Bundes, die zehn Worte, auf die Tafeln geschrieben habe, müssen hier ursprünglich zehn Gebote genannt gewesen sein. Jetzt stehen in 34:12–26 mehr als zehn Gebote. Das erklärt sich offenbar aus sekundärer Auffüllung des Abschnitts. Aber eine ganz sichere Feststellung des echten Gutes ist nicht möglich, und so kann der im folgenden gemachte Versuch nur als einer von mehreren, die möglich sind, betrachtet werden:

<sup>14</sup>*Nicht sollst du dich vor einem anderen Gott niederwerfen!*

<sup>17</sup>*Gegossene Gottesbilder sollst du dir nicht machen!*

<sup>18</sup>*Das Mazzen-Fest sollst du halten zur Zeit des Monats Abib!*

<sup>19</sup>*Jeder Durchbruch des Mutterleibes gehört mir!*

<sup>22</sup>*Das Wochenfest sollst du dir halten zur Zeit der Erstlinge der Weizenernte*

*und das Lesefest an der Jahreswende!*

<sup>25</sup>*Nicht sollst du schlachten zu Gesäuertem mein blutiges Opfer!*

*Nicht soll bleiben bis zum Morgen das Opfer des Passafestes!*

<sup>26</sup>*Das Beste der Erstlinge deines Ackers sollst du in das Haus Jahwes, deines Gottes, bringen!*

*Nicht sollst du kochen das Böckchen in der Milch seiner Mutter!*

Daran schließt sich unmittelbar das Ende der Erzählung von dem Bundesschluß: <sup>27</sup>Und Jahwe sprach zu Mose: Schreibe dir diese Worte auf, denn auf Grund dieser Worte schließe ich einen Bund mit dir und mit Israel. <sup>28</sup>Und er war dort bei Jahwe vierzig Tage und vierzig Nächte, ohne zu essen und zu trinken, und er schrieb auf die Tafeln die Worte des Bundes, die zehn Worte. [Mose steigt vom Sinai herab und teilt dem Volke die zehn Bundesworte mit.] Sodann erhält er von Jahwe den Befehl zum Aufbruch in das Land der Verheißung: **33** <sup>1</sup>Und Jahwe sprach zu Mose: geh, zieh von hier fort, du und das Volk, das du aus dem Lande Ägypten herausgeführt hast, in das Land, von dem ich Abraham, Isaak und Jakob so geschworen habe: Deinem Samen will ich es geben. <sup>2</sup>Und ich will einen Engel vor dir her senden und die Kanaaniter, die Amoriter und die Chittiter und die Perissiter, die Chiwriter und die Jebusiter verjagen, <sup>3</sup>und er soll dich bringen in ein Land, das von Milch und Honig fließt. [Mose bittet Gott um Verleihung eines seine Gegenwart gewährleistenden Führungssymbols und erhält darauf von ihm den Befehl, aus dem Schmuck des Volkes die Lade anzufertigen. Mose fertigt sie an und bringt sie in einem Zelt unter.] Nun entläßt Gott

das Volk mit diesen Verheißungen und Mahnungen: **23** <sup>22</sup>*Ich will deine Feinde befeinden und deine Dränger bedrängen.* <sup>23</sup>*Denn mein Engel soll vor dir hergehen und dich bringen zu den Amoritern und Chittitern und Perissitern und Kanaanitern und Chiwitern und Jebusitern, und ich will sie vertilgen.* <sup>24</sup>*Du sollst dich nicht vor ihren Göttern niederwerfen und ihnen nicht dienen und nicht tun wie sie.* <sup>27</sup>*Meinen Schrecken will ich vor dir hersenden und alle Völker, zu denen du kommst, verwirren, und ich will alle deine Feinde vor dir fliehen lassen.* <sup>29</sup>*Nicht will ich sie in e i n e m Jahre vor dir verjagen, damit nicht das Land Wüstenei werde und die Tiere des Feldes dir zu zahlreich werden.* <sup>30</sup>*Ganz allmählich will ich sie vor dir verjagen, bis du dich gemehrt und vom Lande Besitz ergriffen hast.* <sup>31</sup>*Und ich will dein Gebiet sich ausdehnen lassen vom Schilfmeer bis zum Meer der Philister und von der Wüste bis zum Strom.*

## 2

Von der Ankunft Israels an dem hier Horeb genannten Gottesberg hat auch der meistens für E gehaltene Strang der Sinai-Erzählung berichtet. Davon sind nur Stücke aus 19:2, 3 erhalten, die so lauten: <sup>2</sup>*und Israel lagerte sich dort vor dem Berge.* <sup>3</sup>*Und Mose stieg herauf zu Gott.* Aber die E-Erzählung von dem, was Gott Mose auf dem Berge sagt, und wie das Volk die ihm darüber von Mose gemachte Mitteilung aufnimmt, von den Vorbereitungen für die Begegnung Gottes mit dem Volk und von dem Verlauf dieser Begegnung selbst scheint so gut wie vollständig auf uns gekommen zu sein: <sup>3</sup>*So sollst du zum Hause Jakob sprechen und den Israeliten kund tun:* <sup>4</sup>*Ihr habt gesehen, was ich den Ägyptern getan, und daß ich euch auf Adlersflügeln getragen und euch zu mir gebracht habe.* <sup>5</sup>*Und nun, wenn ihr auf mich hören und meinen Bund halten werdet, dann sollt ihr mein Eigentum sein unter allen Völkern, denn mir gehört die ganze Erde.* <sup>6</sup>*Und ihr sollt mir ein Reich von Priestern werden und ein heiliges Volk. Dies sind die Worte, die du zu den Israeliten sagen sollst.* <sup>7</sup>*Und Mose ging hin und berief die Ältesten des Volkes und legte ihnen alle diese Worte vor, die Jahwe ihm aufgetragen hatte.* <sup>8</sup>*Und das ganze Volk antwortete einmütig und sprach: Alles, was Jahwe gesagt hat, wollen wir tun. Und Mose brachte die Antwort des Volkes Jahwe zurück.* <sup>10</sup>*Und Jahwe sprach zu Mose: Geh zum Volke und heilige sie heute und morgen, und sie sollen ihre Kleider waschen . . .* <sup>13</sup>*Beim Ertönen des Widderhorns sollen sie den Berg besteigen.* <sup>14</sup>*Und Mose stieg vom Berg herab zum Volke und heiligte das Volk, und sie wuschen ihre Kleider . . .* <sup>16</sup>*Und das ganze Volk im Lager erbehte.* <sup>17</sup>*Und Mose führte das Volk Gott entgegen aus dem Lager*



heraus, und sie stellten sich am Fuße des Berges auf. <sup>19</sup>Mose redete, und Gott antwortete ihm im Donner.

Die Begleiterscheinungen der Theophanie jagen indes dem Volke einen solchen Schrecken ein, daß es Mose bittet, er möchte allein Jahwes Kundgebung anhören, um sie ihnen dann mitzuteilen: **20** <sup>18</sup>Und das ganze Volk sah . . . Und das Volk fürchtete sich und zitterte und trat zurück. <sup>19</sup>Und sie sprachen zu Mose: Rede du mit uns, so wollen wir hören, aber nicht soll Gott mit uns reden, damit wir nicht sterben. <sup>20</sup>Und Mose sprach zum Volk: Fürchtet euch nicht, denn um euch zu ertüchtigen, ist Gott gekommen. <sup>21</sup>Und das Volk trat zurück, aber Mose nahte sich dem Dunkel, in dem Gott war. So vernimmt Mose allein Gottes Zehngebot. Ähnlich wie in 34:12–26 sind auch in 20:2–17 Zusätze eingedrungen, die hier freilich nicht die Zehnzahl verdunkelt, aber wohl den ursprünglichen Wortlaut der zehn Worte erweitert und entstellt haben. So stellt auch der im folgenden gebotene Text wiederum nur einen Versuch dar. **20** <sup>1</sup>Und Gott redete alle diese Worte und sprach:

<sup>3</sup>Nicht sollst du andere Götter haben neben mir!

<sup>4</sup>Nicht sollst du dir machen ein Schnitzbild von irgendwelcher Gestalt!

<sup>7</sup>Nicht sollst du den Namen Jahwes, deines Gottes, unnütz aussprechen!

<sup>8</sup>Gedenke an den Sabbattag, ihn zu heiligen!

<sup>12</sup>Ehre deinen Vater und deine Mutter!

<sup>13</sup>Nicht sollst du töten!

<sup>14</sup>Nicht sollst du ehebrechen!

<sup>15</sup>Nicht sollst du stehlen!

<sup>16</sup>Nicht sollst du falsches Zeugnis ablegen gegen deinen Nächsten!

<sup>17</sup>Nicht sollst du begehren das Haus deines Nächsten!

Hieran hat sich in E unmittelbar angeschlossen **24** <sup>3</sup>Und Mose kam und erzählte dem Volke alle Worte Jahwes, und das ganze Volk antwortete einstimmig und sprach: Alle Worte, die Jahwe geredet hat, wollen wir tun. <sup>4</sup>Und Mose schrieb alle Worte Jahwes auf. Am anderen Morgen aber errichtete er einen Altar am Fuß des Berges und zwölf Malsteine für die zwölf Stämme Israels. <sup>5</sup>Und er beauftragte die Jünglinge der Israeliten, und sie brachten Brandopfer dar und schlachteten Farren als Mahlopfer für Jahwe. <sup>6</sup>Und Mose nahm die Hälfte des Blutes und tat es in Becken, die andere Hälfte des Blutes aber sprengte er an den Altar. <sup>7</sup>Und er nahm die Urkunde des Bundes und las sie dem Volke vor, und sie sprachen: Alles, was Jahwe geredet hat, wollen wir gehorsam tun. <sup>8</sup>Und Mose nahm das Blut und sprengte es auf das Volk und sprach:



*Das ist hier das Blut des Bundes, den Jahwe mit euch schließt auf Grund aller dieser Worte.*

Nun erhält Mose von Jahwe den Befehl, zu ihm auf den Berg zu steigen, um dort aus seiner Hand die von ihm selbst mit den zehn Worten beschriebenen Steintafeln zu empfangen und damit die Bundesschließung zu krönen. Mose folgt dem Befehl, verweilt auf dem Berge vierzig Tage und vierzig Nächte und empfängt dann die von Gottes eigener Hand beschriebenen Tafeln: <sup>12</sup>*Und Jahwe sprach zu Mose: Steig zu mir auf den Berg und verweile dort, und ich will dir die Steintafeln, die ich beschrieben habe, geben,* <sup>13</sup>*und Mose stieg auf den Gottesberg.* <sup>18</sup>*Und Mose war auf dem Berg vierzig Tage und vierzig Nächte . . .* **31** <sup>18</sup>*Tafeln von Stein, beschrieben von dem Finger Gottes.* Während Mose auf dem Berge weilt, um das von Gott geschriebene Bundesdokument mit dem Verbot des Dienstes anderer Götter und der Anfertigung eines Gottesbilds entgegenzunehmen, hat Aron auf Drängen des Volkes ein Jungstierbild angefertigt, das vom Volke als sein Gott feierlich anerkannt wird. Von Gott über den Vorgang unterrichtet, steigt Mose schnell vom Berge herab, zerschmettert die ihm von Gott übergebenen Tafeln, vernichtet das Bild, bietet sich Gott als Sühnopfer für das Volk an, erhält aber die Antwort, daß die Strafe die Sünder selbst treffen müsse: **32** <sup>1</sup>*Als nun das Volk sah, daß Mose verzog, vom Berge herabzusteigen, versammelte sich das Volk bei Aron und sprach zu ihm: Auf, mache uns einen Gott, der vor uns hergeht, denn dieser Mose, der uns aus dem Lande Ägypten geführt hat, wir wissen nicht, was ihm geschehen ist.* <sup>2</sup>*Aron aber antwortete ihnen: Reißt die goldenen Ringe ab, die eure Frauen, eure Söhne und eure Töchter in den Ohren tragen, und bringt sie zu mir!* <sup>3</sup>*Da riß das ganze Volk die goldenen Ringe in seinen Ohren ab und brachte sie zu Aron,* <sup>4</sup>*und er nahm es von ihnen entgegen. Und er goß es in einer Gußform und machte es zu einem Stierbild. Und sie sprachen: Das ist dein Gott, der dich aus dem Lande Ägypten heraufgeführt hat.* <sup>5</sup>*Als Aron das sah, baute er vor ihm einen Altar, und Aron ließ ausrufen: Ein Jahwe-Fest ist morgen.* <sup>6</sup>*Am anderen Morgen opferte man Brandopfer und brachte Mahlopfer dar. Und das Volk setzte sich hin, zu essen und zu trinken, und stand auf, zu tanzen.* <sup>7</sup>*Und Jahwe sprach zu Mose: Geh, steig hinab, denn dein Volk, das du aus dem Lande Ägypten heraufgeführt hast, handelt verderbt.* <sup>8</sup>*Sie sind schnell abgewichen von dem Wege, den ich ihnen befohlen habe. Sie haben sich ein Stierbild gemacht, sind vor ihm niedergefallen, haben ihm geopfert und gesagt: Das ist dein Gott, Israel, der dich aus dem Lande Ägypten heraufgeführt hat.* <sup>15</sup>*Und Mose wandte sich und stieg vom Berge herab mit den beiden Tafeln in seiner Hand, Tafeln, beschrieben auf beiden Seiten, vorn und hinten waren sie be-*

schrieben. <sup>16</sup>Und die Tafeln waren Gottes Werk, und die Schrift war Gottes Schrift, eingegraben auf die Tafeln. <sup>19</sup>Als er aber nahe an das Lager herangekommen war und den Stier und die Reigentänze sah, da entbrannte Moses Zorn, und er warf die Tafeln aus seiner Hand und zerschmetterte sie am Fuß des Berges. <sup>20</sup>Und er nahm den Stier, den sie gemacht hatten, verbrannte ihn, zerrieb ihn zu Staub, streute ihn auf das Wasser und gab das den Israeliten zu trinken. <sup>4</sup>Und Mose sagte zu Aron: Was hat dir denn dieses Volk getan, daß du über sie große Sünde gebracht hast? <sup>22</sup>Aron antwortete: Nicht entbrenne der Zorn meines Herrn! Du weißt selbst, daß dieses Volk böse ist. <sup>23</sup>Und sie haben zu mir gesagt: Mache uns einen Gott, der vor uns hergeht; denn dieser Mose, der uns aus dem Lande Ägypten heraufgeführt hat, wir wissen nicht, was ihm geschehen ist. <sup>24</sup>Und ich sprach zu ihnen: Wer Gold hat, reiße es ab! Und sie gaben es mir. Und ich habe es ins Feuer geworfen, und dieser Stier ist dabei herausgekommen. <sup>30</sup>Und am folgenden Tage sprach Mose zum Volke: Ihr habt eine große Sünde begangen. Jetzt will ich zu Jahwe hinaufgehen, vielleicht kann ich Vergebung erwirken für eure Sünde. <sup>31</sup>Und Mose kehrte zu Jahwe zurück und sprach: Ach, das Volk hat eine große Sünde begangen und sich einen goldenen Gott gemacht. <sup>32</sup>Wenn du nun ihre Sünde vergeben willst, so ist es gut. Wenn aber nicht, so streiche mich doch aus dem Buche, das du geschrieben hast. <sup>33</sup>Jahwe antwortete Mose: Wer gegen mich sündigt, den streiche ich aus meinem Buche. <sup>34</sup>Und nun geh, führe das Volk, wohin ich dir gesagt habe. Siehe, mein Engel soll vor dir hergehen, aber am Tage der Ahndung will ich ihre Sünde an ihnen ahnden.

[Mose bittet nun Gott um Verleihung eines seine Gegenwart gewährleistenden Führungssymbols, und Jahwe entspricht dieser Bitte:]

**33** <sup>5</sup>Und Jahwe sprach zu den Israeliten: Ihr seid ein halsstarriges Volk. Wenn ich auch nur einen Augenblick mit dir hinaufzöge, müßte ich dich vertilgen. Wohlan, lege deinen Schmuck von dir ab, so will ich sehen, was ich für dich tun kann. <sup>6</sup>So beraubten sich die Israeliten ihres Schmuckes am Berge Horeb. [Mose fertigt aus dem vom Volke hergegebenem Schmuck die Lade]. <sup>7</sup>Und Mose nahm ein Zelt und spannte es für sie vorm Lager auf, in einiger Entfernung von dem Lager, und nannte es Offenbarungszelt. Und jeder, der Jahwe suchte, ging hinaus zum Offenbarungszelt vorm Lager. <sup>8</sup>Und wenn Mose zum Zelt hinausging, machte sich das ganze Volk auf, und jeder stellte sich in den Eingang seines Zeltes, und sie blickten hinter Mose her, bis er in das Zelt hineingegangen war. <sup>9</sup>Wenn aber Mose in das Zelt hineingegangen war, stieg die Wolkensäule hinab und stellte sich in den Eingang des Zeltes und redete mit Moses. <sup>10</sup>Und wenn das ganze Volk die Wolkensäule am Eingang des Zeltes stehen sah, machte sich das ganze Volk auf und warf

sich zur Erde nieder, jeder im Eingang seines Zeltes. <sup>11</sup>Und Jahwe redete mit Mose von Angesicht zu Angesicht, wie einer mit seinem Freunde redet, und dann kehrte er ins Lager zurück. Sein Diener Josua aber, der Sohn Nuns, ein Jüngling, wich nicht aus dem Zelte. Jahwe entläßt das Volk in das ihm bestimmte Land: **23** <sup>20</sup>Siehe, ich sende einen Engel vor dir her, dich zu behüten auf dem Wege und dich zu dem Ort zu bringen, den ich bereitet habe. <sup>21</sup>Hüte dich vor ihm und höre auf ihn. Sei nicht widerspenstig gegen ihn, denn er wird euch eure Sünde nicht vergeben, da mein Name in ihm ist! <sup>22</sup>Denn wenn du auf ihn hörst und tust alles, was ich sage . . . <sup>25</sup>Und wenn du Jahwe, deinem Gott, dienst, so will ich dein Brot und dein Wasser segnen und Krankheit aus deiner Mitte entfernen. <sup>26</sup>Keine Fehlgebärende und keine Unfruchtbare soll es in deinem Lande geben. Die Zahl deiner Tage will ich voll machen. <sup>28</sup>Und ich will die Angst vor dir hersenden, daß sie die Chiwwitter, die Kanaaniter und die Chittiter vor dir verjage. <sup>32</sup>Du sollst mit ihnen und mit ihren Göttern keinen Bund schließen. <sup>33</sup>Sie dürfen nicht in deinem Lande wohnen bleiben, damit sie dich nicht zur Sünde gegen mich verführen, daß du ihren Göttern dientest. Denn das würde dir zum Fallstrick werden.

## 3

In Num. 22–24 ist die Prosa-Erzählung der beiden hier parallel laufenden Fäden, wie schon erwähnt, für die uns angehende Frage unergiebig. Um so reicheren Ertrag werfen die in ihnen enthaltenen beiden Spruchpaare für sie ab, das des J in 24:3–9, 15–19 und das des E in 23:7–10, 18–24. Das erste von ihnen lautet:

- 24** <sup>3</sup>*Ausspruch Bileams, des Sohnes Be'ors,*  
*Ausspruch des Mannes geöffneten Auges,*  
<sup>4</sup>*Ausspruch dessen, der Worte Gottes hört*  
*und das Wissen des Höchsten weiß,*  
*der Gesichte des Allmächtigen sieht,*  
*hingesenken und entblößten Auges:*  
<sup>5</sup>*Wie schön sind deine Zelte, Jakob,*  
*und deine Wohnungen, Israel!*  
<sup>6</sup>*Wie Täler, die sich hinstrecken,*  
*wie Gärten am Fluß.*  
*Wie Kardemonen, die Jahwe gepflanzt,*  
*wie Zedern am Wasser.*  
<sup>7</sup>*Seine Schöpfeimer fließen über von Wasser,*  
*und seine Saat hat reichlich Wasser.*

- Höher als Agag wird sein König,  
und sein Königtum strebt empor.*
- <sup>8</sup>*Gott, der es aus Ägypten geführt hat,  
ist ihm wie Hörner eines Wildochsen.  
Völker, die ihm feindlich sind, verzehrt es,  
und ihre Knochen zermalmst es.*
- <sup>9</sup>*Es kauert sich, legt sich hin wie ein Löwe  
und wie ein Leu, wer will es aufwecken?  
Deine Segner gesegnet  
und deine Verflucher verflucht!*
- 

- <sup>15</sup>*Ausspruch Bileams, des Sohnes Be'ors,  
Ausspruch des Mannes geöffneten Auges,*
- <sup>16</sup>*Ausspruch dessen, der Worte Gottes hört  
und das Wissen des Höchsten weiß,  
der Gesichte des Allmächtigen sieht,  
hingesunken und entblößten Auges:*
- <sup>17</sup>*Ich sehe ihn, doch nicht schon jetzt,  
ich schaue ihn, doch nicht nah.  
Es erscheint ein Stern aus Jakob,  
und es erhebt sich ein Komet aus Israel  
und zerschmettert die Schläfen Moabs  
und den Scheitel aller Söhne Sets.*
- <sup>18</sup>*Edom wird untertan,  
und untertan wird Se'ir.  
Aber Israel gewinnt Macht*
- <sup>19</sup>*und beherrscht sie.*

## 4

Das Spruchpaar des E aber hat diesen Wortlaut:

- 23** <sup>7</sup>*Aus Aram führt mich Balak her,  
Moabs König aus dem Gebirge des Ostens:  
Geh, verfluche mir Jakob,  
ja, geh, wirk Unheil für Israel!*
- <sup>8</sup>*Wie soll ich verwünschen, den Gott nicht verwünscht,  
wie Unheil wirken, dem Jahwe kein Unheil wirkt?*
- <sup>9</sup>*Ja, von Felsengipfeln sehe ich es,  
und von Hügeln schaue ich es.*

*Siehe, ein Volk, das abgesondert wohnt,  
und sich zu den Heiden nicht rechnet.*

- <sup>10</sup>*Wer mißt das Staubgewühl Israels,  
und wer zählt das Getümmel Israels?  
Es sterbe meine Seele den Tod der Gerechten,  
und mein Ende sei wie seins!*
- 

- <sup>18</sup>*Auf, Balak, höre,  
leih mir dein Ohr, Sohn des Zippor!*
- <sup>19</sup>*Nicht ein Mann ist Gott, daß er löge,  
und nicht ein Mensch, daß er etwas zurücknehme.  
Sollte er etwas sagen und es nicht tun,  
etwas aussprechen und es nicht ausführen?*
- <sup>20</sup>*Siehe, zu segnen habe ich empfangen,  
so segne ich und nehm's nicht zurück.*
- <sup>21</sup>*Nicht sieht man Unheil in Israel,  
und nicht erblickt man Ungemach in Israel.  
Jahwe, sein Gott, ist bei ihm,  
und Königsjubil in ihm.*
- <sup>23</sup>*Keine Zauberei haftet an Jakob  
und keine Beschwörung an Israel.  
Vorher wird Jakob gesagt  
und Israel, was Gott tut.*
- <sup>24</sup>*Siehe, ein Volk, das sich wie ein Löwe erhebt  
und wie ein Leu sich aufrichtet.  
Nicht legt es sich, bis es Raub verzehrt  
und Blut Erschlagener getrunken hat.*

## 5

Man braucht nur die in Abschnitt 1 wiedergegebene Sinai-Erzählung des J mit den in Abschnitt 3 mitgeteilten Bileam-Sprüchen zu vergleichen, um sofort zu erkennen, daß hier und dort derselbe Geist herrscht, daß nämlich beide Male Israels politische Macht und sein Landbesitz freudig und uneingeschränkt bejaht werden. Der Bezeichnung Kanaans als das Land der Verheißung und das Land, das von Milch und Honig fließt (Exod. 33:1-3), und der Bestimmung der Ausdehnung des israelitischen Besitzes vom Schilfmeer bis zum Meer der Philister und von der Wüste bis zum Strom (Exod. 23:31) in dem J-Anteil der Sinai-Erzählung entspricht in den Bileam-Sprüchen

des J einmal die schwungvoll-begeisterte Beschreibung des Israel bestimmten Landes (Num. 23:4-9), sodann der Preis der beiden ersten israelitischen Könige, Sauls, des Siegers über den Amalekiterkönig Agag, und Davids, des Besiegers von Moab, Ammon und Edom (Num. 24:15-19). Zur Würdigung des Opferkultus, der im Mittelpunkt des J-Dekalogs steht, war in den Bileam-Sprüchen des J kein Anlaß. Andererseits weisen die Bileam-Sprüche des E mit dessen Horeb-Erzählung eine ganz auffallende Verwandtschaft auf und stehen beide zu den die Sinai-Erzählung und die Bileam-Sprüche des J beseelenden Idealen in einem ausdrücklichen oder stillschweigenden Gegensatz. Als Gottesgeschenk für Israel betrachtet auch die Horeb-Erzählung des E das Land Kanaan (Exod. 23:20), aber seine Freude an ihm ist doch gedämpft. Mit schwerer Schuld, deren Bestrafung noch aussteht, beladen, zieht Israel in Kanaan ein. Ohne seine Verschuldung hätte es bei seinem Gott (Exod. 19:4) am Horeb bleiben können sodaß sein Abzug von dort eben doch nicht allein die Inbesitznahme des ihm von Gott bestimmten Landes bedeutet, sondern zugleich auch den Verzicht auf das Bleiben in Gottes unmittelbarer Nähe. So wird es auch kein Zufall sein, daß — anders als bei J — in den Bileam-Sprüchen des E von Israels Landbesitz eigentlich gar nicht die Rede ist. Sodann weiß auch E sowohl in seiner Horeb-Erzählung als auch in seinen Bileam-Sprüchen davon zu sagen, daß Israel dank seines Gottes Hilfe die Vorbewohner Kanaans vertreiben und sich dort zu einem zahlreichen Volke entwickeln konnte (Exod. 23:28; Num. 23:10). Aber solche Macht ist nicht Selbstzweck, sondern soll es Israel nur ermöglichen, seine eigene, sie von allen anderen Völkern unterscheidende Art zur Entfaltung zu bringen, die, daß sie ein Reich von Priestern und ein heiliges Volk (Exod. 19:5), ein Volk, das abgesondert wohnt und sich zu den Heiden nicht rechnet (Num. 23:9), werden sollen, Gottes Eigentum unter den Völkern (Exod. 19:5), dem daher auch keine Wahrsagung und keine Zauberei etwas anhaben kann, geschweige, daß es selbst zu solchen Mitteln seine Zuflucht neben müßte. So gedenkt denn auch E im Unterschied von J in seinen Bileam-Sprüchen des israelitischen Königs überhaupt nicht, sondern wendet das Königsprädikat allein auf Gott an, indem er von Israel aussagt, daß Jahwe, sein Gott, bei ihm und daß Königsjubiläum, d. h. Jubel über den König Jahwe, in ihm sei (Num. 23:21). Schließlich ist auch bei E die Bundschließung zwischen Gott und Mensch am Gottesberg mit allerlei kultischen Handlungen verbunden, aber das kann doch die am Tage liegende Tatsache nicht verdunkeln, daß bei ihm der Kultus ganz anders beurteilt wird als bei J. Während der J-Dekalog zum größten Teil Gebote und Verbote zum Inhalt hat, die



sich auf den Opferkultus beziehen, nennt der E-Dekalog außer den Verboten des Dienstes anderer Götter und der Anfertigung eines Gottesbildes in dieser Hinsicht allein den Sabbat, wobei noch sehr fraglich ist, ob er dabei besondere Opfer, die an diesem Tage darzubringen wären, im Auge hat oder sich den Sabbat nur als Ruhetag denkt. Jedenfalls bleibt es bei dem klassischen Ausspruch *Wellhausens*, daß sich der Dekalog von Exod. 20 zu dem von Exod. 34 verhalte "wie Amos zu seinen Zeitgenossen." Was die Bileam-Sprüche angeht, so lassen weder die des J, noch die des E unmittelbar etwas über ihre Stellung zum Kultus erkennen. Aber wie sonst im Alten Testament die Freude am Land und seinem Ertrag mit der Bejahung des Opferkultus Hand in Hand geht, so wird man sich auch die aus Num. 23:5-7 sprechende Dankbarkeit für den Besitz eines fruchtbaren Landes mit Bereitwilligkeit zu reichen Opfern verbunden denken dürfen, wie umgekehrt die vergeistigte Frömmigkeit, die aus den Bileam-Sprüchen des E zu sprechen scheint, wohl mit einer gewissen Zurückhaltung gegenüber dem Opferkultus Hand in Hand gegangen sein wird.

Daß sowohl in Exod. 19-34 als auch in Num. 22-34 zwei Stränge vorliegen, von denen der eine Macht, Land und Kultus freudig bejaht, der andere mit einer gewissen Zurückhaltung beurteilt, kann kein Zufall sein. Vielmehr müssen hier dieselben beiden Hände am Werk gewesen sein, wie man denn gemeinhin den einen Strang der Sinai- oder Horeb-Erzählung und der Bileam-Geschichte aus J, den anderen aus E herleitet und das auch hier geschehen ist. Unsere Erzählungen sind Erzeugnisse von Schriftstellern, die in ihnen bestimmte Anschauungen zum Ausdruck gebracht und damit auch wohl bestimmte Ziele verfolgt haben. So, wie wir sie haben, können sie also keinesfalls als Wiedergaben wirklichen Geschehens gelten. Aber ebenso sicher ist, daß ihnen geschichtliche Vorgänge zugrunde liegen, und zwar Vorgänge, die tatsächlich in die Zeit hineingehören, in der unsere Erzählungen spielen, und wirklich die Gestalten zum Mittelpunkt haben, die im Mittelpunkt dieser Erzählungen stehen, Mose dort und Bileam samt Balak hier. Mag die Feststellung der Geschehnisse schwer oder gar unmöglich sein, der Nachhall, den sie in unseren Erzählungen gefunden haben, legt ein unwiderlegliches Zeugnis dafür ab, daß sie groß und bedeutungsvoll waren.

# STUDIES IN THE BOOK OF SAMUEL

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## I

### INTERPRETATION OF I SAM. 2:27-36 THE NARRATIVE OF KARETH

*To Julian Morgenstern, the Scholar and Gentleman*

Chap. 2:27 ff. A man<sup>1</sup> of God came to Eli and said to him: Thus Yahweh has said: 'I did reveal Myself'<sup>2</sup> to the house of your father when they were in Egypt belonging to the house of Pharaoh,<sup>3</sup> and chose him out of all the tribes of Israel<sup>4</sup> to be My priest: to go up to My altar, to burn incense, and to carry an ephod before Me, and gave to the house of your father all the burnt offerings of the Israelites.<sup>29</sup> Why then do you 'look enviously'<sup>5</sup> at My sacrifice and oblation and honor your sons above Me, until you have grown fat<sup>6</sup> on the choicest of all the oblations 'of' My people<sup>7</sup> Israel? <sup>30</sup>Therefore it is the pronouncement of

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Professor Sheldon H. Blank for the advice he extended to me in the preparation of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'גלה.'

<sup>3</sup> The possibility that a connection of the family of Eli (not the tribe of Levi; cf. the following note) with the Egyptians is obliquely expressed here — cf. the Egyptian names חפני and פניחס — should not be excluded *a limine* by adopting the facilitating addition *δοῦλων* of the Septuagint. Otherwise, cf. 6:18 (J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht*, [1871], p. 48).

<sup>4</sup> One family or one man (the language oscillates typically between expressions for the individual and the group) out of the whole of Israel, called the — amphictyonic — totality of the tribes; cf. Deut. 29:20; I Sam. 15:17; Hos. 5:9.

<sup>5</sup> Comparing the LXX as well as vs. 32, read basically with A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* . . . vol. 3, 1910, pp. 175 f. (in part already J. Fürst, *Heb. u. chald. Handwörterbuch* I . . ., (1857), p. 763, and E. König, *Heb. u. aram. Wörterbuch* . . . (1910), p. 235: מעין 'צַר/צָר' ובמנחת 'בזבחי' וטורסיני, הלשון והספר, vol. 2, (1950 f.), p. 412: (. . . 'למה 'תבִּישׁ' מעין) 'למה 'תבִּישׁ' . . .), אשר 'צָרוֹת' מעין, "Why do you 'look' . . . with eyes 'squinting'?" The verb \*עִין "to see," of which קָעִין is an action noun formation, is common in Ugaritic, and the phrase עֵין צָר "squint-eyed, envious" in rabbinic Hebrew.

<sup>6</sup> GK § 53 d-e.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'עמי.'

Yahweh, the God of Israel: Once I indeed said that your house and the house of your father should walk before Me forever; but now it is the pronouncement of Yahweh: Far be it from Me! for those who honor Me I will honor, but those who despise Me will be slighted. <sup>31</sup>For the days are coming when I will hack off your arm and the arm of your father's house, so that there will not be an old man in your house. <sup>32</sup>Then you will look on enviously whenever Israel prospers,<sup>8</sup> and there will never be an old man in your house. <sup>33</sup>True, not everybody of you(r house) I shall cut off from My altar, so that you may not weep out your eyes and grieve your heart,<sup>9</sup> but most of your house shall die as men.<sup>10</sup> <sup>34</sup>And this which shall befall your two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, shall be the sign to you: both of them shall die on the same day. <sup>35</sup>Then I will raise Me up a reliable priest who will do according to what is in My heart and in My mind; I will build him a reliable house, so that he can walk before My anointed for ever. <sup>36</sup>And everyone who is left in your house shall come and bow down to him for a grain<sup>11</sup> of silver or a loaf of bread and say: Kindly associate me with one of the parishes that I may have bread to eat.

THE first step in interpreting the prophecy of the man of God to the house of Eli, part of the narrative complex that comprises I Sam. 2:12-17, (22-26) 27-36; 3:1-21, is the establishment of a firm historical foothold in the shifting sand of sundry predictions. Scholars are generally agreed that solid ground is reached with vs. 36.<sup>12</sup> The descendants of Eli, removed from the main sanctuary, find themselves in dire economic predicament, pleading to be admitted to one of the

<sup>8</sup> Thus rendering the impersonal causative 'אֵיב (as Gen. 12:16?), or else perhaps read 'אֵיבִי "I shall' bestow prosperity."

<sup>9</sup> The Hebrew text has the positive expression: (the cutting off would effect the) "weeping out of your eyes and grieving (metathesis for לְהַרְיִב\*, or read 'לְהַרְיִב' of your soul."

<sup>10</sup> Not clear. "In the flower of their age" (?; A. V.). ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἀνδρῶν (LXX) presupposes a pointless alternative (the sword of a superhuman destroyer?; cf. A. Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel*, vol. 1, [1919], p. 53). Also, one would expect the singular אוֹשׁ אוֹשׁ rather than the plural to qualify an object by its user; cf. Deut. 3:11; Isa. 8:1; 31:8. (II Sam. 7:14 is *genitivus objectivus*.)

<sup>11</sup> For the meaning of מִנְחָה, recognized by LXX, T, and V, cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary on the Targumim* . . ., [1926], p. 266 (*s. v.* I, II מִנְחָה), and *The Assyrian Dictionary G*, Chicago, pp. 96 f. (*s. v. girû A*); for the form of the word cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss* . . . vol. 1, (1908), § 82 (cʿ, ha) kβ (lβ) (prosthetic aleph) and . . . מַחְקָרִים. ש. מורן, ארץ ישראל; vol. 5 (1958) [*B. Mazar Jubilee Volume*], pp. 138-44 ([o] > [e]).

<sup>12</sup> The agreement is not complete. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the O. T.*, (1941), p. 369, dates the section in the fifth or fourth century B. C.

priestly offices where they may find their livelihood. Such a request is understandable only for a time when priestly posts were no longer available. This is the situation that arose as a result of Josiah's reform of 621. The connection of vs. 36 with this reform is strengthened, if indeed it needs added strength, by the fact that the report of the reform in II Kings 23 agrees in all details with the Deuteronomic law save the one where influential vested interests were at stake: Deut. 18:6-8 provides for the "Levites" who come from the open country to the central sanctuary the same ritual and economic privileges as the "Levites" of that sanctuary enjoy. On the other hand, II Kings 23:9 mentions that those country clergy were given economic sustenance in Jerusalem: "they ate unleavened bread<sup>13</sup> among their brethren," but were not admitted to the altar. Obviously the king was not able or not willing to invoke the full authority of the newly adopted law against the opposition of the Jerusalem priests who were not prepared to share their prerogatives with their "brethren." The precarious compromise that was reached is reflected in I Sam. 2:36. We do not wonder that the new *clerus minor*, fearing for the little security that the compromise gave them, did not hope for protection from the crown but begged the priest(s) in power<sup>14</sup> to assign them *אל אחת הכהנות* (cf. II Kings: *ביתוך אחיהם*) in order to *אכל פת לחם* (cf. II Kings: *מצות*). Whether vs. 36 is contemporaneous with the situation it describes — priests in distress seeking relief through association with well-provided priestly offices — cannot be said with certainty, but it is unlikely that it is much later: deplorable as the closing of the local sanctuaries was for the priests that had officiated there, this untoward event was dwarfed by the national, social, and cultic catastrophe of 586, and in post-Exilic times the situation to which vs. 36 refers had already been superseded by new regulations making the account of the earlier circumstances meaningless.

The agreement among scholars is virtually unanimous also concerning the fact that vs. 35 refers to the investiture of the Zadokites, the successors to the Elides. The *terminus ante* is 586, as Steuernagel has shown,<sup>15</sup> since the continued existence of the monarchy is presupposed with the faithful priest walking before the king (*משיח*) "for ever."<sup>16</sup> How early the verse is cannot be ascertained. I Kings 2:27b, which refers to it, is itself of an unknown date.

<sup>13</sup> It is repeatedly mentioned, e. g., Exod. 29:2, etc.; Lev. 2:4 ff.; 6:9; 10:12; Judg. 6:19 ff., that the bread of the sanctuary, for God or man, was unleavened.

<sup>14</sup> *להשתחות לו* is clear enough.

<sup>15</sup> *Alttestamentliche Studien* R. Kittel . . . *dargebracht*, (1913), p. 205.

<sup>16</sup> קויפמן, *תולדות האמונה הישראלית*, vol. II (1942), p. 371, can only avoid this con-

Regarding vs. 33, we may again refer to Steuernagel<sup>17</sup> for the view that it is earlier than vs. 36, for it reckons with a restricted but active priesthood of the Elides, while vs. 36 presupposes the contrary.<sup>18</sup> However, a much earlier *terminus ante*, viz., ca. 965, is established by I Kings 2:26–27a. At that time, Solomon dismissed Abiathar, the descendant of Eli, from his office at the central, or royal, sanctuary.<sup>19</sup> Since by מִזְבֵּחַ of vs. 33, referring to vs. 28, the central, or at least a major sanctuary is meant, an Elide must have been in office when vs. 33 was composed, predicting, as it does, continued ministry of the Elides; but this situation came to an end ca. 965 with the demotion of Abiathar, and henceforth the prediction no longer corresponded to reality.<sup>20</sup>

No *terminus ante* can be given for vs. 34. The *terminus post* is the battle of Aphek-Ebenezer.

This leaves the time of the balance of the address (vss. 27–32) to be determined. It is evident that the prophecy of doom proper (vss. 30–33<sup>21</sup>) does not refer to any known event; in fact, it does not refer to any distinct event or situation. That means, that here we no longer deal with *vaticinia ex eventu* but with a real, though not necessarily true, prediction. An analysis of the verses brings this out easily. Vss. 30–33 do not consider the extinction of the house of Eli but its social and cultic degradation: “Those who despise Me will be slighted” (vs. 30b), and the might and prestige of the Elides shall be broken (vs. 31a). It goes on to say that “there will not be an old man”<sup>22</sup>

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clusion (and does so against his better judgment, stated in vol. 1<sup>2</sup> [1952], p. 177) by changing the text.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, (n. 15) p. 206.

<sup>18</sup> The expression in 33aα is equivocal. Since אִישׁ, among other things, means “everybody” (cf. *GB*<sup>17</sup>, p. 33, n. 11; *LVTL*, p. 41, no. 9), its negation may mean (a) “nobody,” (b) “somebody,” (c) “some.” Meaning (a) is the only one otherwise attested in the Bible, but it is excluded by the context. Of the remaining two meanings, (c) is more likely, but both contrast well with כָּל מְרִבִּית “the great majority” of the end of the verse.

<sup>19</sup> Possible priestly offices that might have been open to Abiathar elsewhere lay beyond the king’s interest and power.

<sup>20</sup> See Excursus 1, pp. [19 ff.].

<sup>21</sup> Vs. 33, which was treated separately, belongs to the original prophecy.

<sup>22</sup> The context admits of no doubt that זָקֵן here denotes age and not social function or position. Every בֵּית (אִב) whatever its relative importance in the larger group, has its head, who is often called זָקֵן and this without prejudice to age, just as not every

شَيْخ is an old man. The position of the זָקֵן can be freely transferred to anybody, as the circumstances may require. Abraham, partially delegating his powers, makes a slave the זָקֵן of his house (Gen. 24:2). A prediction that Eli’s בֵּית will have no head



in your house (for ever)" (vss. 31b, 32b). If this clause was not composed at the time of the narrative (and if it was, there is no reason for denying its historicity and that of the narrative itself), it cannot, in any event, have been composed much later. For it is quite unlikely that there was never an old Elide from Ahitub and Ichabod, second generation from Eli, to Abiathar, fourth generation. Of Abiathar himself we know that he died an old man: he officiated as a priest before David became king (I Sam. 22:20-23; 23:6, 9; to be exact: 16 months plus some time of unknown extent before that event [27:7]), carried on all through the forty years of David's reign, and was retired from office under Solomon (I Kings 2:26 f.).<sup>23</sup> This makes his, or David's, later years the *terminus ante* of vss. 31b and 32b. With the same method with which we identified the various *vaticinia ex eventu* of vss. 34-36, viz., that those passages agreed too exactly with known history to be real predictions, we identify the real prediction of vss. 31b and 32b made at the time of the narrative or not long thereafter, for these verses contradict too exactly the known subsequent history to be a *vaticinium ex eventu*. Vss. 31b and 32b, in turn, are integral parts of vss. 27-33, as will become apparent in the course of this study. Therefore, the time of the composition of the vss. 31b and 32b is the time of the composition of the core of the prophecy of the man of God.

The preliminary work of analysis and approximate dating done, we shall now turn our chief concern to determine the meaning of the — original — pericope (vss. 27-33); the meanings of the several additions (vss. 34-36) spring from the intentions of the later authors to adapt the first prediction to the particular circumstances of their times. Since the narrative climaxes in the prediction of punishment, this prediction must be the key to the understanding of the whole. It is a prediction of premature death. Twice it is pronounced with but small variants: "There shall never be an old man in your family" (vss. 31 f.). Premature death is a disaster, and ancient man saw in it a punishment of God in individual, albeit numerous cases. Was it ever conceived as an institutionalized penalty? The question is answered in the affirmative for the talmudic punishment of *kareth*. Talmudic *kareth* will be discussed later,<sup>24</sup> but we shall occasionally anticipate the results of that discussion; for it is likely a priori, and it

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either makes no sense or is tantamount to a prediction of its disintegration, and this is obviously not the intention of vss. 30-33.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. p. [23].

<sup>24</sup> Pp. [7 ff.].



shall be assumed as a working hypothesis, that a certain punishment that figures prominently in biblical law and is mostly designated by derivatives from  $\sqrt{\text{כרת}}$  is related to talmudic *kareth*. As regards the biblical material, we are in the favorable position to utilize the investigations of J. Morgenstern<sup>25</sup> and W. Zimmerli.<sup>26</sup>

For the sake of convenience and without prejudice to the talmudic institution we call, *per potiore*, the biblical penalty *kareth*; as was intimated, the verb כרת "cutting off/out" is used predominantly. Morgenstern and Zimmerli have distinguished three groups of punishment by the formulas of their descriptions. The first is recognized by כרת, used in the nif'al with the individual to be punished as the subject, or in the hif'il with God as the subject. In either construction it is followed by מן + an expression for the social group from which the individual is to be cut off.<sup>27</sup> This formula occurs 27 times.<sup>28</sup> The second group comprises 11 cases described by נשא עון.<sup>29</sup> To the third group 8 cases with the formula נשא חטא belong.<sup>30</sup> עון and חטא are commonly followed by a genitive of a person or persons. The wording of each formula is rather rigid — variants are few and minute — but all three are of the same purport, so much so that sometimes two formulas are used for one legal case:<sup>31</sup> seemingly the law is promulgated on pain of two penalties, but cumulative application of two different penalties is patently out of the question.

About the punishment of *kareth* signalized by any of these formulas three relevant statements can be made. The first is that it occurs exclusively in the legal collections of P, H,<sup>32</sup> and in Ezekiel.<sup>33</sup> The second concerns the kind of transgression for which *kareth* is inflicted: with one exception,<sup>34</sup> all offenses belong to the realm of *fas*, *Sakralrecht*.<sup>35</sup> The third refers to the nature of the adjudication and the execution of the sentence. They are not the function of human tribunals

<sup>25</sup> *HUCA* VIII-IX f. (1931 f.), pp. 16-22, 33-58.

<sup>26</sup> *ZAW* 66 (1954), pp. 9-19.

<sup>27</sup> Variant: Lev. 20:17 (לעני בני עמם); fragment: Lev. 17:14 (ל'כרת); exception: Lev. 22:3 (מלפני, *scil.* God).

<sup>28</sup> Zimmerli lists the passages conveniently, adding brief descriptions, pp. 13-15. (In one case the formula is partially repeated.) He notes 3 more occurrences with the verbs שמד or אבד instead of כרת.

<sup>29</sup> Zimmerli, p. 10. (In two cases the formula is used twice.)

<sup>30</sup> Zimmerli, p. 10 f.

<sup>31</sup> כרת and נשא חטא (Num. 9:13) or נשא עון (Lev. 19:8; 20:17; cf. Num. 15:31).

<sup>32</sup> With Gen. 17 being closely related.

<sup>33</sup> Deut. 4:3 contains the first formula but with the variant שמד instead of כרת. Cf. n. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Lev. 19:17.

<sup>35</sup> Zimmerli, pp. 10, 15.

but of God.<sup>36</sup> The threefold identity of all cases of *kareth*, irrespective of the formula used, as well as the occasional usage in the Bible of two different formulas to cover one law justify the uniform treatment of all three. The term *kareth* then, as used hereafter, does not necessarily imply the occurrence of the verb כרת in every single passage.

The third statement, viz., that "cutting off/out of the community" is the work of God, hypothetically allows for two explanations: miraculous death or premature death. Actually the first does not apply. Not only can a social and legal institution<sup>37</sup> not rest on pure miracles, but it is significant, as Morgenstern pointed out,<sup>38</sup> that the two pentateuchal narratives of miraculous death, that of the death of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. 10:1-7) and that of the doom of Korah and his band (Num. 16:1-17:15), do not use a *kareth* formula, although, it may be added, the kind of sin, committed in both cases, viz., improper service at, or in connection with, the sanctuary, figures prominently among the cases of *kareth*. Thus we are left with the second explanation of *kareth*, which is premature death. As was intimated above, premature death is the explicit interpretation the Talmud gives to *kareth*. Morgenstern<sup>39</sup> and Zimmerli<sup>40</sup> briefly mentioned talmudic *kareth* in their studies of biblical *kareth*, but the importance of the subject matter deserves a more detailed interpretation.

*Kareth*<sup>41</sup> is a rather frequent punishment in talmudic law.<sup>42</sup> Not only are those cases subsumed thereunder which are described by the verb כרת in the basic biblical texts but also those for which in the Bible

<sup>36</sup> Morgenstern, pp. 20, 55-57; Zimmerli, pp. 18 f. Both Morgenstern, pp. 48 n., 51 n., and Zimmerli, pp. 17, 19, reckon additionally with some form of excommunication; but in the opinion of both scholars this is subsidiary and in Morgenstern's opinion the result of a later development.

<sup>37</sup> Forty-six occurrences of the formula, covering over forty different transgressions, justify the use of this term.

<sup>38</sup> P. 38.

<sup>39</sup> P. 21, n. 25; p. 51, n. 53.

<sup>40</sup> P. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Called כרת and הכרת (היכרת). E. Baneth in *Mishnaïot . . . nebst Übersetzung und Erklärung* 2 (1903), p. 181, asserts — but does not substantiate — that כרת, which is the more frequent form in the editions and is commonly vocalized כָּרַת, is short for הִכָּרַת. We prefer to state the matter in this way: There exist two forms: (1) כרת, pl. כרתי as in the name and the beginning of the text of the Mishnah tractate; (2) הכרת, which is hardly a nif'al infinitive because of מן ההכרת (Yer. Pesahim 9:1 = 36b [Mishnah] and אה ההכרת (Yer. Sanhedrin 7:5 [= 24c]) but probably an action noun of the hif'il to be vocalized הִכָּרַת (cf. י. קאסאווסקי, אוצר לשון ח. י. קאסאווסקי, 2nd. ed., vol. III [1958], p. 995).

<sup>42</sup> The cases where *kareth* applies are enumerated in Kerithoth 1:1, but the list must be adjusted in accordance with Makkoth 3:1 f. (cf. Rambam, Hilkhoth Sanhedrin 19:1) because in some cases the more severe punishment of execution applies additionally. (Such a case is discussed by Zimmerli, p. 18.)

the formulas נִשָּׂא עוֹן or נִשָּׂא חַטָּא are employed. For נִשָּׂא עוֹן this is explicitly stated in Sifra to 17:16 (= *Aḥare* 12:15),<sup>43</sup> for נִשָּׂא חַטָּא in *Pesahim* 93a-b.<sup>44</sup>

Talmudic *kareth* means premature death. The age limit until which death is regarded as premature and interpreted as *kareth* is variously given as fifty or sixty years (*Mo'ed Qaṭan* 28a; *Yer. Bikkurim* 2:1 [= 64c]). In other words, *kareth* is a divine punishment and, on principle, not in the province of the law courts. With the progressive rationalization of judicial thinking and legal institutions and procedures, however, the punishment was extended, and in most and well defined cases transgressors were flogged in court (*Makkoth* 3:1 f., 15).<sup>45</sup>

The divine character of talmudic *kareth* becomes fully evident if *kareth* is related to the punishment of מִיַּתָּה בְּיַד שָׁמַיִם "death at the hand of God." The two are similar to the point of being indistinguishable.<sup>46</sup> The different terminology merely reflects different expressions in the basic biblical texts: the punishment is called *kareth* in the Talmud if in the corresponding biblical passage the verb כָּרַת is used, and מִיַּתָּה בְּיַד שָׁמַיִם, at least on principle, if the verb מוֹת is used.<sup>47</sup> As the name indicates, מִיַּתָּה בְּיַד שָׁמַיִם falls outside of human jurisdiction, but, as with *kareth*, society interposed by adding flogging to it.<sup>48</sup>

A comparison of biblical and talmudic *kareth* shows far-reaching identity of the two. (1) Both the Bible and the Talmud comprise נִשָּׂא עוֹן and נִשָּׂא חַטָּא in *kareth* besides derivatives from כָּרַת. (2) In as much as talmudic *kareth*, in common with a large part of talmudic law, is grounded in, and hermeneutically developed from, the Bible, it

<sup>43</sup> מִה נִשְׂיָא עוֹן אָמַר לֵהֲלֵן כָּרַת, etc.; text of Cod. Assemani 66, ed. L. Finkelstein, (1956), p. 368. Formally the reasoning of the Midrash applies to an individual case, but two paragraphs before (8:13) the identity of נִשָּׂא עוֹן and *kareth* is taken for granted.

<sup>44</sup> וּמִמָּי דְהָא חֲטָאֵי יֵשׁ כָּרַת הוּא, etc.; similarly *Kerithoth* 7b.

<sup>45</sup> This extension no doubt affected the nature of *kareth* deeply, but it was unavoidable once flogging had become the standard punishment for most transgressions. (They are listed in Rambam, *loc. cit.* [n. 42], 18:1 f.; 19:1 f., 4.) The exemption of transgressions of *kareth* cases from lashing might have bewildered those who felt that there was a disproportion between the more serious offense (a case of *kareth*) and the more lenient retribution (absence of immediate and bodily penalty).

<sup>46</sup> The difference mentioned by Rashi to *Shabbath* 25a, s. v. וְכָרַת; *Yevamoth* 55a, s. v. עֵרִירִים; *Hullin* 31a, s. v. לְבִיתָה; and the further difference mentioned by 'Ovadya of Bertinoro to *Sanhedrin* 9:6, s. v. וְחָכַם בְּיַד שָׁמַיִם (seemingly based on *Sifre Num.* to 15:31 [§ 112]) spring from post-talmudic concepts.

<sup>47</sup> Lists of talmudic מִיַּתָּה בְּיַד שָׁמַיִם are found in *Tos. Zevahim* 12:17 f.; cf. *Tos. Sanhedrin* 14:16; *Sanhedrin* 83a; furthermore *Sanhedrin* 11:5; see also Rambam, *loc. cit.* (n. 42), 19:2-3.

<sup>48</sup> *Makkoth* 3:1-3, 15; Rambam, *loc. cit.* (n. 42).

is necessarily bound to those sections of the Bible which contain the pertinent laws, i. e., the laws of H and P.<sup>49</sup> (3) By the same token, talmudic *kareth* applies to *fas* rather than to *ius*.<sup>50</sup> It is noted preliminarily that if מיתה בידי שמים is included in the purview, a particular facet of *fas*, that which relates to the sanctuary, sacrifices, and consecrated objects (talmudic מקדש וקדשיו), gains great prominence.<sup>51</sup> (4) Biblical and talmudic *kareth* are divine punishments. The Talmud defines *kareth* explicitly as death before the age of fifty (or sixty). The Bible contains no such statement. But it was found above by intrabiblical reasoning<sup>52</sup> that premature death was the most likely meaning. The present comparison of biblical and talmudic *kareth* supports the earlier conclusion: Since biblical and talmudic *kareth* are identical in all other points, there is a good chance that they are so in this last one also; in other words, that *kareth* in the Bible means premature death, i. e., as will be seen, death before the age of fifty (or sixty).<sup>53</sup>

Obviously, arguments such as "there is a good chance" are not proof. But their effect is greatly enhanced if they work independently and cumulatively. The following third argument, in addition to those based on internal reasoning and on a comparison with post-biblical material, respectively, is from the realm of ancient Oriental thought and the structure of the Israelite society.

Death is the fate of man. But the concept of universal and impersonal, as it were real, fate is not the only one that plays a role outside of modern society. In nonmodern thinking, not every case of death is "fateful." Ancient Oriental man tends to think of fate in terms of ideality. Then death comes to a man זקן ושבע (ימים) "old and content" (Gen. 25:8; passim). In this ideal fate, man acquiesces; other than that is "non-fate," which he dreads. The Akkadian language has it simple and clear: *šimtu* (sing.) or *šimātu* (plur.) "fate(s)" often assumes the meaning of "death,"<sup>54</sup> *šimātu* alone is "(he) died,"<sup>55</sup> while untimely death is spoken of as to come *ina ūmi la šimti/šimāti* "on a day of non-fate."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The third biblical source of *kareth*, Ezekiel, belongs to the Prophets and is as such virtually of no consequence for the formation of talmudic law.

<sup>50</sup> Flogging, in which we have seen a sign of rationalization of Jewish law p. [8], marks an inroad of an element of *ius* (Deut. 25:1-3) into the realm of *fas*.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. n. 47.

<sup>52</sup> P. [7].

<sup>53</sup> P. [11].

<sup>54</sup> Cf. F. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, (1896), pp. 654 f.

<sup>55</sup> E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56) p. 9, n. 30.

<sup>56</sup> The idea is vividly depicted in a passage from a prayer forming part of a Neo-Assyrian ritual (*Sultan Tepe Tablets* I, 73:35-38), discussed by E. Reiner





Variations of the theme are the blessing *את מספר ימך אמלא* "I will fulfill the number of your days" (Exod. 23:26<sup>60</sup>) and the prayer *אל תעלני בחצי ימי* "Do not take me away in the middle of my days" (Ps. 102:25). Ideal fate is completing one's "days on earth" (Job 8:9), making their number conform to an ideal standard. Barth has aptly defined the biblical concept of life as the extent of time during which man can be active.<sup>61</sup> Fulness of life, then, is man's unlimited opportunity of full activity, of being an able and useful member of society. Now the period of man's full activity and usefulness, the "peak of his days" (Isa. 38:10 LXX<sup>62</sup>) has its natural limitation. What was in ancient Israel regarded as the age of manhood, the period of man's life when he was in full command of his faculties? Statements and implications in the Bible vary, the variations being due in part to the different activities of man as described in the different passages and in part to different traditions and customs. The beginning of manhood is given as 20<sup>63</sup> or 25<sup>64</sup> or 30,<sup>65</sup> the end as 50<sup>66</sup> or 60<sup>67</sup> years. Death before the end of manhood is denial of the opportunity completely to realize one's capacities, to attain full status and act out one's role in society. It occurs within the same period where talmudic *kareth* applies, and the variants are the same in the Bible and in the Talmud, to wit, fifty and sixty years.

Our working hypothesis of pp. [5 f.] has been confirmed and more than confirmed. Biblical and talmudic *kareth* are not only related but they are identical in all points that admit of comparison. Allowing for some minor differences due to the passage of the centuries, it is safe to say that biblical and talmudic *kareth* are the same punishment and that they mean premature death.

*Kareth* is the punishment of the house of Eli. If this fact is not recognized, the pericope I Sam. 2:27 ff. cannot properly be understood. We shall now proceed to demonstrate the fact.

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and complaining overtones of Semitic *la šimti* and related phrases or, for that matter, of Antigone's lament that she is to descend to the dead *πρὶν μοι μοῖραν ἐξῆκεν βίου* "before fate has visited me" (Euripides, *Antig.* 896).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the midrashic expansions of the idea of the passage in Yevamoth 50a; also Midrash Rabba to Eccles. 3:2 (§ 3).

<sup>61</sup> C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode* . . ., (1947), pp. 24 f., 54-56.

<sup>62</sup> *ἐν τῷ ὕψει τῶν ἡμερῶν μου κτλ.* The underlying Hebrew consonants *ברמימי*\*, only slightly different from *ברמימי* (MT), may be the original.

<sup>63</sup> Exod. 30:14; Lev. 27:3, 5; Num. 1:3 ff.; 14:29; 26:2; I Chron. 23:24.

<sup>64</sup> Num. 8:24.

<sup>65</sup> Num. 4:3 ff. (LXX, harmonizing with 8:24, has 25 here, too); I Chron. 23:3.

<sup>66</sup> Num. 4:3 ff.; 8:25.

<sup>67</sup> Lev. 27:3, 7.



(1) The content of the piece is the announcement of the impending premature death of the descendants of Eli. The position of the priestly family on the one hand and the significance of the pericope in the plan of the Book of Samuel<sup>68</sup> on the other hand lead the reader to expect a pregnant judgment (cf. 3:13) in accordance with established order rather than a random prediction of doom. *Kareth* satisfies his expectation.

(2) The transgression of the sons of Eli falls totally into *fas*. They are charged with officiating improperly at the sanctuary, illicit appropriation of sacrifices (2:13–16, 29bβ), self-aggrandizement (vs. 29ba), and despising God (vs. 17, 29a; 3:13b). *Kareth*, in general, holds a notable place in the realm of *fas*. It is, in particular, grave offences against the sanctuary in the broad sense that are most frequently punished in this fashion. Fourteen cases are listed in the Pentateuch,<sup>69</sup> and if those which the Talmud calls מִיתָה בִּירֵי שָׁמַיִם<sup>70</sup> are added, their number will be approximately doubled. The typological affinity between the institution of *kareth* and the special case of I Sam. 2:27 ff. is at once apparent.

(3) The sin of the Elides is epitomized by the two expressions בֹּזֵה (2:30) and קָלַל (2:30; 3:13). The first is a sin punishable by *kareth*. Num. 15:30 f. reads: והנפש אשר תעשה ביד רמה . . . את יהוה הוא מגרף ונכרתה הנפש ההוא מקרב עמה. כי דברי־יהוה בזה ואת־מצותו הפר הכרת תכרת “But a person who does anything with a high hand . . . scorns<sup>71</sup> Yahweh, that person shall be cut out of his people. Because he has despised Yahweh’s word and has broken his commandment, that person shall be utterly cut out, his iniquity shall be upon him.” Committing a sin “with a high hand,” as opposed to committing it בשגגה “unwittingly,” is called “בֹּזֵה the word of God,” and its punishment is *kareth*. Just this is the meaning of בֹּזֵה in I Sam. 2:30: committing a sin with full knowledge and intention (vss. 16 f., 25ba). According to the law of Numbers, what the sons of Eli did is punishable by *kareth*.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. pp. [16 ff.].

<sup>69</sup> Exod. 28:42 f.; 30:33; 30:38; Lev. 7:18 (similarly 19:8); 7:20; 7:21; 7:25; 17:4; 17:9; 22:9; 22:16; Num. 9:13; 18:22; 18:32.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. p. [9].

<sup>71</sup> מְגַרֵף, commonly “cursing,” has this in common with מְקַלְלִים of I Sam. 3:13 that it denotes action, not utterance (also in Ezek. 20:27, with God as direct object). “Reviles” of the R. S. V. is, therefore, no material improvement of “blasphemeth” of the A. V.

The same statute contains a bit more supporting evidence. A sin committed inadvertently can be atoned for by sacrifices of animals and plants (Num. 15:22-29), one deliberately committed cannot — it is a case involving *kareth* (vss. 30 f.). Of the sin of the Elides, committed deliberately, the narrative says that it cannot be atoned for by such sacrifices (3:14). The comparison of I Sam. 2:27 ff. with Num. 15:22 ff. in language and in content stamps the guilt of the Elides as one leading to *kareth*.

The same holds true for the other word, קלל, that is used here. In 2:30 it names the punishment (יקלו) and, by implication, the sin. But there is more than implication. The idea basic to ancient Semitic thought and familiar in the Bible, that deed and requital are of the same nature, is twice expressed here. In the protasis of vs. 30b $\beta$ , the same verb describes both (כי מכבדי אכבד). Regarding the apodosis, the verb קלל that describes the requital recurs in the description of the deed in the following chapter in a phrase which clearly refers back to our verse: בעון אשר ידע כי מקללים להם בניו "for the sin that he knew that his sons were slighting"<sup>72</sup> 'God' ".<sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> Now it is precisely the sin of קלל, "slighting," God that is punished by *kareth*: איש איש כי יקלל אלהיו "Whoever slights his God shall bear his sin" (Lev. 24:15).<sup>75</sup> *Kareth* is the penalty of the Elides.

(4) A piece closely related to I Sam. 2:27 ff. is Mal. 1:6-2:9. Key words<sup>76</sup> and subject matter show it. Key words:  $\sqrt{\text{כבד}}$  (I Sam. 2:30; [3:13] — Mal. 1:6, 2:2); בזה (I Sam. 2:30 — Mal. 1:6, 7, 12; 2:9); מוֹבָח (I Sam. 2:28, 33 — Mal. 1:7, 10); מנחה (I Sam. 2:[17,] 29 bis; [3:14] — Mal. 1:10, 11, 13).<sup>77</sup> Subject matter: In Samuel and in Malachi the priests are charged with robbing God, offering him second-grade sacri-

<sup>72</sup> This is the only possible meaning; cf. J. Scharbert, *Biblica* 39 (1958), pp. 8-14. "Cursing" is wrong and "blaspheming" vague and misleading, for the sin consists in deed and not in speech. Furthermore, the antonym of קלל in 2:30 is כבד and not בָּרַךְ.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. LXX and Mekhilta to 15:7; similarly F. Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik* . . ., (1895), p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> It does so whether והגדתי לו means "I told him," as this author believes, or "I am telling him."

<sup>75</sup> נִקְבָּה, used in the same passage, expresses not only an "erschwerenden Tatbestand" (Scharbert, *loc. cit.*, [n. 72], p. 14) but seems to mean a specific offense within the general area of "slighting."

<sup>76</sup> "Leitwörter" of M. Buber and F. Rosenzweig, *Die Bibel und ihre Verdeutschung*, (1936), pp. 211-38, 262-75. See also L. J. Liebreich, *HUCA* XXVII (1956), pp. 181-92; H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Samuelbücher*, (1956), p. 129; W. Zimmerli, in *Das Problem der Sprache in Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Schneemelcher, (1959), p. 19.

<sup>77</sup> See Excursus 2, pp. [24 ff.].

fices while keeping the best for themselves;<sup>78</sup> their unworthy conduct is set against the backdrop of the grace of God who elected the priestly house in former days (I Sam. 2:27 f. — Mal. 2:4–6).<sup>79</sup> The relation of I Sam. 2:27 ff. and Mal. 1:6 ff. is so close<sup>80</sup> that the latter reads like an elaboration of the former; the speaker, after omitting what is purely historical and narrative, used all the major elements of the early text, expression as well as content, for his latter-day address.

In which way does Mal. 1:6–2:9 bear on this question of *kareth*? The address holds out the following punishments for the priests: loss of their illicit gain (2:2–3aα), defilement (vs. 3aβ), and contempt (vs. 9), the latter being the same as the beginning of the threat against the Elides (I Sam. 2:30). They are preceded by the prophet's wish that the temple be closed and the service suspended (Mal. 1:10). But for this wish, and it is only a wish (מי גם בכך), the requital is not commensurate with the offense nor with the vehement denunciation. Urged by this apparent imbalance to look beyond 2:9, we read in vs. 12: יכרת יהוה לאיש אשר יעשנה ער וענה מאהלי יעקב ומניש מנחה ליהוה צבאות: "May Yahweh (MT; or: "Yahweh will," LXX) cut out of the tents of Jacob, to the man who does this, . . .<sup>81</sup> or one who brings offering to Yahweh of hosts." With the majority of critics we hold that this verse (and parts of [?]) the preceding and the following) is not a genuine element of its context. To the reasons brought forth by others we add that in vs. 12 (and in vs. 13?) the priests are addressed,<sup>82</sup> which is certainly not true of the balance of the section 2:10–16. Vs. 12 (11–13?) must therefore be connected, conceptually if not literarily, with the rebuke of the priests 1:6–2:9. Now vs. 12 is nothing but the threat of *kareth*. The full formula הכרית מן + the group is pronounced though with some poetic variation of the standard wording.<sup>83</sup> Here then is the punishment that was missing in 1:6–2:9. It is most severe. It goes

<sup>78</sup> Mal. 1:6 ff. does not explicitly state that the priests retained the best pieces for themselves, for the subject of vs. 14a is the laymen. But the laymen could not do what they did, and the priests would not have been so severely reprimanded for offering inferior sacrifices (vss. 7 f., 12 f.), had the latter not acted in collusion with the former and out of greed. This material gain, "blessings" says the text ironically, will not make the priests rich; rather, it will turn into a curse (2:2; for the expression, compare 3:8–11).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Num. 25:10–13 (Rashi, Redaq, *ad loc.*; and J. M. P. Smith in H. G. Mitchell a. o., *A Critical . . . Commentary on [Haggai . . .] Malachi*, (1912), p. 38).

<sup>80</sup> Further points of contact will be mentioned in the following pages.

<sup>81</sup> The meaning of ער וענה is unknown.

<sup>82</sup> (3:3). וטהר את בני לוי . . . והיו ליהוה מניש מנחה בצדקה, cf. מניש מנחה ליהוה צבאות.

<sup>83</sup> (Num. 24:5; Jer. 30:18) substitutes for simple עם. Slight variants of the formula are noted by Zimmerli, *loc. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 16 f.

beyond ordinary *kareth* in that it includes the family of the perpetrator (מניש מנחה and ער וענה) — this feature it shares with the *kareth* passage of Lev. 20:5 — and that it spells personal doom as well as disqualification from the high office — this it probably shares with the implication of the *kareth* passage of Lev. 22:3. It holds the first particular in common with I Sam. 2:27 ff., a further link between the narrative and the prophetic address. We have seen that Mal. 1:6 ff. is developed from I Sam. 2:27 ff.; we have also seen that it culminates in *kareth*: *Kareth* is the intrabiblical interpretation of I Sam. 2:27 ff.

The different approaches converge on one conclusion: the core of I Sam. 2:27 ff. is a narrative of *kareth*. So far, however, the clinching argument has been missing, to wit, the presence of one of the *kareth* formulas. The constitutive element of Zimmerli's comprehensive list of passages, on which this study is based, is a formula — one of the three; variants of the formula occur, but they are few and slight. Now Zimmerli's cases are exclusively, and understandably, drawn from legal texts or Ezekiel. None but minute variants are expected, as legal style adheres rigidly to set phraseology, and Ezekiel frequently and purposefully employs the language of the law. The narrator is not so bound. This stylistic freedom, however, is a source of difficulties to the student of the Bible; the absence of specific legal terminology limits his attempt to demonstrate that his subject is a certain legal institution if all other accounts of that institution are chiefly recognized by this terminology. Fortunately, one of the *kareth* formulas occurs in I Sam. 2:27 ff., however refracted, with all its characteristic elements: ואיש לא אכרית לך מעם מובחי . . . וכל מרבית ביתך ימותו אנשים (vs. 33).<sup>84</sup> It comes at the end of the condemnation, qualifies it, and thus reveals the true nature of the punishment. The main deviation from the regular form is (מעם) + "My (i. e., God's) altar" instead of common (מן) + the people. Applied to priests this may mean *kareth*, as it does in Lev. 22:3, or merely removal from office, as it probably does in Jer. 33:18.<sup>85</sup> The end of the verse eliminates the second alternative. It is *kareth*, a matter of life and death, and disqualification from office, if intended, is secondary.

The result of this study bears on our knowledge of *kareth* as well as on our interpretation of the opening chapters of Samuel. Regarding

<sup>84</sup> For vs. 33b, cf. n. 10.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. vs. 17. Yet Jer. 35:19, where disqualification from office is not an issue, admits the possibility that even in Jer. 33:18 more than the termination of priesthood is meant.

the institution of *kareth*, it establishes a *saeculum ante* for its origin. The story of I Sam. 2:27 ff. is as old as the event it tells of, or virtually so, and it thus gives us a late pre-monarchical or very early monarchical date for *kareth*. This comes as no surprise to one who is impressed by Zimmerli's exposition of the history and the relative age of the *kareth* formulas.<sup>86</sup>

Regarding the interpretation of I Sam. 2:27 ff., the cognition that the pericope is a narrative of *kareth* is significant in several ways. First, it is the answer to our original question, that of the meaning of the core of I Sam. 2:27 ff. Secondly, it makes the student aware of the uniqueness of the pericope; there is no other genuine narrative of *kareth*.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, it probably tells about the partial transformation of *kareth*. "Probably," that is, if Zimmerli is right, as we believe he is. Ordinarily, *kareth* is in the domain of the priests who decide and pronounce it.<sup>88</sup> Here, where the priests sinned and are therefore to be punished, *kareth* is put in the hands of a free agent, the man of God, and thus de-institutionalized.

At this point we look beyond I Sam. 2(-3). The narrative is not an isolated entity, and we do not fully grasp its meaning unless we integrate it in the meaning of the Book of Samuel. In the isolated story, the guilt of the priests brings about their repudiation and their own as well as their descendants' destruction, but it does not affect the office of the priesthood. The reader can expect nothing else, and nothing else is said in 2:27-33. As part of the book, however, the story tells the unexpected. When priests again appear under Saul and thereafter (chaps. 14 ff.), it is in a condition of dependence on the king and often in complete submission to him, while religious pre-eminence has passed to the prophet. The impression that, in this respect, the book intends causally to relate chaps. 1 f. and 14 ff. by means of juxtaposing sharp contrasts is considerably strengthened through the intervening verses 3:1, 19-20(-21; text?).<sup>89</sup> As a separate unit, I Sam. 2:27 ff. tells of

<sup>86</sup> *Loc. cit.* (n. 26), p. 17.

<sup>87</sup> In Lev. 24:10-23 laws and precepts, among them one of *kareth*, are provided with a narrative framework. Num. 15:32-36 is of a similar nature, but there the penalty is death. These anecdotes, sketchy, their subjects insignificant individuals, their purpose legal, are outside of the stream of the pentateuchal narrative and not suitable material for comparison with I Sam. 2:12 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Zimmerli, *loc. cit.* (n. 26), p. 12.

<sup>89</sup> It is not impossible that the role of the priests after the destruction of Shiloh and during part of the era of the monarchy was greater than the story of Samuel and Kings has it, but this is not of direct interest to the reader who is concerned with the intention of these books.



the change of priestly dynasties; as part of the book, it marks a distinct caesura in the flow of time. According to biblical history, i. e., history as recorded and interpreted in the Bible and distinct from Israelite history, irreparable damage was done to the office of the priest of the central sanctuary, and the ideal constitution of Israel was radically affected through the sin of Eli and his sons.

In the study of the humanities, it is sometimes profitable to ask a question complementary to the basic problem, viz., "What specifically, among possible and probable meanings, does a certain text, or work of art, or rite, etc., *not* mean?" It would not be unreasonable to assume that it is the intention of the story of the house of Eli as part of the Book of Samuel to lead up to the destruction of Shiloh and the capture of the ark, to indicate that, far beyond bringing *kareth* upon their family and damaging the institution of the priesthood, the sons of Eli brought about national disaster. This assumption, however, is not substantiated in the text. Nowhere are the catastrophe of Aphek and Shiloh and the long years of Philistine rule over Israel traced in any way, however devious, to the conduct of the Elides.

Nonetheless, the hypothesis connecting causally the sins of the priests and the calamity of the people and the sanctuary is not altogether gratuitous. For there is very little doubt that in its literary pre-history the book did relate the national disaster to the sin of Eli and his family. We follow Budde,<sup>90</sup> Eissfeldt,<sup>91</sup> and others in saying that the misfortune was mentioned between 3:11 and 12; הנה אנכי עשה דבר; of vs. 11 points to an event to be announced in what is to follow, while ביום ההוא of vs. 12 points to one already announced. In other words, the latter verse refers to a catastrophe of a broader scope of which the doom of the house of Eli is only one, though a most impressive part.<sup>92</sup>

As to whether the omission of the prediction of the national calamity is accidental or intentional, one should reckon seriously with the former alternative only if no plausible case for the latter can be made. We think the following to be such a case. I Sam. 3:11-14 is

<sup>90</sup> K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel erklärt*, (1902), p. 28.

<sup>91</sup> O. Eissfeldt, *Die Komposition der Samuelbücher*, (1931), p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> It is quite likely that specifically the destruction of Shiloh, and not (only) the capture of the ark, was predicted in the now missing passage. The mention of Shiloh in vs. 21 (once or twice, depending on whether the Hebrew text of vs. 21b is accepted or not) as a place of continued revelation while Samuel ministered there loses its casual ring and becomes a meaningful conclusion of the narrative if it contrasts with the prediction of the subsequent destruction of the city; the destruction is forecast but delayed for the sake of Samuel.



a prophecy. Classical prophecy does not mean foretelling the future but extending the lines of historical development from the known past into the hidden future, and it does this in a consistent and meaningful manner. That is to say that doom is not pronounced except for sufficient cause. Whatever the historiosophy of his earliest source material, the author of the book that contains, among other sections, I Sam. 15; II Sam. 7; 11 ff. did not consider the capture of the ark, the destruction of Shiloh, and the Philistine occupation of the land and oppression of its inhabitants a punishment commensurate with the guilt of the priests.

The destruction of Shiloh, never told in the Bible, is nonetheless referred to obliquely in an early and in a relatively late text. The early text is Ps. 78.<sup>93</sup> Even this poem of comparatively great antiquity seeks the reason for the destruction of the sanctuary (the city itself is not mentioned) and the defeat of the people in the battlefield (vss. 59–64) in the guilt of the whole nation, because it served foreign gods (vss. 56–58), and not in that of the priests who perished in the holocaust (vs. 64a probably refers to the death of Hophni and Phinehas at Aphek) for no particular sin of their own. The same, and more, is true of the later prophetic text, Jer. 7:12–14 (cf. 26:6): Shiloh was destroyed<sup>94</sup> “because of the wickedness of my people,” and the same fate will befall Jerusalem. Any limitation to, or mere preponderance of, priestly or ritual sins is excluded by the spirit of the address, its precise wording, and the many concrete examples (vss. 5 f., 9, 18). Wicked priests are repeatedly mentioned in Jeremiah along with other corrupt functionaries and groups, but disaster is inflicted on the people for what the people itself, i. e., a representative majority of it or the majority of its representative classes (cf. 5:1, 4–6; 25:5; 13:13, etc.) has done.

We have attempted to demonstrate the likelihood that the capture of the ark and the destruction of Shiloh were originally mentioned between I Sam. 3:11 and 12, and that the mention implied causal relation of the guilt of the Elides with the capture and the destruction. Whether one regards this attempt as successful or not, the extant biblical passages of Ps. 78 and Jer. 7 do not share the historiosophy of

<sup>93</sup> For the time of its origin, we follow O. Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32:1–43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78* . . ., (1958), especially pp. 36–41, who dates the psalm in the first or second third of the tenth century. Thus also W. F. Albright, *VT* 9 (1959), p. 345, n. 1.

<sup>94</sup> Again, so it seems, the sanctuary is meant primarily because of מקוֹם אֵשֶׁר בְּשִׁילוֹ (with מקום as in *LVTL*, p. 560a, no. 7), but the author may also have intended the added meaning “City of Shiloh,” cf. vs. 14aβ (and vs. 7a).

the hypothetical passage of \*I Sam. 33:11A, and if that passage ever existed at an early time, as we think it did, the different outlook that found its expression in the later psalm and prophetic passages is the probable reason for its omission. I Sam. 2:27-33 in its present setting, with its manifold implications but without the later accretions of vss. 34-36, tells the story of the Elides, their offense, and their subsequent punishment by *kareth*. Owing to their prominent position, *kareth* assumed unusual dimensions, affecting not only the offenders but their office as well. Since the office was a national institution, the punishment was not without consequences for the history of the nation: with the place that the priests had held now — temporarily — vacated, room was made for the growth of new religio-national institutions. This was, to the biblical author, the necessary outcome of the sin and the punishment of the sons of Eli, this and nothing more. If the Book of Samuel gives an — implicit — reason for the capture of the ark<sup>95</sup> (the destruction of Shiloh is not told in it), it does not give it in chapters 2 and 3.

#### EXCURSUS I\*

##### I Sam. 14:3a

The genealogic connection between Eli and Abiathar, which plays an important, though not decisive role in this study, is stated in I Sam. 14:3a and 22:20a (23:6; 30:7). Some scholars, however, reject the information given in the first of these passages as historically worthless and with its rejection relegate the genealogy to the realm of fiction. The leading proponents of this position are Arnold and Caird.<sup>96</sup> A few of their arguments are explicitly historical, in that the

<sup>95</sup> Cf. M. Buber, *The Prophetic Faith*, (1949), pp. 61 f.

\* To p. [4].

<sup>96</sup> Altogether we are aware of the following attempts to repudiate the information of 14:3a: W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, (1917), pp. 14 f.; W. Caspari, *Die Samuelbücher* . . ., (1926), pp. 142 f., 159; R. H. Pfeiffer, *loc. cit.* (n. 12), p. 369; G. B. Caird in *Interpreter's Bible*, vol. 2, (1953), pp. 863, 950; מ. רזין, ש. בנדר, מוצא המלוכה, בישראל, 1959, pp. 287 f. Caspari, p. 159, refers to Graf, and A. Schulz, *loc. cit.* (n. 10), p. 195, to Grimme; the latter apparently rejects the passage for a reason contrary to that of Arnold and Caird. We have seen neither Graf nor Grimme. Caspari's loose argumentation can confidently be disregarded; Pfeiffer follows Arnold, and Razin and Bendor follow Caird. The following discussion will, therefore, concentrate on Arnold and Caird.

content of the passage is critically evaluated, but the bulk is ostensibly literary (and historical only by implication), i. e., an attempt is made to demonstrate that 14:3a is not an original part of the narrative of the battle of Michmash.

Let it be said at the outset that the literary arguments do not weigh heavily. Even if they are sustained, suspicion would hardly be cast on the truth of the data by a priori mistrusting any channels of the transmission of historical information other than the main source, the narrative proper, for such a priority is alien to the study of history. But they figure prominently and shall therefore be examined individually.

We admit that there is not much in the crucial passage that makes it an integral part of 14:1 ff., although the introduction of Ahijah prior to vs. 18 is almost a narrative necessity, and for this purpose the section vss. 2-5, which sets the stage for the action and lists the *dramatis personae* is better suited than any other.<sup>97</sup> But it would not only fly in the face of common sense but would also spell the end of normal reading and study of works of literature were we to postulate that the genuineness of each part, no matter how small, is provable. For such postulation disregards two prominent elements of artistic and related creations: wholeness and playfulness. As the consideration of these elements is basic to every study of literature, the absence of demonstrable genuineness of a passage as short as 14:3a is meaningless for its critical evaluation.

All detailed reasoning, both historical and literary, that 14:3a is fictitious is animated by the suspicion of tendentiousness: the passage is spurious, for its clear purpose is to make Ahijah and with him his nephew Abiathar descendants of Eli and therewith place them under the curse that was called down on the Elides. Abiathar's demotion under Solomon (I Kings 2:26 f.) is thus justified, and nothing stands in the way of the legitimacy of Zadok and his descendants. This reasoning falls in the field of motivation. Since motivation is always motivation of something — here the glossing of a text — the question of the factuality of that something — the gloss — precedes that of its motivation. Our chief concern is, therefore, to examine the non-motivational arguments of the supposed glossatory character of 14:3a. We begin with Arnold.

(1) *14:3a is not a clause but a phrase, a parenthesis, and as such deprived of purpose; for if it were a clause, its predicate "bore the ephod,"*

<sup>97</sup> Cf. below, p. [21].

should be *נִשָּׂא אֶפֹד*\* instead of actual *נִשָּׂא אֶפֹד*. At best it might be. *אֶפֹד* without article occurs also in 2:28 and 23:6; in the first passage, as in that under discussion, it is the object of *נִשָּׂא*; in both passages the article is no more and no less required than here.<sup>98</sup> (2) *אֶחָי* "is irrelevant," Arnold here employs an argument of smoothness of style and purposefulness of every word. Protests against this sort of philology are on record. Furthermore, the argument of irrelevance rather works the other way. For a single-minded glossator who adds only a few words to his text should be credited with more purposefulness and discipline than a narrator of a comparatively lengthy and involved story. But the whole reasoning is strange. Stray remarks, seemingly meaningless, about family relationships in pedigrees or narratives are not uncommon in the Bible. Nobody has ever suggested that Gen. 11:29 is a gloss because of *וְאָבִי יִסְכָּה*, although the relevancy of these words eludes commentators. Similar expansions of genealogical tables occur in Gen. 10:21 and 22:21.<sup>99</sup> The same comment applies to (3) Arnold's *misgivings about כֹּהֵן יְהוָה בְּשֵׁלָה*. Additional arguments of Caird: (4) *The genealogy interrupts the story*.<sup>100</sup> If it did not, it would be no genealogy. The problem, properly worded, is: "14:3a contains a genealogy; is genealogy an element of biblical narrative?", about which the introductions to the Bible may be consulted. (5) *"The presence of Ahijah is sufficiently accounted for by vs. 18, where he seems to be mentioned for the first time."*<sup>101</sup> How subjective this judgment is, a look into the commentaries of Smith<sup>102</sup> or Hertzberg<sup>103</sup> shows; both find the preparation of vs. 18<sup>104</sup> in an earlier part of the story quite in order. (6) *The family tree is too lengthy*.<sup>105</sup> Its length depends on the particular circumstances of the case and the intentions of the author. Given the intention to relate the unknown person (Ahijah) to the known one (Eli), the author did what other biblical authors did: he rendered the genealogy as he knew it.

The following arguments, all Caird's, are historical in the restricted sense, i. e., he seeks to show that the information of 14:3a conflicts

<sup>98</sup> According to J. Morgenstern, *HUCA* XVIII (1944), p. 2, n. 4 (= *The Ark, the Ephod . . .*, [1945], p. 116, n. 193), *נִשָּׂא אֶפֹד* without the article means "priest."

<sup>99</sup> H. Holzinger, *Genesis*, (1898), p. 117, referring to Wellhausen.

<sup>100</sup> P. 950.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> H. P. Smith, *A Critical . . . Commentary on . . . Samuel*, (1899), p. 104.

<sup>103</sup> Hertzberg, *loc. cit.* (n. 76), p. 85.

<sup>104</sup> Caird and Smith accept the LXX reading of vs. 18.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

with other, more reliable information, or that it is improbable for internal reasons.<sup>106</sup> (7) "*It is hardly credible that Ahitub, whose grandson Abiathar was priest to David, should have been Ichabod's brother.*"<sup>107</sup> As far as this writer is aware, this remains a bare assertion in Caird's commentary. Genealogical-chronological questions shall be taken up below under No. (9). (8) *It is a very precarious "assumption that all the eighty-six priests of Nob were descendants of Eli."*<sup>108</sup> This is nowhere assumed. To say it is, involves two unwarranted, though not uncommon presuppositions. Textually, it presupposes ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἀνδρῶν (2:33 LXX) against אנשים alone (MT), for only the LXX text relates the priests that Doeg slew 'with the edge of the sword' (22:18 f.) to the house of Eli that "shall die by the sword of men" (2:33) and thus admits the possibility of understanding the story of the slaughter of the priests of Nob (22:6–23) as the fulfilment of the prophecy of the man of God (2:33). Granting for the sake of the argument that the Greek version represents the original (an unlikely alternative; the difficulties inherent in the Septuagint text were pointed out above),<sup>109</sup> still leaves us with only a weak case; with the Greek phrase as the only textual evidence, the assumption is not well founded. Lexically, it requires the restriction of בית (2:33) and particularly בית אב (22:11, 15, 16, 22) to mean only the lineal descendants of a common ancestor.<sup>110</sup> Such restriction is altogether groundless.<sup>111</sup> What is more: an attempt to impose a restrictive interpretation, in disregard of concordance and dictionary,<sup>112</sup> on the terms בית and בית אב leads to results that are not favorable to Caird's hypothesis. The social setup most consonant with the texts at hand is that of a relatively large group of priests, the בית אב (2:27, 28; 22:11, 15, 16, 22), of which the בית is a subgroup (2:31, 32, 33, 36). This explanation accounts for בית אבִיך besides

<sup>106</sup> We do not gainsay that historical statements such as that under scrutiny which are neither corroborated by independent sources nor so sharply profiled that they can safely be related to the historical structure and specific circumstances about which they tell are of reduced value. But the study of ancient history, where sources often flow in a trickle, has always used such second-grade information and, on the whole, with good results. Both Arnold and Caird wisely refrain from rejecting 14:3a on these general grounds.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> P. 863; cf. I Sam. 22:18.

<sup>109</sup> N. 10.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. also Caird, p. 891.

<sup>111</sup> In the very same paragraph, David is spoken of as a member of the בית of Saul (22:14), with whom he was only associated by marriage and presumed loyalty.

<sup>112</sup> Well summarized by J. Pedersen, *Israel; Its Life and Culture I–II*, (1926), pp. 51–54, and R. de Vaux, *Les institutions de l'A. T.*, vol. I, (1958), p. 39.



ביתך (2:30) and זרע בית אביו besides זרעך (2:31): the punishment affects both the בית of Eli — his lineal descendants — and his בית אב — the larger group to which he belongs. The group of priests of Nob that Saul exterminated is invariably spoken of as a בית אב. But it seems that Caird has his own doubts. One key verse of his argument, 22:19, "looks like an interpolation,"<sup>113</sup> and the critical phrase of the other, 22:22, viz., "'your father's house' does not imply that all the priests of Nob were descendants of Ahimelech."<sup>114</sup> (9) *The credibility of the chronology that underlies the genealogy of the Elides is overcast with a cloud of doubt.*<sup>115</sup> (For the examination of this argument figures have to be supplied at certain points, as the text does not contain a continuous chronology. Where this is done, the most probable or average will be chosen.) Ichabod was born at the time of the battle of Aphek (I Sam. 4:19 ff.). At this time, his elder brother Ahitub was, we assume, 5 years old. When the latter was 25 years old, we again assume, his son Ahimelech was born, who, in turn, had a son, Abiathar, at the same assumed age of 25. Abiathar, who was still officiating at the beginning of Solomon's reign (I Kings 2:26 f.), began his ministration under David (I Sam. 23:9)  $x + 1\frac{1}{3}$  (27:7) +  $40\frac{1}{2}$  (II Sam. 5:5) years earlier ( $x$ , the number of years of David's stay in the desert of Judah, is very small). If we finally assume that he was 25 years old when he joined David, the battle of Aphek would have been fought ca. 115 years before Solomon (ca. 965 B. C.) or ca. 1080 B. C. This date is an approximation, fraught with uncertainties of various kinds,<sup>116</sup> and allows for a relatively wide range of deviations. But even abiding by the specific figure of 1080 causes no difficulties.<sup>117</sup> Arguing in the reverse: The (partially reconstructed) chronology of the priestly genealogy leads to an acceptable date of a historical event; therefore the genealogy is not unacceptable with regard to that date. (10) Finally, *Caird takes exception to a specific chronological point arising from the general chronology on which the genealogy rests: the*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1003.

<sup>114</sup> P. 1004.

<sup>115</sup> P. 863.

<sup>116</sup> Note also the minor point that the reigns of both David and Solomon are given as 40 years. Either or both of the data may be an extension of the chronological pattern whose basic number is 40 that prevails in the early historical books of the Bible. However, be this as it may, it is not doubted that David died as an old man, and also that the time of Solomon's reign was not short. The chronology is therefore not substantially affected by accepting or rejecting the biblical number 40.

<sup>117</sup> E. Auerbach, *Wüste und gelobtes Land*, vol. I, (1936), p. 299, gives the date of Aphek as 1080; O. Eissfeldt, *loc. cit.*, (n. 93), p. 24, as ca. 1070; W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, (1949), p. 118, as ca. 1050.



length of time that the ark remained in Kiryath-yearim. Completely at a loss as to why Caird considers this period — fifty years — “altogether too long”<sup>118</sup> and unable to find a helpful hint, however slight, in the history of Israel, we do not know how to deal with this allegation.

As was noted above,<sup>119</sup> some scholars hold I Sam. 14:3a to be a tendentious gloss by a Zadokite partisan, designed to discredit the Elides. After their specific reasons for considering the passage a gloss have been disposed of, the supposed motive of the hypothetical glossator remains as the only indication of the glossatory nature of 14:3a. Now in human affairs the number of possible motives that conflict with the appearance of behavior or the results thereof is theoretically unlimited and actually large. In face of such plethora the philologist and the historian maintain a critical position. Suspicion of motivation is a useful heuristic principle. It is also a legitimate interpretative principle when applied to the study of those texts and sources whose apparent meaning or truthfulness have previously been rejected on independent grounds. *Tertium non datur*.

The arguments against I Sam. 14:3a are without merit. Their rejection does not in itself prove the truth of the content of the passage. But we accept the information — because it is unsuspected — albeit not overconfidently — because it is unsupported. In this sense it serves the Eli-Abiathar genealogy — “until further notice.”

## EXCURSUS 2\*

### Mal. 2:3 LXX

If we could follow the commentators, we would point to another linguistic relation between I Sam. 2:27 ff. and Mal. 1:6 ff. Virtually every modern commentator on Malachi — a random check showed nine out of ten — emends הִנְי גַּעַר לָכֶם אֶת הַזֶּרַע (Mal. 2:3) into הִנְי גַּדְעַי לָכֶם אֶת הַזֶּרַע (I Sam. 2:31) is compared. A striking similarity, indeed. This reconstruction

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* The “20 years” of 7:2 belong to the forty-year pattern and can as such be disregarded; cf. n. 116.

<sup>119</sup> P. [20].

\* To p. [13].

of the passage, however, would not concern us since the emended text is wholly unrelated to its context or anything else in the book, whereas the received text is obviously connected with the preceding verse and has its exact counterpart in 3:11,<sup>120</sup> were it not for the all but unisonous claim that it is not conjectural but based on *ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀφορίζω ὑμῖν τὸν ὥμον* of the LXX. As regards 'וְיָצֵא,' corresponding to *τὸν ὥμον*, the claim is unlikely; according to van der Trommen's concordance,<sup>121</sup> וְיָצֵא is translated 76 times by *βραχίων* and never by *ὥμος*, and furthermore *ὥμος*, occurring in 38 verses (in some more than once), and its by-form *ὥμία*, occurring in 11 additional verses, never render וְיָצֵא. But likely or not, the claim is irrelevant because for rejecting the masoretic pointing we do not need the quasi authority of a witness in whose times there was no pointing at all, with the reader vocalizing the text as he understood it rather than understanding it as he found it vocalized.

As regards the second word of the assumed original, 'גִּרַע,' this is commonly said to have been misread as 'גִּרַע,' as the rendering ἀφορίζω supposedly shows. By an additional error, 'גִּרַע' became גָּזַר. Now ἀφορίζω is a rather frequent verb in the LXX. Aside from one occurrence in the Apocrypha and 26 occurrences of ἀφορισμένος/η/ον rendering various, but mostly geographical nouns, van der Trommen lists 39 different verses in which the verb occurs (in some more than once). It renders Hebrew חקק(?), נפרד<sup>122</sup>, הסגיר/נסגר, הגביל, הוגביל ( $\sqrt{\text{ברר}}$ ), נכר, הניף, (תרומה) הרים, העביר, פדה, הבדיל, traverses the ideas of "dividing, separating, setting aside, consecrating, offering," with the religious meanings greatly outnumbering the general ones. The same is true of its nominal derivatives. Nowhere does the verb or its derivatives either mean "cutting off" — גרע — (limbs, trees, stones, etc.) or "take away, diminish" — גרע — which is the prevailing notion of גרע in the LXX. The helplessness of the LXX is evident in καὶ διαστελῶ ὑμῖν εἰς βρώσιν for ווערתי לכם באכל (3:11). If any conclusion can be drawn from this, it is one of support to the Hebrew text of 2:3, for διαστέλλω and ἀφορίζω are, in part, synonymous.<sup>123</sup> It is therefore a sound assumption that the Vorlage

<sup>120</sup> The sequence 2:(2-)3 is the (conditional) curse, 3:(9 f.-)11 the (conditional) blessing.

<sup>121</sup> A. Trommii, *Concordantiae graecae versionis vulgo dictae LXX interpretum* . . . (1718), s. v.

<sup>122</sup> Prov. 8:27b; the Greek text has little in common with the Hebrew.

<sup>123</sup> הברל is translated 15 times by  $\delta$ . and 5 times by  $\alpha$ . (plus 1 time by a nominal derivative thereof); נפרד/הפרד 4 times by  $\delta$ . and 2 times by  $\alpha$ .; פָּרַח 1 time by a derivative of  $\delta$ . and פָּרַח 1 time by  $\alpha$ .

of the LXX had the same word in 2:3 and 3:11. Since the correctness of וְנִעְרַחִי in 3:11 is not open to question and since, on the other hand, the *Vorlage* of the LXX probably had the same verb in both verses, the contention that 'גִּרְעַ/גִּדְעַ' is right forces us to assume that the descendants of the original text of Malachi suffered two corruptions, one the reverse of the other: one 'גִּרְעַ/גִּדְעַ' > גִּעַר (2:3, ancestor of MT) the other 'וְנִעְרַחִי > וְנִדְעַחִי' (3:11, *Vorlage* of LXX). This is a quaint assumption and a further liability of an already improbable hypothesis.

The claim 'גִּדְעַ' > 'גִּרְעַ' = ἀφολίζω is unsubstantiated and so is its corollary that there is LXX support to the proposed emendation. Yet what is conspicuous is not the error of the one who put forth the claim first but its acceptance by the many who followed the leader uncritically.

## LES PSAUMES 6 ET 41 DÉPENDENT-ILS DU LIVRE DE JÉRÉMIE?

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**A**VANT que H. Gunkel et S. Mowinckel n'eussent donné à l'étude du Psautier une orientation nouvelle,<sup>1</sup> il était reçu dans de nombreux milieux d'attribuer au prophète Jérémie une influence notable, voire prépondérante, sur les origines de la poésie religieuse en Israël, en particulier sur l'origine de nombreux poèmes qui ont trouvé place dans le Psautier. Un auteur récent s'est déclaré toujours partisan convaincu de ce point de vue. Il a même entrepris de réunir et de grouper les psaumes qui, à ses yeux, trahissent le plus clairement l'influence du prophète d'Anatot et de reconstituer ainsi ce qu'il appelle le *Psautier selon Jérémie*.<sup>2</sup> L'ouvrage, fruit de cette entreprise, contient d'intéressantes observations, mais son auteur nous paraît aller trop vite en besogne. Nous craignons qu'à examiner de plus près les contacts littéraires relevés entre le recueil des Psaumes et Jérémie, on ne soit amené à nuancer pas mal d'affirmations ou même à porter un jugement différent sur l'ensemble du problème. En toute hypothèse, nous estimons ne pas pouvoir souscrire à son opinion en ce qui concerne les Ps. 6 et 41, que nous avons soumis à une analyse critique. Nous voudrions livrer le résultat de notre enquête aux lecteurs de ce volume de *Mélanges*. Nous espérons que notre contribution à la

<sup>1</sup> Voir les dernières positions de S. Mowinckel dans *Offersang og Sangoffer. Salme diktingen i Bibelen* (Oslo, 1951). On vient d'annoncer une nouvelle édition, anastatique, des *Psalmestudien* de l'exégète norvégien. Elle sera précédée d'une préface mettant au point cette oeuvre importante.

<sup>2</sup> P. E. Bonnard, *Le Psautier selon Jérémie*, dans *Lectio divina*, t. 26 (Paris, 1960). Le problème fut jadis envisagé par E. Sellin, *Disputatio de origine Carminum quae primus Psalterii liber continet* (Erlangen-Leipzig, 1892), et par K. Sonies, *De tijdsbepaling van het eerste Psalmboek (Ps. 1-41)* (Groningue, 1911). Selon E. Sellin, Ps. 6:3, 5 = Jer. 17:14 ne prouve rien tandis que Ps. 6:2 = Jer. 10:24; Ps. 6:7 = Jer. 45:3 sont en faveur de la priorité du Psautier, "quia argumentum (Psalmorum) gravius est vel forma poetica (cf. imprimis parallelismus membrorum, qui dicitur) excultior vel continuatio seriesque sententiarum in iis est ita, ut alia ex alia nexa et omnes inter se colligatae esse videantur, in Jeremiae vero libro minus." Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 121. En revanche, K. Sonies qui défend l'origine postexilique du recueil des Ps. 1-41, soutient la priorité de Jérémie pour Jer. 10:24 = Ps. 6:2; Jer. 45:3 = Ps. 6:7; Jer. 8:22; 30:12-13; 33:6 = Ps. 6:3-4. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 138.

solution d'un problème captivant ne sera pas trop indigne d'un maître auquel la science de l'Ancien Testament est redevable de maintes recherches où l'érudition et le flair critique se côtoient sans cesse et se complètent remarquablement.

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Voici d'abord une traduction des deux psaumes. Nous respectons presque intégralement le texte reçu et nous visons à rendre notre version aussi fidèle et littérale que possible, sans dommage pour le sens à exprimer.<sup>3</sup>

### Ps. 6

2. Jahvé, ne me punis pas dans ta colère,  
et dans ta fureur ne me châtie point!
3. Fais-moi grâce, Jahvé, car je dépéris,  
guéris-moi, Jahvé, car mes os sont affolés,<sup>4</sup>
4. et toute affolée est mon âme.  
Mais toi, Jahvé, jusques à quand?
5. Reviens, Jahvé, libère mon âme,  
De par ton amour<sup>5</sup> sauve-moi,
6. car, dans la mort, nul ne se souvient de toi;  
dans le sheol, qui te louera?
7. Je m'épuise en gémissements;  
chaque nuit<sup>6</sup> je baigne mon lit;  
de mes larmes j'inonde ma couche;

<sup>3</sup> Nous nous sommes inspiré des dernières traductions françaises: R. Tournay, *Les Psaumes traduits*, dans *La Sainte Bible* (de Jérusalem) (Paris, 1950). A Chouraqui, *Les Psaumes traduits et présentés*, dans *Sinai. Collection des Sources d'Israël* (Paris, 1956). Éd. Dhorme, *La Bible. L'Ancien Testament*, t. II (Paris, 1959). E. Osty, *Les Psaumes. Traduction nouvelle avec introduction et notes* (Paris, 1960).

<sup>4</sup> Nous accordons la préférence au verbe "affoler" bien qu'il convienne moins bien en relation avec la mention des os. Beaucoup d'auteurs traduisent "bouleversés" ou "épouvantés."

<sup>5</sup> חֶסֶד est à traduire amour, bonté, grâce. Selon d'aucuns, le substantif marque la fidélité à une parole donnée, à un pacte, à une alliance.

<sup>6</sup> Autre version: toute la nuit. Les verbes du v. 8 sont malaisés à traduire. Reprenant les conclusions d'un article paru dans *Sefarad*, t. XI, 1950, E. Zolli refuse de rapprocher עָנָה de l'araméen et en appelle au syriaque pour traduire ܦܫܝܥ "fremere, tremare." Il propose dès lors de rendre le verset 8 comme suit (*Il Salterio. Nuova traduzione e commento* [Milan, 1951], p. 15):

Freme d'ira il mio occhio,  
con superbia (guardo) tutti gli avversari miei.

8. de chagrin mon oeil s'obscurcit,  
de tous ceux qui m'oppressent, il vieillit.
9. Éloignez-vous de moi, fauteurs d'iniquité,<sup>7</sup>  
car Jahvé écoute la voix de mes pleurs,
10. Jahvé écoute ma supplication,  
Jahvé accueille ma prière.
11. Tous mes ennemis, ils seront confondus et affolés  
extrêmement,  
Ils reculeront, en un clin d'oeil confondus.

Ps. 41

2. Bienheureux qui prête attention<sup>8</sup> au miséreux!  
Au jour du malheur Jahvé le fera s'échapper.
3. Jahvé le conservera, le fera vivre,  
le rendra heureux sur terre,  
et "ne le livrera pas"<sup>9</sup> à l'appétit de ses ennemis.
4. Jahvé le soutiendra sur sa couche de douleur;  
Son grabat, dans sa maladie, tu le retourneras  
tout entier.
5. Moi, j'ai dit: Jahvé, fais-moi grâce,  
guéris mon âme, car j'ai péché contre toi!
6. Mes ennemis disent du mal de moi:  
Quand mourra-t-il et son nom périra-t-il?
7. Qui vient me voir, dit paroles en l'air;  
son coeur s'approvisionne d'iniquité;  
dès qu'il sort, en rue il la débite.
8. Tous ensemble, ceux qui me haïssent chuchotent  
contre moi,  
contre moi ils machinent mon malheur:
9. Un mal de Bélial<sup>10</sup> gagne en lui,  
maintenant qu'il est couché, il ne se relèvera plus!
10. Même l'homme-de-ma-paix en qui je me confiais  
et qui mangeait mon pain, se hausse à mes dépens.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Nous rencontrons ici l'expression פֶּעַל אֵין à laquelle les *Psalmenstudien* de S. Mowinckel ont accordé tant de relief.

<sup>8</sup> Le terme מַשְׁכִּיל est malaisé à traduire.

<sup>9</sup> Légère correction que l'on peut même considérer comme superflue.

<sup>10</sup> Expression imagée. On traduit diversement le terme דָּבָר: "quelque chose" ou "une plaie, une peste."

<sup>11</sup> Traduction de P. E. Bonnard, *op. cit.*, p. 98. Diverses suggestions ont été faites pour traduire le texte, qui n'est pas sans difficulté.



Mais toi, Jahvé, fais-moi grâce, relève-moi,  
et je leur rendrai leur salaire.

12. En cela je sais que tu te complais en moi,  
si mon ennemi ne lance plus contre moi un cri  
de guerre,
13. et si, dans mon innocence, tu me maintiens,  
et si tu m'établis en ta présence à jamais.

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Selon H. Gunkel,<sup>12</sup> les deux psaumes sont à ranger parmi les prières de malades; le premier serait une lamentation, une supplication; le second serait plutôt une action de grâces pour l'obtention d'une guérison. Beaucoup d'exégètes suivent cette manière de voir, surtout en ce qui concerne le Ps. 6. Comment en effet ne pas voir dans le "moi" de ce poème un individu et non pas la communauté? Comment ne pas prendre au pied de la lettre les souffrances que le psalmiste nous décrit? Au reste, le Ps. 6 possède tous les traits qui conviennent à une lamentation individuelle. Il débute par une demande, puis décrit la misère dans laquelle la maladie a plongé le plaignant, fait ensuite valoir auprès de Jahvé une considération qui est de nature à le toucher directement, et exprime la confiance en l'exaucement. En terminant sa supplication, le psalmiste donne libre cours à sa conviction que la confusion ne tardera pas à s'emparer d'ennemis qui déjà étaient sur le point de crier victoire.

Le cas du Ps. 41 est plus difficile à démêler. Faut-il estimer avec H. Gunkel que la pièce est à comprendre comme une prière d'action de grâces? Le fait que le psalmiste développe intégralement sa plainte nous incline à croire le contraire. Certes, selon H. Gunkel, le temps du verbe initial: "J'ai dit", ainsi que l'assurance qui se traduit dans la finale, aux vv. 12-13, suggèrent que les maux dont le psalmiste a souffert, appartiennent au passé. Puis le macarisme qui coiffe la prière aux vv. 2-4, se situerait dans la ligne des prières d'action de grâces et confirmerait ainsi le genre littéraire auquel notre poème appartient. Cependant le caractère fortement sapientiel de cet incipit et le fait que rien dans le corps du psaume n'y fait allusion, nous invitent à y voir plutôt une addition. Dès lors une des raisons principales auxquelles H. Gunkel s'appuie pour ranger le poème parmi les

<sup>12</sup> H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt*, dans *Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* herausgegeben von W. Nowack (Goettingue, 1926).

actions de grâces, fait défaut. Les deux autres considérations n'emportent pas davantage la conviction. Nous préférons donc voir dans le Ps. 41 une lamentation individuelle de malade et par conséquent un poème parallèle au Ps. 6. Le contenu des deux psaumes n'est cependant pas identique. Si aucune des deux prières ne mérite d'être appelée pénitentielle, l'auteur du Ps. 41 aborde néanmoins le problème de la culpabilité. Constatation qui nous étonne: il se déclare pécheur (v. 5) et cependant il fait appel à son innocence (v. 13). Serait-il interdit de résoudre, ici comme ailleurs, l'apparente contradiction en supposant que l'orant se sent coupable devant Dieu, mais se prévaudrait de son innocence à l'endroit du prochain?<sup>13</sup> Ou conviendrait-il d'éliminer l'allusion à l'innocence et de traduire le verset 13a: "Et moi, que tu soutiens, je resterai indemne"?<sup>14</sup> Ou faudrait-il lire חסיתי et corriger le texte du psaume?

Pour la rédaction du Ps. 6, H. Gunkel a signalé de nombreux contacts littéraires avec d'autres poèmes du Psautier, contacts que l'on a voulu expliquer comme des remplois.<sup>15</sup> A nos yeux, ils ne sont pas de nature à établir que le psaume a été composé à l'aide de ce qu'une certaine école française appelle le procédé anthologique.<sup>16</sup> Les mêmes formules ou des formules très voisines devaient nécessairement revenir sur les lèvres des orants dans la composition de prières qui poursuivaient les mêmes intentions, d'autant plus qu'en matière de prières, surtout cultuelles, le conservatisme sévit et le langage convenu, les clichés sont volontiers repris.

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Après ces remarques préliminaires requises pour situer les deux psaumes et apprendre à connaître leur genre littéraire, demandons-nous dans quelle mesure Pierre E. Bonnard a raison de postuler pour les deux pièces en discussion une dépendance à l'égard de Jérémie.

Nous serions, — telle est une première remarque de l'auteur cité, —

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ps. 51:6. — A. B. Kirkpatrick (*The Book of Psalms*, t. I [Cambridge, 1917], in Ps. 41:12) remarque qu' "integrity" n'est pas synonyme de "sinlessness." Il renvoie aux Ps. 7:8; 15:2. Il définit, en 15:2, l'intégrité "une entière dévotion à Dieu et une correction parfaite dans les relations avec les hommes." Cf. Ps. 7:5.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. P. E. Bonnard, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. H. Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 22: 6:2 = 38:2; 6:3 = 41:5; 6:4 = 90:13; 6:5b = 109:26; 6:7a = 69:4; 6:8a = 31:10; 6:9a = 119:115; 6:11 = 35:4, 26; 83:18.

<sup>16</sup> La méthode fut surtout préconisée par A. Robert, Cf. la bibliographie de cet exégète, qui enseigna à l'Institut Catholique de Paris, dans *Mélanges Bibliques rédigés en l'honneur d' André Robert*, Paris, s. d., pp. 5-20.

en parfait climat jérémien. Les larmes auxquelles le psalmiste fait allusion (6:7), nous renvoient, prétend-t-il, au prêtre d'Anatot.<sup>17</sup>

A coup sûr, les pleurs ne manquent pas dans le livre de Jérémie et dans les *Lamentations*. Mais a-t-il fallu attendre en Israël la venue du prophète de la déportation et de la ruine de Jérusalem pour que dans la misère, dans la maladie, les larmes aient pu couler des yeux des malheureux et des souffrants? Remarquons d'ailleurs que le prophète verse des larmes non tant sur sa propre personne que sur la catastrophe qui s'abat sur sa nation. Les parallèles les plus étroits au Ps. 6:7 sont à chercher dans le psautier même, et rien ne nous autorise à conclure que tous ces textes sont nécessairement postexiliques et remontent, pour leur inspiration, au pleureur d'Anatot.<sup>18</sup> Au reste, les parallèles babyloniens auxquels H. Gunkel renvoie, nous démontrent que la mention des pleurs était un thème courant dans les prières de lamentation.<sup>19</sup>

Deuxième preuve du climat jérémien: le désir du psalmiste de voir ses ennemis épouvantés et confondus.<sup>20</sup> De nouveau rien ne nous contraint de nous arrêter spécialement à Jérémie. Le climat où le verbe **בּוּשׁ** nous situe est une nouvelle fois en tout premier lieu celui du psautier.<sup>21</sup> Si Jérémie use lui aussi fréquemment de ce verbe, il n'est pas le seul à le faire. On le retrouve souvent dans le Deutéro-Isaïe.<sup>22</sup> Quant à 41:6: "Quand son nom périra-t-il," le rapprochement le plus étroit ne s'établit pas avec Jérémie, mais avec Ps. 109:13 et Deut. 7:24; 12:3. Et puis, si Jérémie désire que Dieu le venge et écrase ses ennemis, il n'aspire pas, tel l'auteur du Ps. 41:11, à accomplir lui-même la vengeance.<sup>23</sup> En 29:7, il est même prêt à renoncer à l'idée de représaille et de revanche.

<sup>17</sup> Pour **דַּמְעָה** cf. Jer. 8:23; 9:17; 14:17; 31:16; Lam. 1:2; 2:11, 18. Ajoutez tous les renvois à **בִּכְה** et **בְּכִי**.

<sup>18</sup> P. E. Bonnard (*op. cit.*, p. 36) renvoie à Ps. 39:13; 42:4; 56:9; 116:8.

<sup>19</sup> H. Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 22: "Weinen und Tränen hören nicht auf, Mit Seufzen bin ich täglich gesättigt," "Mein Auge ist mit Weinen erfüllt, Auf dem Nachtlager liege ich voll Seufzen, Weinen und Seufzen haben mich niedergebeugt."

<sup>20</sup> P. E. Bonnard, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Nous comptons quelque vingt-huit passages. Le psalmiste entrevoit la confusion de ceux qui sont infidèles à Jahvé ou qui l'attaquent en ennemis. Cf. Ps. 25:3; 31:18; 35:4, 26; 40:15; 70:3; 71:24; 83:18; 86:17; 97:7; 109:28; 119:78; 129:5.

<sup>22</sup> Isa. 41:11; 42:17; 44:9, 11; 45:16; 45:24. Dans le Deutéro-Isaïe, la confusion atteint partout les ennemis de Jahvé, en particulier les fabricateurs d'idoles. Les mêmes affirmations se retrouvent dans quelques textes du Psautier.

<sup>23</sup> Ps. 41:11 n'est pas en contradiction avec Ps. 7:5. L'auteur de ce dernier poème considère comme une faute de "rendre le mal à son bienfaiteur," "à celui qui est parfait à son égard" (É. Dhorme), mais il n'aurait pas repoussé l'idée de se venger de ses ennemis.

Troisième indice du climat jérémien: le Ps. 6:2 évoquerait, à n'en pas douter, Jer. 10:24-25. N'est-ce pas perdre de vue que le parallélisme est largement défectueux? Le seul texte correspondant parfait se rencontre au Ps. 38:2. Quoi de plus naturel que d'affirmer que nous sommes en présence d'une formule-cliché, parfaitement en situation dans ce genre de prières? Si l'on cherche un "contexte naturel, adapté aux circonstances, s'expliquant de lui-même," on a toute chance de le découvrir dans les psaumes de lamentation individuelle, dans la situation de malades, grands infirmes, conduits aux portes de la mort, ne comprenant pas les raisons de la conduite divine à leur égard, accablés au contraire de l'idée qu'une colère divine, irrationnelle, aveugle, les poursuit. En Jer. 10:24-25 au contraire, nous sommes en présence de l'expression d'une foi plus éclairée. Jérémie croit que Jahvé punit et châtie avec équité, selon la mesure du démerite. Il l'affirme en ce qui concerne le peuple qui peut en appeler à une promesse divine.<sup>24</sup> Il demande qu'il puisse, lui aussi, à titre individuel, bénéficier de la justice et de l'équité divines.

Passons à l'examen des contacts littéraires les plus formels.

Après ce que nous avons noté plus haut au sujet du verbe בּוֹשׁ, il n'est plus nécessaire de nous arrêter à l'emploi de ce vocable.<sup>25</sup> Tout aussi peu probante est la présence du verbe הָשִׁב en Ps. 41:8 et en Jer. 18:18; 20:11. L'emploi de הָשִׁב suivi de רָצָה est-il plus convaincant? De fait, le Ps. 41:8 et Jer. 18:8 (et non pas 18:18); 48:2 se recourent. En Jer. 26:3; 36:3; Neh. 6:2, la locution n'est pas strictement identique. De même, en Zach. 7:10; 8:17, elle est légèrement différente. Sans doute, Jérémie offre les parallèles les plus nombreux et les plus étroits,<sup>26</sup> mais un texte tel Gen. 50:20 établit que la locution existait antérieurement au prophète et qu'elle figurait dans des écrits bien différents des siens.

Sommes-nous en Ps. 6:3 en présence d'une tournure qui accuse une parenté plus étroite et une dépendance littéraire mieux accusée? On nous signale à propos de ce verset que Jer. 17:14 est le seul texte biblique à employer le verbe הָפַח avec le suffixe de la première personne du singulier.

Relevons que ce contact n'a pas impressionné les auteurs de la *Bible de Jérusalem* qui estiment qu'en l'occurrence le prophète reprend une formule reçue.<sup>27</sup> Bonnard proteste, il est vrai, contre cette supposition.<sup>27</sup> Jérémie, remarque-t-il, se sert trop souvent du même verbe,—

<sup>24</sup> Jer. 30:11; II Sam. 7:14.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *supra*, notes 21 et 22.

<sup>26</sup> P. E. Bonnard, *op. cit.*, p. 98-99.

<sup>27</sup> P. E. Bonnard renvoie à la *Bible de Jérusalem: op. cit.*, p. 33. Je n'ai pu contrôler ce renvoi.

neuf fois, — dans des contextes trop personnels, et parfois en doublant la forme active du verbe par la forme passive, tournure caractéristique de son style, pour que nous considérions l'expression comme un cliché et Jérémie comme l'emprunteur.

Répondons qu'une effusion d'âme, même des plus intimes, ne répugne pas à utiliser des formules classiques, quitte à leur donner éventuellement une frappe personnelle. C'est précisément ce qui se produit chez Jérémie. Le prophète transpose la notion de נֶפֶשׁ sur le plan moral et, en dédoublant à l'occasion le verbe, donne à la locution une empreinte nouvelle. Notre psaume au contraire conserve le sens natif et originel de l'expression, sens qui réapparaît en Ps. 41:5.

L'expression "jour du malheur" est moins apte encore à trancher le débat qui nous occupe. On concédera volontiers qu'elle se rencontre chez Jérémie,<sup>28</sup> voire dans des contextes que l'on peut qualifier de postérieurs au prophète,<sup>29</sup> mais Amos 6:3 suffit à prouver qu'elle était connue et répandue avant les écrits jérémies. Elle se retrouve aussi en d'autres psaumes, notamment en Ps. 49:6; 94:13.

Il reste à étudier dans le dossier constitué pour établir la dépendance littéraire à l'endroit de Jérémie, deux rencontres verbales frappantes. L'une d'elles ne trouve une réplique parfaite que dans le seul livre de Jérémie, à savoir la phrase: "Je m'épuise en mon gémissement," affirmation que seuls Jer. 45:3 et Ps. 6:7 contiennent. Le contact perd cependant beaucoup de sa portée vu que la phrase ne contient guère un vocabulaire très familier au prophète. Le substantif אֵיֶשֶׁת ne se présente plus dans les écrits jérémies qu'en Lam. 1:22, et le verbe יָרָה n'est attesté, en dehors de Jer. 45:3, qu'en Jer. 51:58 et Lam. 5:5.

Le deuxième contact qu'il nous reste à examiner est sans doute le plus impressionnant. L'expression "homme de ma paix" (Ps. 41:10) ne se lit plus ailleurs dans la Bible qu'en Abd. 7 et en Jer. 20:10; 38:22. Citant une remarque d' A. Gelin, P. E. Bonnard tend à affaiblir lui-même la portée d'un contact incontestablement remarquable en supposant que l'expression pourrait être reprise à une chanson populaire.<sup>30</sup> Il est vrai qu'il ne s'arrête guère à cette possibilité. Mais si en dehors de Ps. 41:10, d'Abdias et de Jérémie, l'expression ne revient plus, même plus dans le Psautier, l'idée exprimée par le contexte du Ps. 41:10 est reprise et même largement développée en deux autres

<sup>28</sup> P. E. Bonnard (*op. cit.*, p. 98) renvoie à Jer. 17:17, 18, "et 16 si l'on adopte la lecture d'anciennes versions." Cf. Jer. 15:11.

<sup>29</sup> Jer. 51:2; Ps. 27:5; Eccles. 7:14. Un quatrième texte, Prov. 16:4, déclare P. E. Bonnard (*op. cit.*, p. 98), est difficile à dater, probablement aussi postexilique.

<sup>30</sup> P. E. Bonnard, *op. cit.*, p. 100.



psaumes, 55:13-15, et, dans une moindre mesure, 35:12-16. En outre, l'expression cadre parfaitement avec le contexte en Abd. 7 et Ps. 41:10, où elle est amenée par l'idée d'alliance ou par la notion d'un repas scellant le pacte, tandis que l'idée d'alliance, que l'expression évoque et d'où elle peut dériver, fait défaut dans les textes jérémien. N'est-ce pas une raison suffisante pour croire que l'emprunteur n'est pas l'auteur du psaume mais bien plutôt Jérémie?

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Bref aucun des rapprochements signalés n'impose à nos yeux la dépendance littéraire des Ps. 6 et 41 à l'endroit de la littérature jérémienne. Les contacts s'expliquent suffisamment par l'hypothèse d'une dépendance commune d'un genre littéraire bien attesté, bien circonscrit, et sans doute largement répandu en Israël, celui de la lamentation individuelle, celui des prières pour malades. Jérémie, en tant que membre du corps sacerdotal, n'a pu rester dans l'ignorance de cette littérature, de ce genre de supplications. Pourquoi n'aurait-il pas pu lui faire des emprunts, sans doute de mémoire, tout en leur imprimant le sceau de sa belle et grande personnalité?

Il va sans dire que nous ne prétendons pas pour autant exclure la possibilité d'une dépendance d'autres psaumes à l'égard du prophète d'Anatot. Mais il nous apparaît qu'il importe de pousser plus à fond l'analyse critique des psaumes entrant en ligne de compte avant de vouloir reconstituer un *Psautier selon Jérémie*.

Si nous écartons la dépendance des Ps. 6 et 41 à l'égard de Jérémie, n'en tirons pas un argument pour essayer de dater les deux poèmes. D'autres considérations sont requises à cette fin. Le fait par exemple, que le *Sitz im Leben* des deux prières, à savoir une maladie grave, poussant l'infirme à recourir à Dieu, est de tous les temps, nous invite à ne pas exclure l'hypothèse d'une date relativement ancienne. Cela vaut en particulier pour le Ps. 6 qui traduit une théologie peu évoluée: le psalmiste attribue à Jahvé des réflexes commandés par une colère peu rationnelle, il ne se préoccupe pas de mettre ses souffrances en rapport avec une certaine culpabilité, il ne songe pas à recourir à la pénitence pour calmer le courroux divin, il professe des vues pessimistes sur la condition des trépassés. En revanche, l'auteur du Ps. 41 reconnaît, du moins devant Dieu, qu'il n'est pas sans faute, et si l'incipit du poème est son oeuvre, il professe une croyance remarquablement élevée sur les conduites de la Providence. Mais, comme nous l'avons



noté plus haut, nous préférons considérer les vv. 2-4 du Ps. 41 comme ajoutés, après coup, au poème, résultat d'une relecture sapientiale lors de la rédaction définitive du psautier.

Nous concluons donc que le Ps. 41 et surtout le Ps. 6 nous mettent probablement en présence de deux formules de prières à l'usage des malades, qui ne se refusent pas à une origine relativement ancienne, probablement plus ancienne que le livre de Jérémie.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> H. J. Kraus, l'auteur du dernier commentaire important du Psautier, déclare à propos du Ps. 6: "Die Zeit ist kaum bestimmbar." A propos du Ps. 41, qu'il consent à expliquer comme une action de grâces, il ne donne aucune indication chronologique. Dans ses études sur le Psautier, parues dans la *Revue Biblique*, le R. P. R. Tournay n'a pas abordé jusqu'à maintenant le commentaire des Ps. 6 et 41. Cf. J. Coppens, "Le Psautier et ses problèmes," dans *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 1960, t. XXXI, pp. 911-12.

## THE IMPACT OF NEHEMIAH 9:5-37 ON THE LITURGY OF THE SYNAGOGUE

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IN THE course of the first instalment of his monograph "The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel," published fourteen years ago in a volume of the *Annual* dedicated to him, Dr. Julian Morgenstern makes the following observation:<sup>1</sup> "As is here suggested, Neh. 9:5-37 was originally a part of the established synagogue liturgy of the pre-Ezra period, in all likelihood of Rosh Hashanah, but later, in the Chronicler's own day, of Yom Kippur."<sup>2</sup> The first part of this observation poses the question: Does Neh. 9:5-37 bear any relation to the synagogue liturgy of the post-Ezra period?

With regard to a number of liturgical prose prayers in Scripture,<sup>3</sup> among them Neh. 9,<sup>4</sup> J. A. Montgomery makes this comment:<sup>5</sup> "There was a common genus of Jewish liturgical prayers, of which these canonical ones are the few surviving examples, the later Synagogue losing sight of this ancient treasury of devotion." To the extent that the later synagogue liturgy failed to incorporate these scriptural prayers, Montgomery is correct. That their influence, nonetheless, is in striking evidence, particularly as regards Neh. 9:5-37, cannot be gainsaid. Y. Kaufmann<sup>6</sup> is aware of this influence when in Neh. 9 he

<sup>1</sup> *HUCA*, XX (1947), p. 21, note 34. Cf. also note 33 on pp. 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> On the origin of the synagogue in the pre-Ezra period see Dr. Morgenstern's "The Origin of the Synagogue," in *Studi Orientalistici in Onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, (Rome, 1956), II, pp. 192-201; cf. *HUCA*, XXVII (1956), p. 131, note 57.

<sup>3</sup> M. Tsevat, in *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms*, (Philadelphia, 1955), clearly distinguishes in his enumeration between Psalms in the Bible outside the Psalter (pp. 4-5) and prose prayers in the Bible (p. 9). In the former category one item stands in need of revision, namely, Isa. 63:7-64:11. Only Isa. 63:7-14 is a Psalm, Isa. 63:15-64:11 being a prose prayer. This has been demonstrated convincingly by Dr. Morgenstern in *HUCA*, XXIII, Part I (1950-1951), pp. 185-203; see especially pp. 195-97.

<sup>4</sup> The others are: I Kings 8:12-53; Jer. 32:17-25; Dan. 9:4-19; Ezra 9:6-15; and Neh. 1:5-11.

<sup>5</sup> In his *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (New York, 1927), p. 362.

<sup>6</sup> *The Religion of Israel*, (Chicago, 1960), p. 210, note 17 = *Toledoth ha-'Eminah ha-Yisre'elith*, I, Tel-Aviv, 1937, p. 218.

detects "affinities with the nascent synagogal liturgy." To determine the precise nature of the affinities is the purpose of the present study.

P. Volz's estimate of the biblical prayers belonging to the same category as Neh. 9:5-37 is apropos. It reads as follows:<sup>7</sup> "So dienen uns diese in den biblischen Schriften stehenden Gebete als geschichtliche Belege für die frühen synagogalen Gebete und sie sind ein wichtiges Dokument für die Geschichte der Liturgie. Wir haben hier die Anfänge des Kirchengebets." By the same token and with equal validity it may be said that the beginnings of the liturgy of the post-Ezra synagogue are directly traceable to Neh. 9:5-37, which, as we shall now proceed to demonstrate, determined to a large extent the structural and ideological pattern of Jewish worship.

## I.

The Prayer of the Levites contained in Neh. 9:5-37 opens with a call to worship: 'קומו ברכו את ה' (v. 5a). What immediately follows is apparently intended as a response to the call to prayer. In conformity with tannaitic exegesis<sup>8</sup> it is so understood by the Jewish Version<sup>9</sup> whose rendering of ויברכו שם כבוד ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה (v. 5b) is: "and let them say: 'Blessed be Thy glorious Name, that is exalted above all blessing and praise.' " At this point the prayer proper commences with an affirmation of God's sole unity, namely, 'אתה הוא ה' (v. 6), followed by praise of God for His creative acts (v. 6), His choice of Abraham and his descendants as His particular people (vv. 7-8), and His deliverance of Israel from servitude in Egypt (vv. 9-11). With v. 12 the historical retrospect continues, coming to a close with v. 31. The characteristic ועתה, with which v. 32 opens, marks the transition<sup>10</sup> from the survey of the past to the supplication in vv. 32-37. And at the beginning of the latter God is invoked in these terms: אלהינו האל הגדול הגבור והנורא (v. 32).

Turning now to an examination of one of the major units of the Morning and Evening Services of the synagogue liturgy, the recital of the Shema' with its accompanying benedictions (קריאת שמע וברכותיה), we cannot but be impressed by the fact that structurally it is patterned after the Prayer of the Levites. This unit of the synagogue serv-

<sup>7</sup> P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, 2nd edition, (Leipzig, 1928), p. 304.

<sup>8</sup> For the source see note 14 below.

<sup>9</sup> *The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text*, (Philadelphia, 1917).

<sup>10</sup> Examples of this use of ועתה in other scriptural prayers are: II Sam. 7:25, 28, 29; I Kings 8:25; II Kings 19:19 and its parallel in Isa. 37:20; and Dan. 9:17.

ice commences with an invocation to prayer (המברך) 'ברכו את ה' [76],<sup>11</sup> after the manner of Neh. 9:5. Moreover, the practice requiring the worshippers to rise for ברכו is in consonance with קומו (ברכו) in Neh. 9:5.<sup>12</sup>

The customary response to ברכו is המברך לעולם ועד [76]. Before it became the fixed response, however, one of the earlier responses to ברכו was כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד ברכו.<sup>13</sup> That Neh. 9:5b was interpreted to mean that 'ברכו את ה' (Neh. 9:5a) called for a response and that it was to be בשכמל"ו is evident from the following tannaitic statement:<sup>14</sup> אין עונין אמן במקדש ומניין שאין עונין אמן במקדש שנ' קומו וברכו בבורך את ה' אלהיכם מן העולם ועד העולם ויברכו את שם כבודך. Accordingly, the proof-text adduced in support of the Temple response at the mention of the Ineffable Name, בשכמל"ו, is ברכו שם כבודך (Neh. 9:5b).<sup>15</sup> The latter suggested שם כבודך (which occurs in Ps. 72:19).<sup>16</sup> The need to introduce the element of God's kingship into the response was met by changing כבודו to כבוד מלכותו, a phrase for which there was precedent in Ps. 145:11 (כבוד מלכותך). This process resulted in the textual formulation of ברכו שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד.<sup>17</sup>

Another response to ברכו, in vogue prior to the present fixed form יתברך וישתבח וכו' [76],<sup>18</sup> recited by the congregation in a whisper.<sup>19</sup> The affinities between this prayer and Neh. 9:5b are unmistakable, for the former contains an adaptation of the latter, namely, ושמו מרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, included as part

<sup>11</sup> Bracketed numbers throughout this study refer to pages in S. Baer's edition of the Ashkenazic Prayer Book, *Seder 'Avodath Yisra'el*, (Rödelheim, 1868).

<sup>12</sup> On the use of Neh. 9:5 in the Karaite liturgy see J. Mann, "Anan's Liturgy and His half-yearly Cycle of the Reading of the Law," in *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, I (1919), pp. 344-45; and P. S. Goldberg, *Karaite Liturgy and its Relation to Synagogue Worship*, (Manchester, 1957), p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> See L. Ginzberg, *Ginze Schechter*, I, (New York, 1928), pp. 235-36.

<sup>14</sup> Tosefta Berakhot, 6:22, ed. S. Lieberman, (New York, 1955), p. 39; the parallels are listed in note 101.

<sup>15</sup> See S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah*, Order Zera'im, Part I, (New York, 1955), pp. 123 *infra*-124 *supra*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. L. Landshuth, *Siddur Hegyon Lev*, (Königsberg 1845), p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> On this response see E. Werner, "The Doxology in Synagogue and Church," in *HUCA*, XIX (1945-46), pp. 283-89; and Albeck's edition of the Mishnah, *Seder Zera'im*, (Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, 1957), p. 328.

<sup>18</sup> See L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 236. As regards the various versions of this prayer, see the writer's "The Invocation to Prayer at the Beginning of the *Yotzer* Service," in *JQR*, XXXIX (1949), pp. 285-90, 407-12.

<sup>19</sup> See *Sefer ha-'Ittim*, ed. J. Schor, (Cracow, 1902), p. 250 *supra*.

<sup>20</sup> The version of this prayer in *Maḥzor Turin* incorporates Neh. 9:5b, though omitting כל. See A. I. Schechter, *Studies in Jewish Liturgy*, (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 85 *supra*.

of the *וישתבח ויתברך* prayer is *בשכמל"ו*. The close association of the response(s) to *ברכו* with Neh. 9:5b is thus perfectly obvious.

Following the invocation to prayer and the response thereto, the recital of the Shema' with its accompanying benedictions<sup>20a</sup> in the Morning Service comprises the three biblical selections Deut. 6:4-9, Deut. 11:13-21, and Num. 15:37-41 in the order given, preceded by two benedictions and followed by one [76-86]. These benedictions have their counterparts in the Evening Service,<sup>21</sup> an integral part of which is likewise the recital of the Shema' [164-67]. The declaration of the sole unity and uniqueness of God as expressed in Deut. 6:4 [81] occupies a central position in the unit of the service designated as *קריאת שמע* וברכותיה. The recitation of the Shema' verse (Deut. 6:4) is basic to Jewish worship, and the precedent for the affirmation, during prayer, of the oneness of God was set by the Prayer of the Levites which opens with *אחה הוא ה' לבדך* (Neh. 9:6).

The unit of the service under consideration underwent a long evolutionary process before attaining its present structure. Thus it is surmised that Num. 15:37-41 was not originally part of the recital of the Shema'<sup>22</sup> which consisted of only the two selections from Deuteronomy. Since the earliest source of the synagogue liturgy, Mishnah Tamid 5:1, refers to only one benediction, of undetermined identity, prior to the reading of the Shema', it may be inferred that one of the two current benedictions was added subsequently. In fact, it has been demonstrated that the benediction which concludes with *יוצר המאורות* [76-79] is a later accretion of Babylonian origin.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the recital of the Shema' with its benedictions as it appears in the customary rites represents the final redaction of this unit of the synagogue service. And reflected therein is the impact of the Prayer of the Levites.

To begin with, the interweaving of the affirmation of the unity of God with benedictions consisting essentially of praises to God derives from Neh. 9. The juxtaposition of *ברכה ותהלה* (Neh. 9:5) and *אחה הוא*

<sup>20a</sup> In accordance with Mishnah Berakhoth 1:4.

<sup>21</sup> The respective benedictions at the end of *השכיבנו* [167] and *ברוך ה' לעולם* [168-69] lie outside the scope of the present study.

<sup>22</sup> See I. Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des jüdischen Gottesdienstes* (Berlin, 1907), p. 15. For a likely reason why Num. 15:37-41 in particular was included in the recital of the Shema' see L. Ginzberg, *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud*, I (New York, 1941), p. 166.

<sup>23</sup> See S. Zeitlin, "The Morning Benediction and the Readings in the Temple," in *JQR*, XLIV (1954), pp. 330-34.

ה' לברך (Neh. 9.6) apparently conveyed the thought that laudation and profession of faith go hand in hand. Accordingly, the recital of the Shema' is inextricably bound up with the benedictions surrounding it.

Secondly, the order and content of the benedictions, or prayers of praise, follow the pattern of the Prayer of the Levites. The three benedictions of the Morning Service and their counterparts in the Evening Service treat respectively of God's revelation in nature, His choice of Israel, and His deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage. These themes and their sequence correspond to Neh. 9, v. 6, vv. 7-8, and vv. 9-11. The second benediction of the Morning Service concludes with *הבחר בעמו ישראל באהבה* [81], while its parallel in the Evening Service closes with *אוהב עמו ישראל* [165]. Both *אהבה רבה* [80] and *אהבת עולם* [164-65] extol God as the giver of the Torah to Israel. The ideas expressed in these prayers are interrelated. It was because God loved Israel that He chose them, giving them the Torah as a token of His love. Both prayers open and close with stress on God's love for His people Israel (*אהבה רבה* . . . *באהבה* and *אוהב עמו ישראל* . . . *אהבת עולם*), in order to provide a verbal link with "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God" in the first selection of the recital of the Shema'. While emphasis is thus placed on Israel's duty to reciprocate God's love by faithful adherence to His Torah and its precepts, the concept of Israel's chosenness is, nevertheless, the central theme of the two prayers.

Basing itself squarely on the sequence of verses in the Prayer of the Levites (Neh. 9:6-11), the liturgy of the synagogue has formulated what to all intents and purposes amounts to the earliest creed. For, in view of the inseparability of the benedictions from the recital of the Shema', the profession of faith does not end with the declaration of God's unity and uniqueness. To this, the basic tenet, the worshipper adds three further articles of faith: (1) God the creator; (2) God the lawgiver, and (3) God the liberator.

Thirdly, the liturgical principle that laudation shall precede supplication — a principle exhibited in Neh. 9 as well as in other prayers of the Bible<sup>24</sup> and Apocrypha,<sup>25</sup> and enunciated in rabbinic literature<sup>26</sup> — is likewise adhered to in the liturgy of the synagogue. The three benedic-

<sup>24</sup> See M. Z. Segal, *Mevo' ha-Miqra'*, 2nd edition, III, (Jerusalem, 1951), p. 520.

<sup>25</sup> See S. Zeitlin, "An Historical Study of the First Canonization of the Hebrew Liturgy," in *JQR*, XXXVIII (1948), pp. 289-96.

<sup>26</sup> Sifre Deut., section 343, ed. L. Finkelstein, p. 394: *לא פתח בצרכי ישראל עד*; *לא פתח בשבחיו של מקום לעולם יסדר אדם שבתו של הקדוש ברוך הוא*; and Bab. Berakhoth 32a: *ואחר כך יתפלל*. Cf. *Midrash Tanna'im*, ed. D. Hoffmann, (Berlin, 1909), p. 208 *infra*.



tions preceding and following the recital of the Shema' were in the first instance prayers of praise only. "Originally the prayers connected with the *Shema*' contained no reference to the future, the Messianic redemption . . . . Gradually the three benedictions preceding the '*Amidah* were subjected to insertions dealing with the redemption."<sup>27</sup> All petitionary prayers followed the recital of the Shema' with the benedictions. Their rightful place was in the next major unit of the synagogue service, that is, in the '*Amidah*. Though the first three benedictions of the '*Amidah* are regarded as prayers of praise in the Talmud,<sup>28</sup> they have been shown to be intrinsically prayers of petition.<sup>29</sup> Marking, as does the '*Amidah*, the beginning of prayers of supplication, it follows the example of Neh. 9:32 by including in its opening paragraph האל הגדול הגבור והנורא [87].<sup>30</sup> Although these words first occur in Deut. 10:17, their use in public worship is attested to in Neh. 9:32. Noteworthy, in this connection, is the fact that both Talmud and Midrash ascribe the usage of addressing God in prayer as האל הגדול הגבור והנורא to the Men of the Great Synagogue.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, it should be observed that the benedictions before and after the recital of the Shema' display linguistic affinities with Neh. 9. In the first benediction of the Morning Service המרום [76] is reminiscent of ומרום in Neh. 9:5. In the second benediction of the Evening Service the combination תורה ומצוות חקים ומשפטים [164] reverts to Neh. 9:13b, 14b. The most striking affinities are discernible in the third benediction of the Morning Service, where ויום סוף בקעת [85] is parallel to ויהי בקעת in Neh. 9:11, and where the Egyptians are described as זרים [85],<sup>32</sup> a term based on הזידו עליהם in Neh. 9:10, the subject of the verb being Pharaoh and his people.<sup>33</sup> And in the '*Amidah* the phrase להשיבם אל תורתך [90] is based on תורתך in Neh. 9:29.

<sup>27</sup> L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, (New York, 1909), p. 128 *supra*.

<sup>28</sup> Bab. Berakhoth 34a.

<sup>29</sup> See M. Liber, "Structure and History of the *Tefilah*," in *JQR*, XL (1950), pp. 331-42.

<sup>30</sup> After the concluding benediction of the '*Amidah* other verses from Neh. 9 appear, namely, vv. 6-8a. See J. Mann "Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service," in *HUCA*, II (1925), p. 307, line 7; and S. Assaf, "Mi-Seder ha-Tefillah be-'Erez Yisra'el," in *Sefer Dinaburg*, (Jerusalem, 1949), p. 119 *supra*.

<sup>31</sup> Yer. Berakhoth 7:4, ed. Krotoschin, 11c; Yer. Megillah 3:8, 74c; Bab. Yoma 69b; and Midrash Tehillim on Ps. 19:2, ed. Buber, p. 164.

<sup>32</sup> For the meaning of זרים and זידון in other liturgic contexts see L. Ginzberg, *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud*, III, (New York), 1941, pp. 280-81.

<sup>33</sup> הזידו, with Israel as the subject, occurs also in vv. 16 and 29 in this chapter of Nehemiah.

## II.

A striking characteristic of the first part of the Prayer of the Levites, Neh. 9:5-31, is the repeated reference to God's attribute and exercise of compassion. In the manner of a recurring refrain, God's compassion is recalled in the historical retrospect as follows:

- V. 17: ואתה . . . חנון ורחום;  
 v. 19: ואתה ברחמך הרבים;  
 v. 27: וכרחמך הרבים;  
 v. 28: כרחמך; and  
 v. 31: וברחמך הרבים . . . כי אל חנון ורחום אתה.

The last mention of Divine compassion is significant, appearing as it does at a juncture where the survey of the past has been concluded (v. 31) and the supplication for relief from dire distress in the present is about to commence (v. 32). In other words, immediately before proceeding to the supplication, the Prayer of the Levites focuses attention on the gracious and compassionate nature of God.

In view of this aspect of the Prayer of the Levites, it is no coincidence that each of the three benedictions accompanying the recital of the Shema' in the Morning Service is interspersed with an appeal to the compassion of God. In the first benediction it is: אלהי עולם ברחמך [76]; in the second: אבינו האב הרחמן המרחם רחם עלינו [80]. That the third benediction was no exception, though lacking a plea for Divine compassion in the customary rites, is evident from the fact that Siddur R. Sa'adia Gaon preserves the following in that benediction:<sup>34</sup> חס ורחם עלינו ברחמך הרבים כי אל רחום וחנון טוב אתה . . . הוא ה' אלהינו ירחם עלינו.

As for the Evening Service, Seder R. Amram's version of the third benediction contains אלהינו יחוס וירחם עלינו,<sup>35</sup> while the fourth benediction (השכיבנו) in the current rites has חנון ורחום אתה כי אל מלך חנון ורחום [167], reminiscent of Neh. 9:31b.

As has been observed, the benedictions accompanying the recital of the Shema' were originally designed to be exclusively prayers of praise. Prayers of supplication were relegated to the 'Amidah. The

<sup>34</sup> See N. Wieder, "Fourteen New Genizah-Fragments of Saadya's *Siddur* together with a Reproduction of a Missing Part," in *Saadya Studies*, ed. E. I. J. Rosenthal, (Manchester, 1943), p. 275. Cf. I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 3rd edition (Frankfurt am Main, 1931), p. 24 *supra*.

<sup>35</sup> Seder R. Amram, ed. Warsaw, 19a *supra*; ed. Frumkin, I, p. 382, note 9 in the Variants.

insertion of a plea for Divine compassion in each of the benedictions preceding the 'Amidah of the Morning Service presupposes a liturgic principle that prior to his petitionary prayers the worshipper, in the course of rehearsing God's praises in conjunction with the affirmation of the unity of God, shall appeal to God's mercy and compassion. Inspired in the first instance by the precedent of the Prayer of the Levites, this liturgic principle assumed such importance that in rabbinic parlance בקשת רחמים, or רחמים,<sup>36</sup> was equated with prayer in general.

Reference to, or a plea for, Divine compassion became a favorite element of prayer, so much so that despite its absence in the supplication of Neh. 9:32-37 it found its way into the supplicatory prayers of the 'Amidah for Week Days, as well as into other 'Amidoth of the liturgy. These need not detain us here. It will suffice to draw attention to only such prayers as exhibit direct dependence on Neh. 9. The רצה benediction of the 'Amidah in the Sefardic version<sup>37</sup> and the ואתה ברחמך הרבים (Neh. 9:19); and the ואל מלך חנון ורחום אתה prayer [99] concludes with יעלה ויבא (Neh. 9:31b).

### III.

Verses 13a and 14 of Neh. 9 exercised a direct influence upon the text and content of the intermediate benedictions of three out of the four 'Amidoth of the liturgy for the Sabbath. These verses recall the Revelation on Mount Sinai (v. 13a) and the charge to Moses, the servant of God, to transmit to Israel "commandments, and statutes, and a law" (v. 14b), particular mention being made of the institution of the Sabbath (v. 14a). The occurrence in these verses of . . . ועל הר סיני . . . ועל הר סיני . . . ואת שבת קדשך הודעת להם ומצוות . . . צוית להם ביד משה עבדך determined the contents of the middle benedictions of the following Sabbath 'Amidoth:

1. In the Morning Service: . . . כי עבד . . . קראת לו . . . שמח משה . . . בעמדו לפניך על הר סיני . . . שמירת שבת [219];
2. In the Musaf Service:
  - (a) אז מסיני נצטוו עליה ותצוו . . . על ידי משה עבדך [238-39]; and

<sup>36</sup> See M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim etc.*, s. v. רחמים, p. 1468.

<sup>37</sup> *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service*, I, ed. M. Gaster, (London, 1901), p. 34 *infra*.

<sup>38</sup> Is lacking in the Palestinian recension of יעלה ויבא. See I. Elbogen, *MGWJ*, LV, pp. 437, 439, 444, and 587. Cf. S. Assaf, *op. cit.*, p. 118, line 17.

- (b) in the alternate version of תכנת שבת in the Yemenite<sup>39</sup> and Sefardic<sup>40</sup> rites: למשה צוית על הר סיני מצות שבת; and
3. In the Afternoon Service according to Seder R. Amram,<sup>41</sup> Siddur R. Sa'adia,<sup>42</sup> and the Roman Rite<sup>43</sup> the prayer concludes with עבדך מסיני אמרת ולמשה עבדך מסיני.

Added proof that the intermediate benedictions of the Sabbath 'Amidoth reflect the influence thereon of Neh. 9 is to be found in the 'Amidah for Sabbath and New Moon. Here, the statement ושבח קדשך להם הודעת [240] comes fairly close to being a citation of Neh. 9:14a, ואת שבת קדשך הודעת להם.

We turn now to a consideration of the intermediate benediction of the 'Amidah for the Festivals. A perusal of the recension of this benediction in the Palestinian Order of Service discloses the impact thereon of Neh. 9, verses 13 and 29. The prayer reads thus:<sup>45</sup> אתה בחרת בישראל עמך מכל עם . . . ותקרבם באהבה סביבות הר סיני ותתן להם משפטים ישרים ותורות אמת חקים ומצוות טובים אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם ותתן לנו ה' אלהינו מועדים וכו'. Two quotations are embodied in the text of this prayer. The first, from טובים ותתן להם, is derived verbatim from Neh. 9:13b. The second, אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם, though quoted from Lev. 18:5, or Ezek. 20:11, 13, 21, owes its insertion into the prayer to its liturgic usage in the Prayer of the Levites, in the course of which אשר יעשה אדם וחי occurs (Neh. 9:29).

The citation from Neh. 9:13b appears also in the ותודיענו prayer [347] in the following modified form: ותתן לנו ה' אלהינו משפטים ישרים ותורות אמת חקים ומצוות טובים. Joined to this in Seder R. Amram,<sup>46</sup> though not in the customary rites, is אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם. In view of the fact that reference to the sanctity of the Sabbath is made in the course of this prayer, it appears likely that its opening word, ותודיענו, reverts to הודעת להם, used in connection with שבת קדשך in Neh. 9:14a.

A prominent feature of the first part of the Prayer of the Levites (Neh. 9:5-31) is, as has been noted, the number of references to God's

<sup>39</sup> Tiklal, I, (Jerusalem, 1894), 141b.

<sup>40</sup> *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service*, I, ed. M. Gaster, p. 117.

<sup>41</sup> Seder R. Amram, ed. Frumkin, II, pp. 100-101, note 2 in the Variants.

<sup>42</sup> Siddur R. Saadia Gaon, ed. Davidson-Assaf-Joel, p. 113.

<sup>43</sup> *Maḥzor Kol ha-Shanah* with Introduction by S. D. Luzzatto, I, (Livorno, 1856), 48b.

<sup>44</sup> On the 'Aggadah that the Torah was given on a Sabbath see the writer's "Ha-Shabbat be-Siddur ha-Tefillah," in *Sefer ha-Yovel shel ha-Do'ar*, (New York, 1952), p. 257.

<sup>45</sup> I. Elbogen, *MGWJ*, LV, pp. 433-4, 435-6, and 586.

<sup>46</sup> Seder R. Amram, ed. Warsaw, 42b; and ed. Frumkin, II, p. 232.

attribute of compassion. The first reference is in Neh. 9:17b: **ואתה אלה** **סליחות חנון ורחום ארך אפים ורב חסד**. An aspect of primary importance in the second part of the Prayer, the supplication in Neh. 9:32-37, is the confession in v. 33: **ואתה צדיק על כל הבא עלינו כי אמת עשית ואנחנו הרשענו**. The liturgy of the synagogue has incorporated these two verses into the context of the rite of confession, one of the salient features of the 'Amidoth of the Day of Atonement. Neh. 9:17b is cited in the **אחה הברלה** prayer [437], as are also, as has been noted, the first three words of Neh. 9:19 (**ואתה ברחמך הרבים**), while Neh. 9:33 is quoted toward the end of **וידי זוטא**, or "short confession" [415, 427, 435].

Moreover, inasmuch as the word **סליחות** occurs in Neh. 9:17b in juxtaposition to **חנן ורחום ארך אפים ורב חסד** which is a reminiscence of Exod. 34:6, it is not improbable that the liturgic practice of reciting Exod. 34:6-7 (**שלוש עשרה מדות**)<sup>47</sup> in the course of prayers for forgiveness (**סליחות**) received its initial impetus from Neh. 9:17b.

#### IV.

As has been observed, tannaitic exegesis found support for the response **ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד** in Neh. 9:5b. Medieval exegetes, however, are divided in their interpretation of this verse. According to Abraham Ibn Ezra, Neh. 9:5b means: "and let them bless Thy glorious Name — for through every blessing and praise God is exalted," the implication being that the more man rehearses God's praises, the more exalted is God. Rashi, on the other hand, comments that no man can possibly exhaust God's praises for the reason that no human mouth is capable of expressing them in fullest measure. Hence man's praises, at best, are disproportionate to God's true greatness. Rashi, accordingly, understands Neh. 9:5b to mean: "and let them bless Thy glorious Name which is exalted above all blessing and praise."

That both interpretations, that of Ibn Ezra as well as that of Rashi, were in vogue long before their time is reflected in the manner in which Neh. 9:5b is employed liturgically in the context of the geonic compilation of the *Pesuke de-Zimra*.<sup>48</sup> The superimposition of the latter, comprising passages of praise, upon the benedictions accompanying the recital of the *Shema* which are basically prayers of praise, presupposes an understanding of Neh. 9:5b after the manner

<sup>47</sup> So designated, though "the thirteen attributes" are not specified, in Bab. Rosh Hashanah 17b.

<sup>48</sup> See the writer's "The Compilation of the *Pesuke de-Zimra*," in *PAAJR*, XVIII (1948-49), pp. 255-67.

of Ibn Ezra. No valid objection could be had to this new unit of the service, the Pesuke de-Zimra, which was devoted to additional praise of God. That Neh. 9:5b must have been regarded as a verse in favor and support of the introduction of the Pesuke de-Zimra into the liturgy, is evident from the position it occupies in the framework of this unit of the service. Thus, the Persian Rite<sup>49</sup> marks the transition from the *Birkhoth ha-Shahar* to ברוך שאמר, the benediction introducing the Pesuke de-Zimra, by inserting Neh. 9:5b as follows: ברוך מלך המקדש שמו ברבים ויברכו שם כבודיך (sic!) ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה, in the Yemenite Rite,<sup>50</sup> Neh. 9:6-7 is placed prior to ברוך שאמר. In ברוך proper Neh. 9:5b is inserted in the version of this prayer in Minhag Corfu.<sup>51</sup> While in the Ashkenazic Rite, the passage following I Chron. 29:10-13, i. e., ויברך דויד [72], is Neh. 9:6-11, the latter, in the Italian<sup>52</sup> and Sefardic<sup>53</sup> Rites, is immediately preceded by Neh. 9:5b. Unique are the Yemenite Rite<sup>54</sup> which contains only Neh. 9:5b after דויד and a Genizah fragment of the Palestinian Order of Service<sup>55</sup> where Neh. 9:5b appears in a miscellany of verses after the Song at the Red Sea and before ברכו of the Morning Service.

That the interpretation "who is exalted above all blessing and praise" influenced the liturgy is obvious from adaptations of Neh. 9:5b in the ובמקהלות prayer [209] and in the Kaddish. In the former, there can be no doubt that להורות להלל . . . על כל דברי שירות ותשבחות is based on Neh. 9:5b. For, in a version of ובמקהלות in the Palestinian Order of Service Neh. 9:5b is actually cited. The text of this version reads:<sup>56</sup> במקלות ישראל עמך יתפאר שמך . . . ומרומם שמך מלכנו על כל ברכה ותהלה ככ' ויברכו שם כבודך ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה. Similarly, as has been noted by students of the liturgy,<sup>57</sup> כל ברכתא ושירתא תשבחתא in the Kaddish [75] reverts to Neh. 9:5b.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that Tahanun for Mondays and Thursdays adapts את כל התהלה (Neh. 9:32) to read: ואל ימעט לפניך את כל התהלה [116].

<sup>49</sup> JQR, X (Old Series), p. 608 *supra*.

<sup>50</sup> Tiklal, I, Jerusalem, 1894, 14b.

<sup>51</sup> See S. Gaguine, *Kether Shem Tov*, I-II, (Kedainiai, 1934), p. 38.

<sup>52</sup> *Ma'azor Kol ha-Shanah*, I, (Livorno, 1856), 12a.

<sup>53</sup> *The Book of Prayer and the Order of Service*, I, ed. M. Gaster, p. 22 *infra*.

<sup>54</sup> Tiklal, I, 23b.

<sup>55</sup> S. Assaf, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>57</sup> D. de Sola Pool, *The Old Jewish-Aramaic Prayer the Kaddish*, (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 60-61; Aryeh Leib Gordon, in *Siddur 'Ozar ha-Tefilloth*, I, (Wilna, 1914), p. 430; and W. Jawitz, in *Siddur 'Avodath ha-Levavoth*, (Berlin, 1922), p. 107; see also the writer's "The Pesuke de-Zimra Benedictions," JQR, XLI (1950), p. 201.





# STUDIES IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF THE BOOK OF JOB\*

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## CHAPTER III (Continued)

### B. ANTHROPOPATHISMS

Anthropopathisms occur but infrequently in our Book, and they deal with God's anger; the author of Job had more subtle ways of expressing disagreement with those who claimed to comprehend God's action and will.

The Septuagint translator's attitude to the instances of anthropopathisms is no less clear-cut than it is in relation to those of anthropomorphism dealt with in the section preceding (§ A, 1-11),<sup>39</sup> namely,

\* § A. ANTHROPOMORPHISMS of Chapter III, "On the Matter of Anthropomorphisms, Anthropopathisms, and Euphemisms," appeared in this *Annual*, Vol. XXX (1959), pp. 153-67. Chapters I ("An Analytical Survey of Previous Studies") and II ("The Character of the Septuagint Translation of the Book of Job") appeared respectively in Vol. XXVIII (1957), pp. 53-74 and Vol. XXIX (1958), pp. 229-71. All bibliographical references will be found there.

<sup>39</sup> To § 1 on יָד "hand," add 31.35, where the difficult יָד יְהוָה is represented in the Septuagint by *χεῖρα δὲ κυρίου εἰ μὴ ἐδεδοίκειν* (Old Latin: *manum domini si non timui*), "and if I had not feared the hand of the Lord."

To § 8 on עַיִן "eye" add 16.10: *לְמַטּוֹשׁ עֵינָיו לִי* / *ἀκίσιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνήλατο*, "He has attacked (or transfixed) me with the barbs (or keen glances) of His eyes."

To § 11 on רוּחַ add 32.8 (וְנִשְׁמַת שְׂרַי תְּבִינִם) / *ἀλλὰ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν βροτοῖς (πνοή δὲ παντοκράτορός ἐστιν ἢ διδάσκουσα)*, where the רוּחַ (/ וְנִשְׁמַת שְׂרַי) is God's. Add also 34.14: (וְנִשְׁמַתוּ אֵלָיו יְאֹסֶף) / *(εἰ γὰρ βούλοιο συνέχειν) καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα (παρ' αὐτοῦ κατασχεῖν)* (OL: *si enim voluerit inhibere, et spiritum eius apud se tenere*), "For if He wished to confine, and to restrain) His spirit (with Himself)" — where πνεῦμα represents רוּחַ (וְנִשְׁמַת) would have been rendered by *πνοή*).

Add as § 12, on גְּבוּרָה "might": 26.14 (מִי יִתְבַּוֵּן) [Qere =] *וְרַעַם גְּבוּרָתוֹ* / *σθένος* [= Kethib *וְיִתְבַּוֵּן*?] *δὲ βροντῆς αὐτοῦ (τίς οἶδεν ὅποτε ποιήσει;)*, where the translator justifiably, and perhaps even correctly, interpreted: "the might of His thunder" (as against literal, and traditional, "the thunder of His mighty deeds").

Add as § 13, on כֹּחַ "strength": 26.12 (מִחַץ קֹחַ) [Qere =] *וּבְהִבּוֹנָתוֹ* / *ἰσχύν* (*κατέπαυσεν τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐπιστήμη δὲ ἔτρωσε τὸ κῆτος*).

Add as § 14, on שֵׁנִים "teeth": 16.9 (בְּשֵׁנָיו) *וְלִי קֶרֶק* / *(ἀφ' ὧν ἔσθω) (ὀργῇ χρη-*

our translator was not bothered by them at all. Whatever views on the subject he may have had did not prevent him from reproducing the anthropopathisms literally, unless he considered a paraphrase of some kind stylistically preferable.<sup>40</sup>

The use of the term "clear-cut" is fully justified not only by the data themselves — as will be seen immediately — but by the significant fact that with all their claims of anti-anthropomorphism allegedly manifested by our translator (see pp. 155–57 in § A preceding), such more recent critics as Gerleman and Gard passed over in total silence the anthropopathisms of the masoretic text reproduced literally in the Septuagint; at the very least, note might have been made of this clear characteristic of the translator.

1. God's **הַיָּד** occurs but once in our Book, at 13.21, together with a typical anthropomorphism; both the latter and the anthropopathism were reproduced literally: (**אֵל־תִּבְעַתִּי**) **וְאִמָּתָהּ** (**כַּפַּי מַעְלֵי הַרְקַק**) / (**τῆν χεῖρα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέχου,**) **καὶ ὁ φόβος σου** (**μὴ με καταπλησίστω,**) "and (let not) Thy fear (terrify me)."

2. The **הָאֵל** of the Lord is mentioned five times in Job, and it is translated literally by **ὀργή**: 9.5 **בְּאִפּוֹ** (**הַמַּעֲשִׂים הָרִים וְלֹא יָדָעוּ אֲשֶׁר הִפְקִים**) / (**ὁ παλαιῶν ὄρη καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν, ὁ καταστρέφων αὐτὰ**) **ὀργῇ**.<sup>41</sup> 9.13 (**אֵפוֹ** (**אֵלֹהִים לֹא־יָשִׁיב**) (**חֲתִי**) [Qere =] **וְחִי עוֹרִי** (**הֵב**)) / (**αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπέστραπται**) **ὀργῇ**, (**ὅπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκάμφθησαν κήτη τὰ ὑπ' οὐρανόν**). The problem of anthropopathism does not exist here, but it should be noted that the original LXX text (already Old Latin has: *ipsius enim inadvertabilis ira, ab ipso condita sunt cetera sub caelo*) must

**σάμενος κατέβαλέν με,**) **ἔβρυξεν ἐπ' ἐμέ τοὺς ὀδόντας** (OL: *fremuit super me dentibus*).

<sup>40</sup> The Septuagint translation of Job would be better understood if H. S. Gehman's paper in *JBL*, 68 (1949), 231–40, on "The Theological Approach of the Greek Translator of Job 1–15," had employed the term "stylistic" instead of "theological" in the title; in other words, a much clearer picture of the Greek would have been gained had the translator's alleged theology not been found where it did not exist and was out of place in the picture as a whole. Chapter II of our essay ("The Character of the Septuagint Translation of the Book of Job" (see note \* above) provides a mass of data to demonstrate this, along with the evidence in the present chapter (III).

<sup>41</sup> It is scarcely necessary to note that one of the common features of the Septuagint translation is the omission (or the addition) of the pronominal suffix when it accords with good Greek style at the same time that the pronoun is implied in the translation (or in the original). Cf. §§ 12–13 in Chap. II above, pp. 260–64; § 9, p. 256, at 38.34; Chap. III, § B, n. 39 (on **בְּשִׁנֵּי** at 16.9; on **וְ** at 16.10).

have included a negative particle for the Hebrew  $\text{לֹא}$ , for otherwise the translation in the second stich makes no sense. Note too that  $\text{לֹא}$  — most unusually in Job — has not been reproduced. (See further § D 10b below.) 14.13 ( $\text{מִי יִתֵּן בְּשֹׂאוֹל תַּצְפִּיעֵנִי תַּסְתִּירֵנִי עַד־שׁוּבוֹ אֶפְקֶה}$ ) / ( $\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \delta\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\delta\eta\ \mu\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma\alpha\varsigma,\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\nu\psi\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ ) σου ἡ ὀργή. 16.9 (...  $\text{וַיִּשְׁטְמוּ חֲרָק עָלַי בְּשִׁנְיָו}$ ...) / ὀργή (χρησάμενος κατέβαλέν με, ἔβρυξεν ἐπ' ἐμέ τοὺς ὀδόντας...). 20.23  $\text{אֶפְוֹ (יִשְׁלַח־בּוֹ חֲרוֹן)}$  / (... ἐπαποστείλαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν θυμὸν) ὀργῆς.

3. God's  $\text{חֲרוֹן}$  is found but once in our Book, in 20.23 (see immediately above), and it is rendered faithfully:  $\text{אֶפְוֹ חֲרוֹן}$  /  $\text{θυμὸν ὀργῆς}$ .

4. The Lord's "dread,"  $\text{פֶּחַד}$ , was translated literally both times it occurs in Job: 13.11 ( $\text{יִפְּלַעַל־כֶּם וּפִחָדוֹ תִּבְעַת אֶתְכֶם}$ ) / ( $\pi\acute{o}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \omicron\chi\lambda\iota\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\rho\omicron\beta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ), φόβος δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ ( $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ );). The translator — quite correctly, of course — has reproduced the objective force of the genitive ( $\text{פִּחָדוֹ}$ ); contrast  $\acute{\omicron}\ \phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$  /  $\text{אֶתְכֶם}$  only ten verses farther on. In the difficult verse, 31.23,  $\text{כִּי פֶחַד אֱלֹהִים אֵיךְ אֵל}$  was rendered  $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\epsilon\nu\ \mu\epsilon$  — where, unless the Hebrew *Vorlage* differed from our received text, the anthropopathism went beyond the translator's call of duty.

5. The nouns  $\text{נִפְקָה}$  "rebuke" (26.11) and  $\text{רָגַז}$  "raging" (37.2) in relation to God belong to verses that are lacking in the Septuagint and, in their Greek form in the standard editions, belong to Theodotion.<sup>42</sup>

### C. ALLEGED CONCEPT OF AFTERLIFE

Nothing is clearer in the book of Job than the fact that the author had no concept of an afterlife other than that the grave was the end of everyone: kings and nobles, the wicked and the weary, prisoner and slave, the lowly and the mighty — everyone found a quiet resting place in the unrelieved blackness of Sheol, where even God

<sup>42</sup> It may be noted here that the Targum translated literally all the anthropopathisms in our Book. Noteworthy, too, is the extent to which this version reproduced the anthropomorphisms (cf. § A above, n. 5). A fresh study of this aspect of the Targumim is very much in order.

Himself was not fully at home (cf. e. g., chap. 3; 7.21b; 10.21-22; cf. Dhorme, p. 92, at 7.9).

Indeed, any other concept of afterlife would have made the writing of the Book superfluous, for then the solution of the central problem in the Book, viz., why does the principle of *quid pro quo* fail so often to operate, would have been: in the world to come the righteous will receive their just reward and the wicked will suffer their deserved deserts. But none of Job, his three friends, Elihu, and God, expresses any such thought. The contrary is true. It is taken for granted by all — no discussion, let alone argument, ever takes place about it — that death constitutes the end of life on earth, and that the grave marks the place of no return. And that is why, naturally, the Book ends with Job receiving his twofold reward from God in this world, and dying at an exceedingly ripe old age.<sup>43</sup>

As to the Septuagint translator, he reproduced in Greek whatever his Hebrew text had to say about this matter. As in the case of anthropomorphism and anthropopathism, he was the faithful translator, whatever his own views of afterlife may have been. The text and data bear out this categorical assertion.

## 1. 7.6-7

יְמֵי קָלוּ מִיָּצָרָי	ὁ δὲ βίος μου ἐστὶν ἐλαφρότερος λαλιᾶς,
וַיְכַלּוּ בְּאַפָּס תַּקְוָה:	ἀπόλωλεν δὲ ἐν κενῇ ἐλπίδι.
זָכַר כִּי רוּחַ חַיִּי	μνησθητι οὖν ὅτι πνευμά μου ἡ ζωή
לֹא-תָשׁוּב עֵינִי לְרָאוֹת טוֹב:	καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἐπανελεύσεται ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου ἰδεῖν ἀγαθόν.

The point is, of course, that "my eye will never again see good" because (cf. vv. 8-9) just retribution will be denied Job for lack of escape from eternal Sheol.<sup>44</sup>

## 2. 7.9-10

כָּלֹחַ עֵינַי וַיִּגָּלֶה	ὥσπερ νέφος ἀποκαθαρθὲν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.
כֵּן יִרְדָּה שְׂאוֹל לֹא יַעֲלֶה:	ἐὰν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καταβῇ εἰς ᾗδην,
	οὐκ ἔτι μὴ ἀναβῇ,

<sup>43</sup> For a clear statement on when the concept of afterlife and resurrection developed in the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and on the struggle over this doctrine, see the monograph by Abraham A. Neuman, *The Immortality of Man: a Jewish Viewpoint* (Lancaster, Pa., 1949).

<sup>44</sup> Cf., e. g., Dhorme, *ad loc.* (p. 91), "Le 2<sup>e</sup> hémistiqué, d'après le parallélisme et la suite du passage, constate que l'homme, après la mort, ne revient plus sur terre pour jouir du bonheur . . ." Rashi (cf. also Ibn Ezra, Ramban, and others) put it bluntly: לֹא תָשׁוּב עֵינִי . . . לְאַחֵר מִיתָה, וְכֵן כִּפְרָא יוֹב בְּתַחֲיִית הַמָּתִים.

לֹא יָשׁוּב עוֹד לְבֵיתוֹ      οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἐπιστρέψῃ ἔτι εἰς τὸν ἴδιον  
    οἶκον,  
 וְלֹא יִבְרָנוּ עוֹד מִקְוָמוֹ:      οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἐπιγνῶ αὐτὸν ἔτι ὁ τόπος  
    αὐτοῦ.

The rabbis recognized clearly the import of v. 9; cf. Baba Bathra 16a: "אמר רבא, מכאן שכפר איוב בתחיית המתים (we learn) that Job denied resurrection." And B. Szold's comment on 9b is worth repeating: "אבל ישאר שם לעולם לא (אמר אם יהיה שם בחיים או לא, כי איוב אין לו עסק בנסתרות). Or as (Driver-)Gray put it (Vol. I, p. 69): Job beseeches God "to have compassion on him for the short time that remains before he descends forever into the grave. In Sheol, according to Hebrew ideas, there was no fellowship with God . . .<sup>45</sup>

### 3. 7.16

מֵאַחֲתִי לֹא-לְעוֹלָם אֶחֱיָה      οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσομαι ἵνα μακροθυμήσω<sup>46</sup>  
 כָּדָל מִמֶּנִּי כִּי-הֶבֶל יִמִּי:      ἀπόστα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, κενὸς γὰρ μου ὁ βίος.<sup>47</sup>

### 4. 10.20–22

הֲלֹא מַעַט יָמֵי וַחֲדָל [Qere=]      ἢ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος τοῦ βίου μου;  
 יְשִׁית [Qere=] מִמֶּנִּי וְאַבְלִיגָה מַעַט:      ἔασόν με ἀναπαύσασθαι μικρὸν  
 בְּטָרֵם אֵלַיךְ וְלֹא אָשׁוּב      πρὸ τοῦ με πορευθῆναι ὅθεν οὐκ ἀνα-  
    στρέψω,  
 אֶל-אַרְצַךְ חֶשֶׁד וְצַלְמוֹת:      εἰς γῆν σκοτεινὴν καὶ γνοφερὰν,  
 אַרְצַךְ עֵיפָהּ כִּמוֹ אֶפֶל . . .      εἰς γῆν σκότους αἰωνίου . . . οὐδὲ ὄρα  
    ζῶην βροτῶν.<sup>48</sup>

### 5. 14.2 (v. 1: וְשָׁבַע יָמִים וְשָׁבַע יָמִים אֶשָּׁה יָלֹד אֶתְּךָ)

בְּצִיץ יָצָא וַיָּמָל      ἢ ὥσπερ ἄνθος ἀνθήσαν ἐξέπεσεν,  
 וַיִּבְרַח כָּצֵל וְלֹא יַעֲמֹד:      ἀπέδρα δὲ ὥσπερ σκιά καὶ οὐ μὴ στῇ.

<sup>45</sup> Cf., e. g., Dhorme, *ad loc.*, where reference is given to his earlier discussion, "Le Séjour des Morts chez les Babyloniens et les Hébreux," *RB*, 4 (1907), 60–78.

<sup>46</sup> The clause *ἵνα μακροθυμήσω*, lacking a correspondent in the masoretic text, is Aquila's rendering of *כִּי-אֶאְרִיךְ נַפְשִׁי* in 6.11b; scholars generally (e. g., Beer, Dhorme) agree that it is secondary in our verse.

<sup>47</sup> Commentators have long noted the verbal relationship between many Psalms and our Book in the matter of no afterlife (cf., e. g., Szold, Dhorme). Thus *הֶבֶל יִמִּי* may be connected with Ps. 144.4 *עוֹבֵר כָּצֵל עוֹבֵר יִמִּי כָּצֵל דָּמָה*.

<sup>48</sup> Commentators have noted the verbal connection between these passages and Ps. 39.14 *הִשָּׁע מִמֶּנִּי וְאַבְלִיגָה בְּטָרֵם אֵלַי וְאֵינִי*.



## 6. 14.7-10

כִּי יֵשׁ לְעֵץ תְּקוּם	ἔστιν γὰρ δένδρω ἐλπὶς·
אִם יָבֵרֶת וְעוֹד יִחְלֶיהָ	ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκκοπῇ, ἔτι ἐπανθήσει,
וַיִּקְחוּ לֹא תִחְדָּל:	καὶ ὁ ῥάδαμνος αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπη.
אִם יִקְוּ בְּאֶרֶץ שְׂרָשׁוֹ	ἐὰν γὰρ γηράσῃ ἐν γῇ ἢ ῥίζα αὐτοῦ,
וּבְעֶפֶר יָמוּת וְיָוִי:	ἐὰν δὲ πέτρα τελευτήσῃ τὸ στέλεχος αὐτοῦ,
מְרִיחַ מִים יִפְרֹחַ	ἀπὸ ὁσμῆς ὕδατος ἀνθήσει,
וְעֵשָׂה קִצִּיר בְּמוֹדֶנֶט:	ποιήσῃ δὲ θερισμὸν ὥσπερ νεόφυτον.
וְיָבֵר יָמוּת וְיִחְלָשׁ	ἀνὴρ δὲ τελευτήσας ὥχετο,
וַיָּנֹעַ אָדָם וְאִיֹּ:	πεσὼν δὲ βροτὸς οὐκέτι ἔστιν.

The statement made here by Job, that (as put by Dhorme) “La condition humaine est pire que celle des arbres. Ceux-ci renaissent d’eux-mêmes. L’homme disparaît tout entier. C’est au v. 10 que sera amené le motif de la comparaison . . .,” is reproduced faithfully by the translator. He did not hesitate to reproduce the biblical proposition that “man once dead, unlike a tree that is cut down, cannot be rejuvenated and start life again, but passes away forever leaving no trace behind” ([Driver-]Gray, Vol. I, p. 128).

## 7. 14.12

וַאִישׁ שָׁכַב וְלֹא יָקוּם	ἄνθρωπος δὲ κοιμηθεὶς οὐ μὴ ἀναστῇ.
עַד בְּלִיתִי שְׁמִים לֹא יִקְרָא	ἕως ἄν ὁ οὐρανὸς οὐ μὴ συρραφῇ. <sup>49</sup>
וְלֹא יַעֲרוּ מִשְׁנָתָם:	[Theodotion =] καὶ οὐκ ἐξυπνισθήσονται ἐξ ὕπνου αὐτῶν.

Those who have asserted that our translator deliberately refrained from reproducing the last stich, because of its denial of resurrection (e. g., Bickell, Dillmann, Baer, Budde, [Driver-]Gray, Bittenwieser<sup>50</sup>) simply shut their eyes to the faithful reproduction of the first stich (וַאִישׁ שָׁכַב וְלֹא יָקוּם / ἄνθρωπος δὲ κοιμηθεὶς οὐ μὴ ἀναστῇ), as well as vv. 2 and 7-10 (above) and v. 14 (below) in this chapter alone, apart from the other pertinent passages in our Book.

Whether the third stich was lacking in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX translation<sup>51</sup>—to be made good by Origen in the fifth column

<sup>49</sup> On *οὐ μὴ συρραφῇ* “(until the heaven) is not sewn (or, joined) together” for *לֹא יִקְרָא* (from root קִיץ, Arab. قاض [media yodh], “divided; break/rend asunder; destroy”), see Orlinsky, *JQR*, 28 (1937-38), 57-68. See also Chap. II above, § 2, p. 239, *ad loc.*

<sup>50</sup> See Chapter I, pp. 66 f. and nn. 49-50.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Orlinsky, *JQR*, 28 (1937-38), pp. 64-65, “We may safely assume . . . that

of his so-called "Hexapla" from the translation by Theodotion — or was present in the *Vorlage* and reproduced by the translator and accidentally fell out of the Greek text early in the history of the Septuagint, it is not because of any theological embarrassment on the part of the translator that it is lacking in the preserved LXX text.

# 8. 14.14

אִם יָמוּת נָכַר הַיְחִיָּה	ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται
כְּלִימִי צָבִאי אֲנִיחָל	συντελέσας ἡμέρας τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ ὑπο-
	μενῶ
עַד בּוֹא הַלִּפְתִּי	ἕως ἂν πάλιν γένωμαι.

An utterly unmethodical line of reasoning is followed by Gerleman (pp. 60 ff.) on this verse, one which he exhibited in connection with the matter of anthropomorphism (see Chap. III, § A, pp. 155 ff.). On the one hand he is forced to admit that "in regard to the view of death and the state of death . . . If we turn to the LXX, we have the impression [*sic!*] that the translator, in regard to death and the fate of the dead, entirely shares the view of the author of the dialogue. The great majority of the relevant passages in the LXX are reproduced without essential change. [7.9 f. and 16.23 are cited.] Nor do the other cited passages in the LXX give expression to a view deviating from that of the Hebrew poet. The agreement, however, is merely apparent. The difference is shown in the translation of 14.14 . . ." In other words, every case which is admittedly clear-cut is to be regarded as "merely apparent" because one single case is not clear-cut! With such reasoning, no conclusion is impossible.<sup>52</sup>

Our verse is difficult in that הַלִּפְתִּי in the Hebrew is not readily clear and the Septuagint has not divided the verse as the Masoretes have. Whether the first stich (אִם יָמוּת נָכַר הַיְחִיָּה) is out of place or is a gloss, as many scholars believe,<sup>53</sup> our translator reproduced it,

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וְלֹא יַעֲרוּ מִשְׁנָתָם which disturbs the meter and adds nothing whatever to the context, was not reproduced in the Old Greek simply because it did not exist in the Hebrew text at the time of [I should now word it: that was used by] the translator, and is therefore to be excised as a gloss of לֹא יִקְצוּ."

<sup>52</sup> By disregarding the overwhelming majority of instances where the Hebrew anthropomorphisms were reproduced in the Septuagint, Gerleman (p. 59) was able to demonstrate "the translator's scrupulous aversion [*sic!*] to describing God in human terms."

<sup>53</sup> Thus, e. g., Beer, "Hinter 12<sup>1</sup> dürfte am besten 14<sup>1</sup> הַיְחִיָּה נָכַר אִם יָמוּת zu rücken sein. Dann entstehen 2 Verse zu je 2 Stichen. Ähnlich schon Reiske." The mathe-

but he connected with it most of the second stich: *ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποφάνη ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται συντλέσας ἡμέρας τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ*. The punctuation of this sentence, however, is not certain. Many scholars would regard the Greek as interrogative: "For if man die, will he live after completing the days of his life?" And cf. Lagarde's edition of the Old Latin translation of our Greek: *si enim mortuus fuerit homo, vivet consummatis diebus vitae suae?* Others, however, would regard our Greek as assertive: "If a man die, he will live after completing the days of his life." In either case, our translator read something like בָּלָה for preserved כָּל, and צָבָא for preserved צָבָא.

Leaving the inner-Greek problem unsolved, there can be little doubt about the third stich in the LXX: "I will wait until I am made again" (OL: *sustinebo usque quo denuo faciam*).<sup>54</sup> The meaning of the root of הִלְיָה, the translator, not unreasonably at all, understood to be here exactly what it was but a few verses previously, in v. 7: הִלְיָה (עוֹד) / (כִּי יֵשׁ לְעֵץ תִּקְוָה אִם: בָּרַת וְעוֹד) / (. . . ἔτι) ἐπανθήσει, "it will (again) sprout" (OL: . . . iterum floriet). That הִלְיָה, in accordance with the general view in the Book, cannot mean renewed life in our v. 14 is acknowledged by all scholars,<sup>55</sup> who generally interpret it to mean "release, relief" from a man's term of service (צָבָא).

Our conclusion, then, is that — unless our Greek verse is to be construed as an interrogative — the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX was somewhat different from the preserved text (e. g., יָחַיָּה for הִלְיָה; בָּלָה or the like for כָּל; צָבָא for צָבָא) and that our translator — justifiably in the context — construed הִלְיָה to mean "be born again." There was nothing "dogmatisch" (so, e. g., Beer, following Merx) in this interpretation, since our translator everywhere else, including several earlier passages in this very chapter, reproduced similar statements without flinching.

9. 14.20–22. Indeed, only a few verses farther on, vv. 20–22, essentially the same sentiment is expressed, viz., that man's end is irrevocable and that once dead he knows nothing of what transpires

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matical count may be correct, but the consequence is wooden, unpoetic Hebrew. (Driver-)Gray, I, 129, "Line <sup>a</sup> is perhaps misplaced, or a marginal annotation . . ." Dhorme would attach 14a to v. 19.

<sup>54</sup> If the first part is to be understood interrogatively, then this last stich might be understood in that vein too: "shall I wait until I am made again?" Yet this hardly seems likely.

<sup>55</sup> Except by those, e. g., Duhm, who follow something of the LXX and come up with: "If only a man might die, and live again!"

among the living; our translator reproduced this sentiment no less boldly than our Hebrew author did:

תקפהו לנצח ונגלך משנה פניו ותשלהו:	ὥσας αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος, καὶ ὥχετο· ἐπέστησας αὐτῷ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐξα- πέστειλας·
יבדו בניו ולא ידעו ויצטרו ולא יבין למו:	πολλῶν δὲ γενομένων τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶδεν, ἐὰν δὲ ὀλίγοι γένωνται, οὐκ ἐπίσταται·
אִם-בָּשָׂרוֹ עָלָיו יִכָּאֵב וַיִּשְׁשׁ עָלָיו תַּאֲבָל:	ἀλλ' ἢ αἱ σάρκες αὐτοῦ ἤλγησαν, ἢ δὲ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπένθησεν.

## 10. 16.22

כִּי-שָׁנוֹת מִסָּפֶר יֵאָתִי וְאֶרְכָּב לֹא-אֶשׁוּב אֶחָלָי:	ἔτη δὲ ἀριθμητὰ ἤκασιν, ὁδῶ δέ, ἣ οὐκ ἐπαναστραφήσομαι, πορεύ- σομαι.
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## 11. 20.7-II

יִגְלְלוּ לְנֶצֶךְ יֶאֱבָר רָאִיו יִמְרוּ אִין: קִבְלוּם יְעִיף וְלֹא יִמְאָצֶה וְיִדְדֵי קִבְיוֹן לִלְהָ: עֵין שְׁפֹתוֹ וְלֹא חֹרֵיף וְלֹא-עוֹד תִּשְׁוֹנֵנוּ מִקּוֹמֵנוּ:	ὅταν γὰρ δοκῇ ἤδη κατεστηρίχθαι, τότε εἰς τέλος ἀπολείται, οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐροῦσιν Ποῦ ἔστιν; ὥσπερ ἐνύπνιον ἐκπετασθὲν οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῇ, ἔπη δὲ ὥσπερ φάσμα νυκτερινόν. (ὁφθαλμὸς παρέβλεψεν καὶ οὐ προσθήσει, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσνοήσει αὐτὸν ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ.)
בְּנֵיו יִרְצוּ דִלְגִים וְיָדֵיו תִּשְׁבְּנָה אוֹנוֹ: עֲצָמוֹתָיו מִלֵּאָו עֲלֹמָיו וְעֵמוֹ עַל-עֶפֶר תִּשְׁבָּב:	τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ ὀλέσαισαν ἦττονες, αἱ δὲ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ πυρσεύσαισαν ὀδύναῖς. (ὅστ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεπλήσθησαν νεότητος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ χώματος κοιμηθήσεται.) <sup>56</sup>

This whole speech by Zophar is a pessimistic peroration on the fate of the wicked: their own ignoble end and the affliction of their children.

<sup>56</sup> The Greek of vv. 9 and 11, placed here in parentheses, derive from Theodotion. After vv. 7-8, it is clear that the sentiment expressed in 9 and 11 (or cf., e. g., 7.10 וְלֹא-יִבְרִנּוּ עוֹד מִקּוֹמֵנוּ / οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἐπιστρέψῃ ἔτι εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον, οὐδὲ μὴ ἐπιγινῶ αὐτὸν ἔτι ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ; 14.12 וְאִישׁ שָׁכַב וְלֹא-יָקִים אֶנ-θρῳπος δὲ κοιμηθεὶς οὐ μὴ ἀναστῇ) played no role in the absence of the latter in the LXX. And not even Beer blames the translator for this minus in the LXX; indeed, he recognizes the possibility, after Bickell, that v. 9, "aus 7, 8 u. 10 geflossene Stiche jüngeren Ursprungs u. dann zu streichen sein."

Job, on the other hand, denying that the fate of their posterity really affects the wicked themselves once they are dead, asserts (Chap. 21) that "once life is over, one who has enjoyed prosperity up to the end is no worse off than one who has lived miserably; difference of fortune belongs to life only; the dead share all a common fate" ([Driver-] Gray, Vol. I, p. 182, Introd. to Chap. XXI). This is well stated in 21.26 (see immediately below, § 12).

## 12. 21.26

יָחַד עַל-עֶפֶר יִשְׁכְּבוּ      ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς κοιμῶνται,  
וְרַמָּה תִּכְבֶּה עַל־הֶם:      σαπρία δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλυψεν.

## 13. 19.25-27. It is now possible to dispose of this difficult section:

וְאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי וְאֵלֵי הָיִי      οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἀέναός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκκλίνει με  
וְאֶחָד עַל-עֶפֶר יָקוּם:      ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναστήσai  
וְאַחֵר עוֹרֵי נִקְפְּרוּ אֶת      τὸ δέρμα μου τὸ ἀνατλῶν ταῦτα  
וּמִבְּשָׂרִי אֶחָד אֶלֶם:      παρὰ γὰρ κυρίου ταῦτά μοι συνετελέσθη,  
אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי אֶחָד-לִי      ἃ ἐγὼ ἐμαυτῷ συνεπίσταμαι,  
וְעֵינַי רָאוּ וְלֹא-אֶזְךָ      ἃ ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου ἑώρακεν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος·  
כָּל כְּלִיּוֹתַי בְּחֻקֶּיךָ      πάντα δέ μοι συνετετέλεσται ἐν κόλπῳ.

The matter of methodology is here paramount: it is only after all the clear passages and statements in the preserved text of the Hebrew and Greek of our Book have been permitted to speak for themselves that the difficult and elusive instances may be taken up. Otherwise — and that is precisely what a number of critics may justly be accused of — one is guilty of determining the *obscurum* by something that is *obscurius*. For it must be stated flatly that our vv. 25-27 are impossible of textual solution on any theory. Thus (Driver-)Gray (Vol. I, pp. 171 ff.) refers to the "corruption and obscurity of the text [p. 171] . . . the difficult and in part corrupt lines . . . the obscurities and ambiguities of the text [p. 172] . . . the obscure renderings of ⚡ . . . On the other interpretations and emendations, see phil. n. [173] . . . The uncertainties and difficulties of ⚡ in this v. (26) being so great [Vol. II, pp. 130 ff.] . . ." <sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> On this very verse (26) Dhorme has noted that "Chaque version a adopté un sens différent pour ce verset . . .," and cf. Beer, pp. 122-29, for a mass of data on vv. 25-27. The most detailed study is J. Speer's "Zur Exegese von Hiob 19, <sup>25-27</sup>, ZAW, 25 (1905), 47-140.

Every scholar has recognized the difficulties not only in comprehending the masoretic text but also in trying to determine the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. Thus in v. 26b, it is believed by many that the *Vorlage* was read אֶלֶּה (אחזה) וּמִשְׁרִי to give *παρὰ γὰρ κυρίου ταυτά* (μοι συνετελέσθη). Whether this be so or not, one can scarcely doubt that the translator would have reproduced אֶלֶּה וּמִשְׁרִי אֶלֶּה in the generally accepted interpretations, "and from (or, away from, without) my flesh I shall see God" in the light of 42.5 (Job to God): רָאָה עֵינִי וַעֲתָה (לְשֹׁמֵעַ אֲנִי שְׁמַעְתָּהּ) / (ἀκοήν μὲν ὥτως ἡκούον σου τὸ πρότερον,) νυνὶ δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου ἑώρακέν σε.

It is clearly most unsafe to attempt to determine the character and motivation of the Septuagint translator on the basis of the Hebrew-Greek of our vv. 25–27. So that whereas (Driver-)Gray, for example, leaves the Hebrew of v. 26a entirely untranslated (except for initial "And"! ) and notes (I, 174, *ad loc.*) that "Line <sup>a</sup> is altogether obscure and uncertain: see phil. nn. Unfortunately being obscure, the phrase in <sup>b</sup> . . . is ambiguous . . .," Gard (pp. 39–43) analyzes each word in the Hebrew as though its meaning were really known, assumes that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX was identical with the preserved text, and "charges" the LXX translator with avoiding every kind of expression that was derogatory to God. Thus he concludes (pp. 42–43), "One fact is certain:  $\mathfrak{S}$  avoids the anthropomorphic concept of any man's seeing God, even though it be applied to a vision." What, then, e. g., of 42.5?

Again, when Gard asserts (p. 41) that " $\mathfrak{S}$  objects to וַאֲלֵ חַי on the basis that God does not 'live' in the sense that a man lives," then what, e. g., of 27.2, חַיֵּאל / ζῆ κύριος, apart from the fact that the translator treated God's וַשָּׁמַע, וַשָּׁמַע, and וַתֵּן the same as man's (see above, § A, 9–11)?

#### D. CHARGES AGAINST OR INVOLVING GOD

Much has been written about the Septuagint translator's alleged reluctance to placing God in the same light that the Hebrew author of our Book did. So that whereas the creator of the book of Job has been found "guilty" of frequently being most intemperate and sometimes virtually blasphemous in the references to God that he placed in the mouth of Job or his three friends, the translator has been found "guilty" of refusing to reproduce these harsh statements and of making it his business to tone them down where he did not eliminate them altogether.

This general view of the Septuagint lacks justification. It derives



from the same unmethodical, ad hoc procedure by which, e. g., anti-anthropomorphism, anti-anthropopathism, etc., were found in the LXX, namely, that of ignoring the vast majority of anthropomorphisms, anthropopathisms, etc., that were reproduced literally, and by asserting that the few remaining instances, that were not reproduced literally, were the consequence of the translator's theology — in other words, that the translator manifested his "theology" less than ten percent of the time. Also ignored, in the process, were the passages where God and theology were not involved and where the translator still rendered "theologically."

Not only that, but by failing to reproduce and utilize the many more passages that were reproduced literally, scholars — even if inadvertently — created a picture that simply wasn't real.<sup>58</sup> In point of fact, the Job of the LXX is no more different from the Job of the masoretic text than the portrayal of any of the friends or God in the Greek and Hebrew. There is nothing theological or tendencious in the Greek; there is nothing but the usual factors involved in turning the Hebrew into Greek: the honest attempt on the part of the translator to interpret and translate the Hebrew correctly; the possibility of different Hebrew readings in his *Vorlage*; and the temper of the translator in the matter of style.

In letting the data speak for themselves, it seems best in many instances to reproduce several verses together, or even an entire speech; in that way the crucial passages may be comprehended in the proper setting.

1. 3.20: לְמָה יִתֵּן לְעַמֶּל אֹר וְחַיִּים לְמָרִי נָפֶשׁ: / ἵνα τί γὰρ δέδοται τοῖς ἐν πικρία φῶς, ζῶῃ δὲ ταῖς ἐν ὀδύναις ψυχαῖς;

2. 3.23: (לִנְבֹר אֲשֶׁר-דִּרְבּוּ נִסְתָּרָה) נִסְתָּר אֱלֹהִים בְּעָדָו: / (θάνατος ἀνδρὶ ἀνά-παυμα<sup>59</sup>) συνέκλεισεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς κατ' αὐτοῦ.

<sup>58</sup> Thus in the works of Bickell, Dillmann, Gerleman, Gehman (*JBL*, 68 [1949], 231-40), and Gard, only the allegedly "tendencious" renderings deriving from the translator's alleged theology are listed; and they are presented quite out of context. So that the unwary reader is not made to realize that in the overwhelming majority of cases a stich that is cited as evidence for anti-anthropopathism or some other theological bias on the part of the translator actually is preceded or followed, not infrequently, by one or more stichoi that manifest utter conformity with the Hebrew anthropopathism or other such theological phenomenon.

<sup>59</sup> It is generally agreed that θάνατος stands for קִבֵּר in v. 22 preceding, though the rest of the *Vorlage* of the stich is uncertain (cf., e. g., Beer, Dhorme). The argument of the second stich, however, remains unaffected.

3. 5.18 (תַּרְשִׁינָה [Qere =] וַיִּדְּיוּ) יָרָא יְהוָה (וַיִּתְּשֵׁן) / αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ (καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν). ἐπαισεν (καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἰάσαντο).<sup>60</sup>

4. 6.4 בִּי חֲצִי שְׂדֵי עֲרֵבִי אֲשֶׁר חָקַק שׁוֹתָהּ רֹחִי בְּעוֹתֵי אֵלֶיךָ יְעֲרֹכֶנִי / βέλη γὰρ κυρίου ἐν τῷ σώματί μου ἐστιν, ὧν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν ἐκπίνει μου τὸ αἷμα· ὅταν ἄρξωμαι λαλεῖν, κεντοῦσί με.

Scholars generally have recognized difficulty in the masoretic text, as well as in the received Greek correspondent for the third stich: "the terrors of God are arrayed against me" is scarcely represented by the LXX: "and whenever I begin to speak, they (viz., the βέλη 'arrows' of the Lord) pierce me." Thus, according to Schleussner, s. λαλέω (III, 425), "בְּעוֹתִים... [LXX] Deduxerunt ab עוֹת, quod in l. Arab. عوٹ, *clamare*, notat, aut legerunt לְעוֹתִים, a لَغِي, *loqui*"; and s. κεντέω (III, 305), "Non male quoad sensum. Nam in texto hebr. legitur *instruunt*, sc. *aciem*..."

Beer would reconstruct the translator's *Vorlage* as "אמלל od. בַּעַת אלוע. ⚭ hat בעוֹתֵי ganz verkannt // יַעֲרֹכֶנִי ⚭... lesen besser יַעֲרֹכֶנִי (Dill.<sup>4</sup>)..." (Driver-)Gray (II, 36), "⚭ κεντοῦσί με... ⚭... = יַעֲרֹכֶנִי?... so Me(rx) S(iegfried)..." Dhorme, "Pour יַעֲרֹכֶנִי, ⚭ κεντοῦσί με... On ne peut faire fond ni sur ⚭, ni sur Syr., pour corriger יַעֲרֹכֶנִי en יַעֲרֹכֶנִי... comme voudraient Beer, Dillmann, Budde, etc...."

As to the second stich, Beer believes that "Übrigens wird der Satz mit אֲשֶׁר nur eine Glosse sein wie 4, 19." (Driver-)Gray (I, 59 f.) notes the "overlong" character of the stich which "may be due to some dislocation of the text" but "no certain reconstruction can be suggested."

Ignoring these problems and solutions, Gehman believes that this is one of the passages where "⚭ softens or tones down what may have seemed offensive" (pp. 234 f.); so that the translator "removed" the Hebrew "the terrors of God" and "played with the root; בְּעוֹתֵי may have suggested Hebrew בַּעַת, Aramaic בעא, 'to seek'. At any rate 'the terrors of God' is eliminated, and ⚭ reads: 'When I begin to speak, they (βέλη) prick me.'" But apart from the fact that LXX "begin to speak" has nothing to do with Aramaic בעא "to seek" (and the less said about the Septuagint translator "playing" with roots the better; cf. Chap. I, p. 71, n. 63), one may well ask

<sup>60</sup> Gerleman (p. 59) explains the anthropomorphism, αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ for יָדָיו, as due to "less concrete context" and ignores the rest of the verse! Against such "reasoning" it is not very easy to reason; cf. above, Chap. III, § A, pp. 155-59.

why "the terrors of God" should terrify the translator when "the arrows of the Lord, the wrath of which drinks up my blood"<sup>61</sup> did not. Furthermore, every other occurrence of God's "terror" in our Book (cf. § B 1-4 above) was reproduced faithfully, including those passages in which the root בעה was found: 9.34 (אֶל־תִּבְעַתִּי [תִּבְעַתִּי] / μὴ με στροβείτω); 13.11 (תִּבְעַת אֶתְּכֶם [שִׂאשׂוּ] / στροβήσει ὑμᾶς); and 13.21 (אֶל־תִּבְעַתִּי [כִּפְּךָ מִעַלִּי תִרְתַּק וְאִמְתַּק] / μὴ με καταπλησσέτω). This apart from such other passages with בעה, where God is the subject, which were reproduced literally, e. g., 7.14 (cf. in § 5 immediately below). I have not bothered to list here the synonyms of בעה where God is the subject, but they will all be found in this very section (D) and in § E immediately following.

We may safely assume that theology played no role whatever in the LXX rendering of our third stich; in all probability (cf., e. g., the failure to reproduce אָלוֹהַּ) the LXX-*Vorlage* was different from the received text.

## 5. 6.8-10

מִיָּוֶם תְּבוֹא שְׂאֵלְתִּי	εἰ γὰρ δόξη καὶ ἔλθοι μου ἡ αἵτησις,
וְתִקְוֹתַי יָמוּ אֲלוֹהִים:	καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα μου δόξη ὁ κύριος.
וַיֹּאֲלֵם אֲלוֹהִים וַיִּדְרָאנִי	ἄρξάμενος ὁ κύριος τρωσάτω με,
יָתֵר יָדוֹ וַיִּבְצַעֲנִי	εἰς τέλος δὲ μὴ με ἀνελέτω.
וְתִהְיֶינָה עוֹד נַחֲמָתִי	εἷη δέ μου πόλις τάφος,
וְאֶסְפָּדָה בְּחִילָה לֹא־יִחְמָל	ἐφ' ἧς ἐπὶ τειχέων ἡλλόμην ἐπ' αὐτῆς, οὐ
	μὴ φείσωμαι
כִּי־לֹא בְּחַדְתִּי אֶמְרִי קְרוֹשׁ:	οὐ γὰρ ἐψευσάμην ῥήματα ἁγία θεοῦ μου.

According to Gehman (p. 235), "Job longs for death . . . It may have appeared repulsive to refer to God as killing Job, and so 𐤁 with the insertion of a negative changes the sense of *b* . . ."; cf. Beer, "𐤁 . . . ergänzt willkürlich *μή* (Drusus)"; Dhorme, "𐤁 . . . est une paraphrase qui joue sur le sens de 'déliver sa main' du 2<sup>e</sup> hémistique. On ne peut y voir, avec Beer, le résultat d'une leçon לאֶחֱרִית au lieu de יָתֵר יָדוֹ." Whatever the reason(s) for the Greek differing from the Hebrew, the fact is that the translator did not find repulsive other passages which refer to God as doing away with Job, e. g., 14.20, וְתִשְׁלַחְהוּ / ὥσας αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος καὶ ὥχετο, ἐπέστησας αὐτῷ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐξαπέστειλας. — Note the use of εἰς τέλος here and in 6.9b.

Furthermore, the translator did not insert the negative particle

<sup>61</sup> On αἵμα for אִימָה, see Chap. II, § 11 (p. 258).

to nullify the intent of the sacred text that he was reproducing; this is a serious — and facile — accusation to level against the LXX translator without clear-cut evidence.<sup>62</sup>

If the LXX text is original (i. e., if negative *μή* in 9b is not secondary), it seems most likely that the *Vorlage* of 9b differed from our masoretic text and that it was interpreted to mean approximately: "let Him hold back His hand when He destroys me," which the translator turned into "let Him not utterly destroy me." (On this use of the negative in the LXX, cf. § 1 of Chap. II). This sentiment is expressed elsewhere in our Book, e. g., 7.16b, 19a; 14.6a.

Finally, it should not be overlooked that our translator did not fail to reproduce the essence of the Hebrew, even with v. 9b — a stich that recalls at once such a passage as 13.21, רָחַם לִי מִן הַיָּד וְאֶמְצָא אֶת־חַיִּי / τὴν χεῖρα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέχου, καὶ ὁ φόβος σου μή με καταπλησσέτω.

## 6. 7.12 ff.

- |                                |      |                                      |
|--------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|
| הִנֵּנִי אִם תִּנָּן           | (12) | πότερον θάλασσά εἰμι ἢ δράκων        |
| כִּי־שֵׁם עָלַי מָשָׁךְ:       |      | ὅτι κατέταξας ἐπ' ἐμέ φυλακὴν;       |
| כִּי־אֶמְצָא תַּחְמִי עֲרִשִׁי | (13) | εἶπα ὅτι παρακαλέσει με ἡ κλίνη μου, |
| יֵשָׁא בְּשִׁיחִי מִשְׁכְּבִי: |      | ἀνοίσω δὲ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἰδίᾳ λόγον τῇ |
|                                |      | κοίτῃ μου.                           |
| וְתַחְמִי בְּחַלְמוֹת          | (14) | ἐκφοβεῖς με ἐνυπνίοις                |
| וּמַחְמִינֹת תַּבְּעִי:        |      | καὶ ἐν ὁράμασίν με καταπλήσσεις.     |
| וְתַבְּחֶר מִחֶנֶק נַפְשִׁי    | (15) | ἀπαλλάξεις ἀπὸ πνεύματός μου τὴν     |
|                                |      | ψυχὴν μου,                           |
| מִוֶּת מַעֲצָמוֹתֵי:           |      | ἀπὸ δὲ θανάτου τὰ ὅσα μου.           |

Note how the entire section was reproduced without modification in regard to God's terrifying actions and Job's wish to die in order to free himself from them. Interestingly, while dealing specifically with the problem that is the core of these verses, recent critics such as Gerleman, Gehman, and Gard passed over this section in silence, as they did in the case of 3.20, 23; 5.18; and (except for Gehman; see above) 6.4, 8-9.

## 7. 7.19-21

- |                                  |      |                                   |
|----------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|
| בְּמָה לֹא־תַשְׁעָה מִמֶּנִּי    | (19) | ἕως τίνος οὐκ ἔαs με              |
| לֹא־תִרְפִּי עַד־בִּלְעִי רָקִי: |      | οὐδὲ προΐη με, ἕως ἂν καταπίω τὸν |
|                                  |      | πτύελόν μου ἐν ὀδύνῃ;             |

<sup>62</sup> On how our translator manipulated the negative particle, see Chap. II, §§ 1-7.

- קטאתי מה אפעל לך (20) εἰ ἐγὼ ἤμαρτον, τί δύναμαί σοι πράξαι,  
 נצר האדם ὁ ἐπιστάμενος τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων;  
 למה שמתי למפגע לך διὰ τί ἔθου με κατεντευκτὴν σου,  
 ואהיה עלי למשא: εἰμί δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ φορτίον;  
 ומה לא תשא פשעי (21) καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἐποιήσω τῆς ἀνομίας μου  
 ותעביר את-עוני λήθην  
 כיעתה לעפר אשכב καὶ καθαρισμὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας μου;  
 ושחרתני ואיני: νυνὶ δὲ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσομαι,  
 ὁρθίζων δὲ οὐκέτι εἰμί.

Masoretic עלי in v. 20 is well known as an official modification (תקון סופרים) of original עֲלֶיךָ, viz., to God; and the LXX translator, with עליך in his Hebrew text, rendered literally: ἐπὶ σοί. In reading *δυναμαι σοι* (= אפעל לך) for *δυνήσομαι* (ס<sup>B</sup>) in 20a, I have followed ed. Rahlfs and the textual data generally (cf. Beer). It may be noted here that the vigorous language of the Hebrew (e. g., v. 20) has been retained in the Greek.

Consequently, the fact that the translator (ὁρθρίζων "rising early") interpreted ושחרתי in line with the noun שחר "dawn" (as against שחר "seek"), should not have impelled Beer to conclude that "Es Übersetzung ist wohl nur ein dogmatischer Notbehelf." For apart from the basic fact that our translator did not need such expedients, what support does Beer's dogmatic assertion receive five verses farther on (8.5), where (ואל-שדי תתחנן) אס-אתה תשחר אל-אל was rendered σὺ δὲ ὁρθρίζε πρὸς κύριον? Hardly very much. None of Gerleman, Gehman, and Gard discusses this section.

## 8. 8.3-4

- האל יעזב משפט (3) μὴ ὁ κύριος ἀδικήσῃ κρίνων;  
 ואם-שדי יעזב צדק: ἢ ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας ταραξεί τὸ  
 אס-בניך תטאול (4) εἰ οἱ υἱοὶ σου ἤμαρτον ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ,  
 וישלחם ביד-פשעים: ἀπέστειλεν ἐν χειρὶ ἀνομίας αὐτῶν.

## 9. 9.2-4

- אמןם ודעתי כ-כן (2) 'Ἐπ' ἀληθείας οἶδα ὅτι οὕτως ἐστίν,  
 ומה יצדק אנוש עם-אל: πὼς γὰρ ἔσται δίκαιος βροτὸς παρὰ  
 אס-חפץ לריב עמו (3) ἐὰν γὰρ βούληται κριθῆναι αὐτῷ.  
 לא-יענו אמת מני-אלף: οὐ μὴ ὑπακούσῃ αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἀντίπη  
 πρὸς ἓνα λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐκ χιλίων.

- (4) σοφὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν διανοία, κραταίος τε  
καὶ μέγας,  
מִי־הַקָּשָׁה אֱלֹוֹ וַיִּשְׁלָם: τίς σκληρὸς γενόμενος ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ  
ὑπέμεινεν,

10. The entire section, 9.12—10.22, gives an excellent picture of our translator at work. But desirable as it is to reproduce all fifty-six verses of the Hebrew and Greek, only enough verses will be cited to provide adequate background for the few "controversial" passages. From reading Gerleman, Gehman, and Gard, one would think that the translation was outrageously tendencious, Gerleman referring only to 10.3, 13, 16; Gehman to 9. 14-16, 20-23; 10.4, 7; and Gard to 9.12-13, 22-25; 10.2, 13, 17.

After expatiating on God as the creator and as omnipotent (9.5-10), Job continued with

9.11-16:

- (11) ἐὰν ὑπερβῇ με, οὐ μὴ ἴδω  
καὶ ἐὰν παρέλθῃ με, οὐδ' ὥς ἔγνων.  
הֵן יַעֲבֹר עָלַי וְלֹא אֶרְאֶה וְיַחַלְף וְלֹא־אֶבִּין לוֹ:  
(12) ἐὰν ἀπαλλάξῃ, τίς ἀποστρεψεί;  
הֵן יַחַתֵּף מִי יִשְׁבְּנוּ מִי־אִמָּר אֱלֹוֹ מִהֲתַעֲשֶׂה:  
(13) αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπέστραπται ὀργήν,  
אִלּוּהָ לֹא־יָשִׁיב אָפוֹ תַחֲתֵיו [Qere =] שְׁחַח עֲרִי רָהֵב:  
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκάμφθησαν κήτη τὰ ὑπ' οὐρανόν.  
(14) ἐὰν δέ μου ὑπακούσῃται,  
אִף כִּי־אֶנְכִי אֶעֱנֶנּוּ אֶבְקֶהָ רִדְרִי עִמּוֹ:  
(15) ἐὰν τε γὰρ ὦ δίκαιος, οὐκ εἰσακού-  
אֲשֶׁר אִם־צִדְקָתִי לֹא־אֶעֱנֶה סֵטַי לִי אֶחָד:  
σεταιί μου,  
(16) ἐὰν τε καλέσω καὶ ὑπακούσῃ,  
לִמְשַׁפֵּי אֶחָד: אִם־קָרָאתִי וַיַּעֲנֵנִי לֹא־אֶאֱמִין כִּי־יִצְאוֹן קוֹלִי:  
※ τοῦ κρίματος αὐτοῦ δεηθήσομαι ✓  
οὐ πιστεύω ὅτι εἰσακήκοέν μου.

(a) In 9.12a, Gard (p. 62) feels that "In avoiding the undignified picture of God implied in הֵן יַחַתֵּף ('If he seizeth'), G renders the words freely as ἐὰν ἀπαλλάξῃ 'if he set free.'" This statement, however, suffers from two faults: (1) הֵן (pace the traditional rendering) does not necessarily mean "seize" (cf. the data, e. g., in Dhorme); and (2) ἀπαλλάσσω need not mean "set free." The usage of this Greek root in the LXX of Job is most interesting and instructive: (i) our translator used forms of ἀπαλλάσσω more frequently than did all the other LXX translators combined; (ii) he used this root for a variety of Hebrew words: (מָחַק נִפְשִׁי) ותִּבְחַר, 7.15a; (מָבֵט לְקָבֵר) אֵיבָל, 10.19b;



(מַעֲלֵי שְׂבֻט) in 9.34a and (תִּמְחֵי מַמּוֹן) in 27.5b; (עָמַל מַעֲנִי); 3.10b; as well as for our יַחְתֵּךְ. So that even on the assumed meaning "seize; carry off" for יַחְתֵּךְ, Schleusner has observed (I, 325, s. ἀπαλλάττω), "ἐὰν ἀπαλλάξῃ, si removerit: ubi non legerunt קָלָךְ." (b) In 9.13a, Gard (pp. 62 f.) believes that to the author "the anger of God is tremendous force, inanimate and irresistible. The translator does not like this rather mechanical idea of the workings of God, and he omits the suffix י from אַפּוֹ and the negative לֹא and renders: 'For he himself has turned back anger . . . In this way ☩ depicts the anger of God as tempered by his mercy.' Or as Beer put it previously (but with an alternative explanation that clears our translator of bias), "☩ . . . lässt aus dogmatischem Interesse לֹא weg, oder übersieht es nach אֱלֹהִים"; cf. Dhorme, "☩ . . . enlève la négation, peut-être par scrupule théologique (Beer)."

It was demonstrated already above (see the verses quoted in § B, 2 on יַחְתֵּךְ; and in §§ 1, 3-4 on אֵימָה, קָרוֹן, פָּחַד) that our translator reproduced not only God's "wrath" but also the actions associated with it. Again, the idea of omitting the negative particle (as of adding it; cf. § 5 above on 6.9b and n. 62) is quite foreign to our translator and should not have been attributed to him *ad hoc* and without proof.

But there is something more fundamental involved here, unmentioned by the critics, viz., the Greek lacks a correspondent for יַחְתֵּךְ; for αὐτός is not yet κύριος. This must be taken together with another inner-Greek matter, viz., v. 13 in the Greek makes no sense *per se* in that *b* is a non-sequitur after *a*: "For He Himself has turned back (His) anger, the sea-monsters under heaven have stooped (or, bowed) under Him." On the other hand, the assumption of a negative particle in the original Greek would make *b* a logical consequence of *a*. Yet the preserved Greek text may be original and its Hebrew *Vorlage* have suffered corruption: אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָשִׁב אַפּוֹ or the like for הוּא יָשִׁב אַפּוֹ.

Our translator did not suppress the suffix in אַפּוֹ: the suffix (αὐτοῦ) is readily understood in the context. (And why would the suffix have to be deleted once it is assumed that the negative had been dropped?)

(c) In 9.14-15, Gehman (pp. 233 f.) believes that "☩, by changing the persons, avoids the temerity of answering God by way of argument." But even on the surface of it, not only is it in utter disregard of our translator's style to accuse him of such "temerity" but it is straining credulity to see in our preserved Hebrew text anything that would arouse any translator's temerity; after all, "answering God by way of argument" is a common enough phenomenon — indeed a significant characteristic — not only in the book of Job but in the Bible in general.

Actually, however, even on Gehman's premises, the argument is no argument. For he understood the masoretic text to say:

"How much less shall I answer him  
(And) choose out my arguments with him?  
Whom, though I were righteous, I could not answer;  
I would make supplication to him that contendeth with me."

What is so shocking about Job saying (vv. 13–14) that if monstrous Rahab's helpers must bow to God, then surely he himself could not hope to cope with Him?

But the whole argument becomes academic when one realizes that our translator's *Vorlage* may not have been identical with the masoretic text, and that some of the words may have been vocalized somewhat differently. Indeed, many scholars, following the LXX, Theodotion, and the Peshitta, vocalize "לֹא אֶעֱנֶה", das viel besser als das Qal in dem Zusammenhang passt . . ." (Beer; or cf. Dhorme).

(d) In 9.16, while recognizing "a difficulty . . . because no negative precedes יִעָנֵנִי . . .," Gehman (p. 234) accuses Ⓢ of adding the negative μή and thus "removing the idea of distrust in God and a denial of actual evidence . . ."

It is methodologically hardly proper automatically to downgrade and accuse a translator of tendentiousness at precisely the point where the original is itself admittedly suspect. But apart from that: (1) Several scholars regard LXX μη as reflecting original (עֲנֵנִי) לא; (2) Dhorme would regard μη as a corruption of με. I do not know how to choose the correct solution from among these several possibilities. It is safest to leave the problem without solution, without emendation (either of MT or LXX), and without accusation.

11. In dealing with 9.20–24, the critics of the LXX, as observed previously, do not note the manner and extent to which the translator has reproduced what might normally constitute "theologically" offensive statements. In the present case, the reader will note how vv. 17–18 have been rendered, so that 17b (חַיֵּי!) and 18a have come through unmodified, with God as the subject throughout:

- |                                 |      |   |
|---------------------------------|------|---|
| אֲשֶׁר-בִּשְׁעָרָה יִשְׁפְּנִי  | (17) | μη γνῶφω με ἐκτρίψῃ;                                |
| וְהִרְבָּה פִּצְעֵי חַיִּים:    |      | πολλὰ δέ μου τὰ συντρίμματα πεποίηκεν<br>διὰ κενῆς. |
| לֹא יִתְּנֵנִי הַשֵּׁב רֹחַי    | (18) | οὐκ ἔα γάρ με ἀναπνεῦσαι,                           |
| כִּי יִשְׁבִּיעֵנִי מִקְרָרִים: |      | ἐνέπλησεν δέ με πικρίας.                            |

## 12. We may now proceed with 9.20-24.

- אִם־צָדִיק פִּי יִרְשָׁעִי (20) εἰ γὰρ ὦ δίκαιος, τὸ στόμα μου  
 אִם־אֲנִי וְיִעֲקֹשֵׁנִי ἀσεβήσῃ,  
 εἰάν τε ὦ ἄμεμπτος, σκολιὸς ἀποβήσομαι.  
 תִּמְאָל לֹא־אֲדַע נַפְשִׁי (21) εἴτε γὰρ ἠσέβησα, οὐκ οἶδα τῇ ψυχῇ,  
 אִם־אֵם חַיִּי πλὴν ὅτι ἀφαιρεῖταιί μου ἡ ζώῃ.  
 אַחַת הִיא עַל־כֵּן אֶמְרָתִי (22) διό εἶπον  
 תָּם וְרָשָׁע הוּא מְכַלֵּה Μέγαν καὶ δυνάστην ἀπολλύει ὀργή,  
 אִם שׁוֹט מִיַּת פִּתְאֵם (23) ὅτι φαῦλοι ἐν θανάτῳ ἐξαισῖω,  
 לְמַסַּח נְקִים יִלְעָנ׃ ἀλλὰ δίκαιοι καταγελῶνται.  
 אֶרְץ נִתְּנָה בְיַד־רָשָׁע (24) παραδέδονται γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας ἀσεβοῦς.  
 פִּנִּי שִׁפְטִיךָ יְכַסֶּה (Θ' πρόσωπα κριτῶν αὐτῆς συγκαλύπτει,  
 אִם־לֹא אָפֹא מִי־הוּא׃ εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτός, τίς ἐστιν;)

In 20b, Gehman (p. 234; followed by Gard, p. 72) believes that “**Θ** represents a theological toning down. Thus **Μ** . . . ‘Though I be innocent, he (God) declares me crooked.’ **Θ** takes God out of this verse: ‘Though I be blameless, I shall prove to be crooked’ . . .” But the fact is that God is not involved in the verse at all. The subject of וִיעֲקֹשֵׁנִי, as of יִרְשָׁעִי in the first line, is פִּי / τὸ στόμα μου; so that ἀσεβήσῃ . . . σκολιὸς ἀποβήσομαι are merely stylistic aspects of the translator’s work.<sup>63</sup>

In 21a, where LXX reads “even if I have sinned” for masoretic “(though) I am blameless,” it is not only incorrect to assert dogmatically that “**Θ** . . . verkehrt die erste Hälfte des Textes in ihr Gegenteil” (Beer; cf. Dhorme, “**Θ** corrige le 1<sup>er</sup> hémistiche . . .”; Gerleman, 57) but it is far more likely that the translation harbors something closer to the original: (1) the repetition of אֲנִי תָם after the verse preceding is not altogether normal, especially when (2) the whole point in Job’s statement is that so far as he knows he is blameless (20a, תָּם אֲנִי), and that if he has sinned (LXX 21a) he is not aware of it.

V. 22b offers the textual critic a fine opportunity for analysis. Because masoretic הוּא מְכַלֵּה (תָּם וְרָשָׁע) is represented in the LXX by μέγαν καὶ δυνάστην ἀπολλύει ὀργή — unless ὀργῇ “(He [viz.,

<sup>63</sup> Merx’s statement on alleged original פִּי “His (viz., God’s) mouth” for preserved פִּי, and on the translator’s “dogmatische Rücksicht,” holds no water; cf., e. g., § A 5 above (on פִּי) and Dhorme, *ad loc.*

God] destroys) by means of wrath" was originally intended; so the Syro-Hexapla and the Coptic — Gehman asserts (p. 234), "Again  $\Phi$  removes God: '... wrath destroys.'" But the matter is hardly that simple. Firstly, in view of the fact that our translator does not avoid making God Himself the destroyer (cf., e. g., 6.9; 10.3, 8; 13.15; 14.20), there would be no special reason for doing so here. Secondly, even if the translator, whatever the reason, did not care to reproduce literally "He destroys," he could readily have resorted to some such simple expedient as turning the active into the passive ("are destroyed"). Thirdly, the fact that "wrath" is present in the LXX and that this concept is manifested elsewhere in our Book (cf., e. g., 9.13; 10.17; 14.3; 16.9; 20.23) justifies the possibility that our translator's *Vorlage* read differently from preserved (הוּא מַכְלֵה). On all accounts, then, it is scarcely permissible to attribute to the translator any theological motivation regarding God in this verse.

In vv. 23 and 24a (24bc is lacking in the LXX, and Theodotion's rendering now represents it; see further, Chap. V), as in v. 22 preceding, there appears to have been some variation in text between the LXX *Vorlage* and the preserved Hebrew version. Having taken שׁוֹט (or some similar word) in *a* to mean "fool" ( $\varphi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ ), there was no reason for the translator to avoid a literal rendering of יִלְעֵן "He (viz., God) mocks" in *b*; after all, it was not the demise of the righteous that was involved. One can but assume that masoretic שׁוֹט יְמִיחַ / ( $\varphi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu \theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ ) read differently in the LXX *Vorlage* (the LXX has preserved nothing for לִמְסָח). On the other hand, the translator did not refrain not only from asserting "but the righteous are laughed to scorn" (23b) but he even singled out the same "righteous" (as against the more general אֲדָרָךְ; *per contra* Gard, p. 72) as being those who "are handed over into the hands of the wicked" (24a). All in all, 9.20–24 is not an easy section to understand, it read differently in the LXX *Vorlage*, and suffered no harm at the hands of the translator *causa* God.

13. In 9.28–31 such expressions as יִדְעָתִי כִּי־לֹא תִנְקֵנִי (28b) and אִין בִּשְׁחַח תִּטְבְּלֵנִי [30] אִם־יִהְיֶה־חֲצִיתִי בְּמוֹ —[Kethib =] שְׁלֹגִי וְהִזְכֹּתִי בְּכֶרֶם בְּפִי: (31a) are reproduced literally, with God as the subject of תִּנְקֵנִי and חֲטַבְלֵנִי: οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἀθῶόν με ἔάσεις (28b) and ἱκανῶς ἐν ῥύπῳ με ἔβαψας (31a).

14. In 9.32 ff. the author of Job put strong language into his hero's mouth; yet the translator did not flinch from reproducing it, e. g.,

- כִּי־לֹא־אֵישׁ כָּמֶנִי אֶעֱנֶנּוּ (32) οὐ γὰρ εἶ ἄνθρωπος κατ' ἐμέ, ὦ ἀν-  
τικρινούμαι  
נְבוֹא יִחְדּוּ בַּמִּשְׁמָט: ἵνα ἔλθωμεν ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰς κρίσιν.  
לֹא יִשְׁכַּנּוּנוּ מוֹכִיחַ (33) εἴθε ἦν ὁ μεσίτης ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλέγχων  
יִשַׁת יָדוֹ עַל־שִׁנְיָנוּ: καὶ διακούων ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων.  
יִסַּר מַעְלֵי שִׁבְמוֹ (34) ἀπαλλαξάτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν ῥάβδον,  
וְאַמְתּוֹ אֶל־תִּבְעָתָנוּ: ὁ δὲ φόβος αὐτοῦ μὴ με στροβείτω.

Note how in 33b the translation correctly interpreted the force of *יִשַׁת יָדוֹ* in the sense of "hear out the argument impartially"; cf., e. g., B. Szold (his reference to Gen. 31.37, *וַיִּכְיֶה בֵּין שְׁנֵי*) and Dhorme.

**15.** In 10.2–8 there are several passages where a "finnicky" translator might have succumbed to the temptation of "playing it safe"; indeed our translator has sometimes been accused of precisely that, e. g., Dhorme and Gerleman at 10.3; Beer and Gehman at 10.3, 7; Gard at 10.2. Let us look at the record.

- אִמַּר אֶל־אֱלֹהִים אֶל־תִּרְשָׁעֵנִי (2) καὶ ἐρῶ πρὸς κύριον Μὴ με ἀσεβεῖν  
δίδασκε,  
הוֹדִיעֵנִי עַל מַה־תִּרְיָבִנִּי: καὶ διὰ τί με οὕτως ἔκρινας;  
הַטּוֹב לָךְ | כִּי־תַעֲשֶׂךָ (3) ἢ καλόν σοι, ἐὰν ἀδικήσω,  
כִּי־תִקְאֵס יָנִיעַ כְּפָיֶךָ ὅτι ἀπείπω ἔργα χειρῶν σου,  
וְעַל־עֲצַת רָשָׁעִים הוֹפְעָתָ: βουλήν δὲ ἀσεβῶν προσέσχες;  
הַעֲנֵי בְּשָׁר לָךְ (4) ἢ ὥσπερ βροτὸς ὀρᾷ καθορᾷς;  
אִם־כִּרְאוֹת אָנוּשׁ תִּרְאֶה: (Θ' ἢ καθὼς ὀρᾷ ἄνθρωπος βλέψῃ; )  
הַכִּימִי אָנוּשׁ יָמֶיךָ (5) ἢ ὁ βίος σου ἀνθρώπινός ἐστιν  
אִם־יִשְׁנוּתֶיךָ כִּימִי נָכַר: ἢ τὰ ἔτη σου ἀνδρός;  
כִּי־תִבְקֹשׁ לַעֲוֹן: (6) ὅτι ἀνεξήτησας τὴν ἀνομίαν μου  
וְלִחְטָאתִי תִדְרוֹשׁ: καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου ἐξιχνίασας.  
עַל־יִדְעָתָךְ כִּי־לֹא אֶרְשָׁע (7) οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἠσέβησα,  
וְאֵין מִיָּדְךָ מַצִּיל: ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου  
ἐξαιρούμενος;  
יָדֶיךָ עֲצוּבוֹתֵי וַיַּעֲשֵׂנִי (8) αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπλασάν με καὶ ἐποίη-  
σάν με,  
יִחַד סָבִיב וְתִבְלָעֵנִי: μετὰ ταῦτα μεταβαλὼν με ἔπαισας.

In v. 2 it may well be, as put by Beer, "Θ . . . zieht הוֹדִיעֵנִי falsch nach 2<sup>1</sup> . . ."; but the fact remains that the translator's version of Job's plea to God, "Do not teach me to act wickedly," is much stronger than the masoretic (Gard, pp. 17–18, *per contra*). Unfortu-

nately, those (e. g., Beer, Gerleman, Gehman) who criticize the LXX of v. 3 do not tell this to their readers; they simply assert for them *in re* קַח־עָנִי / εἰς ἀδικησῶ that the LXX is a “dogmatische Korrektur” (Beer), or a modification of God as a “demonic enemy” (Gerleman, 53), or as a suppression of “a reflection upon God’s moral character” (Gehman, 234).

There can be no doubt that LXX “(Is it good for You) if I act unrighteously” is not the same as masoretic “if You oppress.” But what has theology to do with this? Our translator did not modify such expressions involving God, *vide* e. g., μη με ἀσεβειν διδασκε in the verse preceding, and stichoi *b* and *c* immediately following in our own verse.<sup>64</sup> What is probably involved here is a reading in the LXX *Vorlage* (perhaps merely קַח־עָנִי) that differed from the preserved text; ἀδικέω was used elsewhere for קַח־עָנִי (e. g., Lev. 5.21,23; Isa. 23.12). It is easy to assert (as Gerleman does, p. 53) that the translator modifies the text “where he sees in God a demonic enemy” and refer to קַח־עָנִי / ἀδικησῶ as proof; but where is the scholarship that suppresses vv. 2 and 3bc and ignores God as a “demonic enemy” in the LXX of v. 8, where וְתַבְלַעֲנִי was reproduced directly με ἐπαισας, and the many similar passages?

16. In 10.15–20, such passages as וְיִצְרֹחַתִּי לֹא־אֶשָּׂא רָשָׁי שְׁבַע קָלֹן . . . אִם (15), וְיִנָּחֶה בְּשַׁחַל תְּצוּדֵנִי וְתִשָּׁב תְּהַפְּלֵא־בִי (16), and תְּחַדֵּשׁ עֵדֶיךָ וְנָדִי וְתָרַב בְּעֶשְׂךָ (17), the picture is only very partially and altogether misleadingly painted when Gerleman (p 54) limits his comment to part of 16a: “Sometimes the translator uses quite simple means to tone down the original . . . תְּצוּדֵנִי / ἀγρεύομαι γὰρ ὥσπερ λέων [εἰς σφαγὴν].” Taken as a whole, the LXX reproduces the bitterness of v. 15 against God (ἐάν τε ὦ δίκαιος, οὐ δύναμαι ἀνακίψαι, πλήρης γὰρ ἀτιμίας εἰμί) and the full force of 16b (πάλιν δὲ μεταβαλὼν δεινῶς, με ὀλέκεις) and 17bc (ὀργῇ δὲ μεγάλη μοι ἐχρήσω, ἐπήγαγες δὲ ἐπ’ ἐμέ πειρατήρια). So that when Gerleman attributes the change of person in 16a from 2nd (“You [viz., God] hunt me”) to 1st (“I am hunted”; [וְיִנָּחֶה בְּשַׁחַל]) תְּצוּדֵנִי / ἀγρεύομαι [γὰρ ὥσπερ λέων εἰς σφαγὴν]) to the translator’s desire “to tone down the original,” he fails not only to take note of the context as a whole but he overlooks the fact that nothing important has really been toned down in 16a: “For I am hunted like

<sup>64</sup> Gehman’s rendering of the Greek in *b* and *c*, “That I renounce . . . But didst thou attend . . .,” should be corrected to “That thou renounce . . . And that thou attendest . . .”



a lion to slaughter" in the light of 16bc can mean nothing other than that God is the hunter. On the other hand, it is more than likely that the translator had a somewhat different text in his *Vorlage*, so that the difference in voice between active and passive may be due to the *Vorlage* rather than to style.

It may be noted here that in 17c, whatever meaning masoretic עַם חַלִּיפוֹת וּצְבָאָה may have, the LXX rendering, "You (viz., God) did bring robbers upon me," is even more direct and "offensive" than the Hebrew. Gard (pp. 38-39), having begun his study with an "a priori" verdict of "guilty" against the LXX translator, translates the masoretic text, "Columns and a host (come) against me," and goes on to assert that "Θ chose rather to portray God as thundering in wrath against Job. Θ then avoids the physical connotation of 'columns and a host' with respect to God . . ." I suppose that one can prove anything this way.

In 18a the translator reproduced literally the Hebrew: "Why did You bring me out of the womb?"

17. In 11.7 the Greek reads even more "physically" than the Hebrew: (תִּמְצָא) חֲקֵר אֱלֹהִים / ἡ ἵχνος κυρίου (εὐρήσεις), "(have you discovered) the trace (or: foot, clue) of the Lord?"<sup>65</sup>

18. 12.4 is an admittedly difficult verse *per se*; the LXX — for whatever reason — has an abbreviated version of it. Yet the translation is more blunt, and uncomplimentary, so far as God is concerned: שָׁחַק לְרַעְיוֹ וְאָהָה קְרָא לְאֱלֹהִים וַעֲגָהוּ שְׁחֹק צָדִיק תִּקֵּים / δίκαιος γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄμειπτος ἐγενήθη εἰς χλεύασμα, "for a righteous and innocent man has become a mockery." But Gerleman makes no mention of this when he deals summarily (p. 54) with v. 6, where the extremely difficult Hebrew יִשְׁלִי אֱהָלִים לְשִׁרְדִּים וּבִטְחוֹת לְמִרְוֵי אֵל לְאִשֶּׁר הִבִּיא אֱלֹהִים (בְּיָדוֹ) — whatever it means — is placed alongside the LXX reading without any analysis, and asserts categorically: "The verbose Greek version is probably a paraphrase without exact correspondence in the original. Probably the translator has isolated וּבִטְחוֹת from the context and built up round that word a very free interpretation, in which Job maintains the certainty of retribution." It is safest to dispense with the two "probably" 's and simply admit that the Hebrew-Greek of this verse as yet defies convincing analysis.

<sup>65</sup> Gerleman (pp. 18-19) need not have written on ἵχνος חֲקֵר had he seen Schleusner, s. v., III, 131.

19. In 12.17-25, such outspoken passages as מוֹלִיד יוֹצֵאִים שׁוֹלָל וְשׁוֹטֵם (17), מוֹלִיד כְּהֲנִים שׁוֹלָל וְאֲהֲנִים יִסְלֶף (19), מְסִיר שִׁפָּה לְנֶאֱמָנִים וְטַעַם (20), and מְסִיר לֵב רָאשֵׁי עַם־הָאָרֶץ וְיִתְעַם בְּהוֹ לֹא־דָרָךְ (24), were reproduced by the translator faithfully. In singling out 20b, Gard asserts (p. 7) that Job's suggestion, in the preserved text, "that God at times acts somewhat capriciously . . . [was] studiously avoided by  $\Theta$ , which renders . . ." יָקַח (וְטַעַם וְקָנִים) by (σύνεσιν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων) ἔγνων, "And He knows (the knowledge of the elders)." However, not only is it plainly contrary to fact to assert that the translator "studiously avoided" such imputations against God, but the root קָנַח does have the meaning of "know" (so rendered in the LXX of I Sam. 17.18; and cf. biblical קָנַח).

In v. 25, Gehman (p. 236) has suggested that the translator deliberately suppressed God as the one who misleads the leaders of nations referred to in vv. 23-24:

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| מְשִׁנֵּי לְנוֹסִים וְנֶאֱבָרָם (23) | (Θ' πλανῶν ἔθνη καὶ ἀπολλύων αὐτά,)        |
| שֹׁטֵם לְנוֹסִים וְנִחָם:            | καταστρωννύων ἔθνη καὶ καθοδηγῶν αὐτά.     |
| מְסִיר לֵב רָאשֵׁי עַם־הָאָרֶץ (24)  | διαλλάσσω καρδίας ἀρχόντων γῆς,            |
| וְיִתְעַם בְּהוֹ לֹא־דָרָךְ:         | ἐπλάνησεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ, ἣ οὐκ ἤδεισαν. |
| מְשִׁשְׁרִיחַ וְלֹא־אִוֵּר (25)      | ψηλαφῆσαισαν σκότος καὶ μὴ φῶς,            |
| וְיִתְעַם בְּשָׂבֹר:                 | πλανηθείησαν δὲ ὥσπερ ὁ μεθύων.            |

It is clear from vv. 23b-24, not mentioned by Gehman, that God is the one directly responsible for "overthrowing nations and leading them off" (καταστρωννύων . . . καθοδηγῶν), etc., and for "perplexing (διαλλάσσω) the minds of the princes . . . and causing them to wander" (וְיִתְעַם / ἐπλάνησε δὲ αὐτούς), with the LXX reproducing these charges literally. So that if the LXX reads the passive πλανηθείησαν for וְיִתְעַם in v. 25, the most that can be said — and that is what many scholars have asserted (e. g., Bickell, Gottheil [*JQR*, OS, 6 (1893-94), 559] Beer [" $\Theta$  nicht dogmatisch übersetzt"] Dhorme) — is that the translator's *Vorlage* read וְיִתְעַם (// וְיִשְׁמַח).

20. It is scarcely possible — indeed, it is hardly necessary — to discuss in detail every word or passage that has been made the basis for "attack" on the translator. The analysis employed in the four sections of this Chapter has amply indicated the methodology to be applied to the Hebrew-Greek text. Thus Gehman (p. 236) asserts

that "In 13<sup>25</sup> harshness is removed, or God's arbitrariness is softened" when masoretic "And the dry stubble will You pursue?" is turned in the LXX into "Are You opposed to me, as to grass borne by the wind?" But LXX (ἢ ὥς . . .) ἀντίκεισαί μοι, "(or as a leaf . . .) will You set Yourself against me?", used elsewhere in the LXX for roots צור (Exod. 23.22; God vs. Israel's צָרָרִים) and שָׁטַן, is actually harsher than the Hebrew "will You pursue (the dry stubble)"! And, in context, no mention is made of the verse immediately preceding or the verses immediately following where the "harshness" of the Hebrew is retained in the LXX: "Why do You (viz., God) hide from me (viz., Job), and regard me as Your enemy? (v. 24) . . . For You have written evil things against me (26a) . . . And You have placed my foot in the stocks (27a) . . ."

Accordingly, only selected passages will be offered below, passages that have some special interest for the textual criticism of the LXX of Job or that illustrate how readily the LXX translator rendered the Hebrew even more harshly — so far as God was concerned — than the original warranted. Virtually none of the passages listed here was noted by those who downgraded the LXX as a translation that was theologically biased.

**21.** In 14.17 (בְּצִרּוֹר פִּשְׁעִי) הָתָם is rendered "You (viz., God) have sealed up" (ἐσφράγισας), which — unless it derived from הִתְחַתָּה — is more outspoken than masoretic הָתָם.

**22.** In 14.20 the LXX reads "Your (viz., God's) face" as against "his (viz., Job's) face" of the Hebrew, while reproducing the anthropomorphism:

תִּתְקַפְּהוּ לְנֹצַח וְהִלָּךְ      ὦσας αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος, καὶ ὥχετο,  
 מִשְׁנֵה פָנָיו וְתִשְׁלַחַהּ:      ἐπέστησας αὐτῷ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ  
    ἐξάπεσται.

Beer and Gard (78 f.), e. g., have ignored this, while accusing the translator of deliberately omitting vv. 18 and 19 preceding; see further Chap. V.

**23.** In 16.9–14 (where the Hebrew is not always perfectly clear) the vigorous (and sometimes anthropomorphic) actions of God are reproduced without modification:

אֶפֶס טָרַף וַיִּשְׁטַמְנִי      (9) ὀργῇ χρησάμενος κατέβαλέν με,  
 חָרַק עָלַי בְּשִׁנָּיו      ἔβρυξεν ἐπ' ἐμέ τοὺς ὀδόντας,  
 צָרִי וַיִּלְטֹשׁ עֵינָיו לִי:      βέλη πειρατῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἔπεσεν.

- פָּעֲרוּ עָלַי בְּיָמַי (10) ἀκίσιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνήλατο,  
 בָּקָרָהּ כִּסּוֹ לִי חֶסֶד  
 יָחַד עָלַי יִחְסְלֶנָּהּ  
 יִסְרִינִי אֵל אֶל עֲוֹנִי ל (11) παρέδωκεν γάρ με ὁ κύριος εἰς χεῖρας  
 ἁδίκου,  
 וְעַל יְדֵי רָשָׁעִים יִרְטֵנִי  
 שְׁלֹו הָיִיתִי וְיִסְרָרְטֵנִי (12) εἰρηνεύοντα διεσκέδασέν με,  
 וְאֶחָד בְּעַרְפִּי וְיִסְרָרְטֵנִי  
 וְיִקְסִינִי לוֹ לְקַטְרָהּ  
 יִסְבוּ עָלַי יָרְבִּי (13) ἐκύκλωσάν με λόγχοις  
 יַשְׁלַח בְּלִיָּוִתִּי נִלְאֵי חֲסוֹל  
 יַשְׁפֹּךְ לְאַרְץ מִדְּרֹתֶי  
 יִפְרֹצֵי סֶרֶץ עַל-יִסְרָרְטֵנִי (14) κατέβαλόν με πτώμα ἐπὶ πτώματι,  
 יָרָץ עָלַי כְּנֹבֵד  
 ἔδραμον πρὸς με δυνάμενοι.

Gard (p. 65) accuses the translator of having purposely altered the verbs in vv. 13bc-14 from singular to plural in order to "remove God from the passages." However, in the light of the variation of person and number in v. 10bc, and the LXX "Lord . . . He" in vv. 11-12, this accusation is groundless. The LXX simply understood the verbs in the singular as collective. In 19.12 ff. the Hebrew follows up יָרָץ with the plural; on קִרְיָהּ / ἀπέστησαν (=קִרְיָהּ), see Chapter VI.

24. In 16.21a the translator reproduced unflinchingly Job's wishful thinking: עִסְאֵלוֹס לְנֹכַח לְנֹכַח / εἴη δὲ ἔλεγχος ἀνδρὶ ἐναντι κυρίου. Gard (p. 30) stands alone in the belief that ἐναντι for עַן is evidence that "The translator objects to the idea of conflict with God."

25. In 19.3 LXX reads γινώτε μόνον ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἐποίησέ με οὕτως, whatever the original Hebrew for it may have been (cf., e. g., Beer, Dhorme); and the same charge against God, only more specifically, is repeated in v. 6:

- דַּעְרָאפוּ כִּרְאֵלוֹס עֲוֹנִי γινώτε οὖν ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἐστὶν ὁ ταραξας,<sup>66</sup>  
 וְיִסְרִינִי עָלַי חֲסִינִי ὁ χύρωμα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμέ ὕψωσεν.

<sup>66</sup> Gard (p. 64), ignoring v. 3 and the whole context, accuses the translator of having deliberately omitted "the suffix י from the verb" in 6a — as though "Know then that it is the Lord who has troubled" were a compliment to God, or

In this light, it is scarcely justifiable to suspect the translator of having avoided "He" (God) as the subject of (וְלֹא אֵפְשׁוֹ) in 8a (κύκλω περιωκοδόμημαι), especially when he has reproduced parallel יְשִׁים (וְעַל־יְתִיבוֹתֵי חֶשֶׁךְ) in 8b literally (... σκότος ἔθετο). And note in v. 9 (עֲטָרַת רֹאשִׁי) / ἑξέδυσεν, ἀφείλεν δέ...; and likewise vv. 10–12, and the chapter generally, e. g., 21b: כִּי יֵדִי בִּי אֱלֹהִים נִנְעָה־בִּי / χεῖρ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ ἀψαμένη μου ἐστίν, and 22a: מִלִּבִּי כְמוֹתֵי / διὰ τί δέ με διώκετε ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ κύριος.

26. In 21.14, 16 (v. 15, absent in the LXX, is Theodotionic), the Greek is even more vigorous than the preserved Hebrew — hardly reason for blaming the translator's "theology" for the absence of v. 15 (Beer, Gard 73 f., etc., *per contra*):

וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹאֵל סוּר מִמֶּנּוּ	(14)	λέγει δὲ κυρίῳ 'Απόστα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,
וְדַעַת דְּרָכָיִךְ לֹא תַפְצֹנוּ:		ὁδοὺς σου εἰδέναι οὐ βούλομαι.
הֵן לֹא בְיָדְם טוֹבָה	(16)	ἐν χερσὶν γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ,
עֲצַת רָשָׁעִים תִּקְחָה מֵנִי:		ἔργα δὲ ἀσεβῶν οὐκ ἐφορᾷ.

On לֹא in 16a see Chap. II, § A 5 *ad loc.*; and on the use of οὐκ ἐφορᾷ in 16b see *ibid.*, § A 1 *ad loc.* The LXX translation of 16b, "He (viz., God) does not behold the works of the wicked," is as blasphemous a statement as one could wish; why should v. 15 stump the translator? See further, Chap. V.

27. In 21.23–26 Job once again laments the fate of man: וְיָמוֹתָיִם בְּצַעַם חֶמֶךְ (23a), וְיָמוֹת בְּנַפְשׁ מְרָה וְלֹא־אֶכֶל בְּטוֹבָה (25), and יַחַד עַל־עַפְרָה (26). The translator, however he may have felt about the propriety of these statements, reproduced 25 and 26 literally: ὁ δὲ τελευτᾷ ὑπὸ πικρίας ψυχῆς οὐ φαγῶν οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν. ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς κοιμῶνται, σαπρία δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλυψεν. On the absence of v. 23 in the LXX, see Chap. V.

28. In 23.1 the LXX reads ἡ χεῖρ αὐτοῦ (viz., God's) for masoretic (עַל־אֲנַחְתִּי) וְיָדִי; and in 23.4 the LXX has ἐμπλήσαιμι for preserved (וְפִי) אֲמַלֵּא (חֹקֵכוֹת). Whether the *Vorlage* actually read יָדִי and אֲמַלֵּא, the fact is that the translator did not mind involving God in these non-complimentary passages. The same is true, e. g., of 23.6a: מִלִּבִּי כְמוֹתֵי הַרְבֵּי־נֶחַם יְרִיב עֲמָדִי / καὶ εἰ ἐν πολλῇ ἰσχύϊ ἐπελεύσεται μοι.

that με was not to be understood in the light of ἐπ' ἐμοί . . . μοι in v. 5ab and ἐπ' ἐμέ in 6b; and cf. Chap. II, §§ 12–14.



29. In 24.1 ff. God is accused by Job of overlooking the nefarious deeds of the wicked. The accusations are vividly and sometimes specifically described. The translator, as is to be expected from him in the light of the analysis that has preceded, reproduced these statements faithfully; the problems in "theology" that several modern scholars have creatively attributed to him did not, in reality, bother him as a translator. And so we read, e. g., διὰ τί δὲ κύριον ἔλαθον ὦραι, (2) ἀσεβεῖς δὲ ὄριον ὑπερέβησαν ποίμνιον σὺν ποιμένι ἀρπάσαντες; (3) ὑποζύγιον ὄρφανῶν ἀπήγαγον, καὶ βοῦν χήρας ἠνεχύρασαν . . . (6) ἀγρὸν πρὸ ὥρας οὐκ αὐτῶν ὄντα ἐθέρισαν . . . (11) ἐν στενοῖς ἀδίκως ἐνήδρευσαν, ὁδὸν δὲ δικαίαν οὐκ ἤδεισαν. (12) οἱ ἐκ πόλεως καὶ οἰκῶν ἰδίων ἐξεβάλλοντο . . . αὐτοὺς δὲ διὰ τί τούτων ἐπισκοπὴν οὐ πεποίηται; "... Why then has He made no visitation of these?" Difficult as it sometimes is to determine the LXX *Vorlage* (e. g., 12c), the Greek *per se* is forthright.

30. In 25.3b Hebrew אֶרְבָּה (לֹא-יָקִים) is reproduced (ἐπὶ τίνας δὲ οὐκ ἐπελεύσεται) ἔνεδρα παρ' αὐτοῦ; where the translator did not hesitate to render fully "an ambush from Him." Many scholars regard a form of ארב in the LXX *Vorlage* to be the original reading (cf., e. g., Schleusner, II, 360; Dhorme).

31. In 27.2 where (וְשֵׁר הַסִּיר מִשְׁשָׁטִי) (חֲיֵאֵל) was rendered (Ζῆ κύριος,) ὃς οὕτω με κέκρινεν, (καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ πικράνας μου τὴν ψυχήν), Beer talks of "abschwächende Übers.," Dhorme asserts that "le sens . . . est atténué par S," Gerleman (p. 54) refers to "modification," and Gard (11 f.) believes that the translator avoided referring to "an unjust, almost demoniacal Deity."

In a calmer, more objective vein, it will be seen that the translator, theologically speaking, really avoided or modified nothing. He reproduced the oath at the very outset (Ζῆ κύριος) and minced no words in the second stich: "And it is the Almighty who has embittered my soul." Not only that, but in v. 6 the translator asserted flatly: δικαιοσύνη δὲ προσέχων οὐ μὴ προῶμαι, οὐ γὰρ σύννοιδά ἐμαυτῷ ἄτοπα πράξας (Heb. בְּצַדִּיקִי הַחֲסִידִי לֹא-יִהְיֶה לִּבִּי מִיִּמִּי). Clearly, LXX "who has judged me thus" is a rendering that was stylistically, rather than theologically, motivated. Finally, those who may still need convincing, may in addition look at 34.5b, where וְשֵׁר הַסִּיר מִשְׁשָׁטִי was reproduced ὁ κύριος ἀπήλλαξέν μου τὸ κρίμα (and cf. at 34.6a below, § 33.)



32. In 30.11 the bold expression in [Qere = יָתִירוֹ ; Kethib =] כִּי יָתִירוֹ was reproduced in the LXX: ἀνοίξας γὰρ φαρέτραν αὐτοῦ ἐκάκωσέν με, "For He has opened His quiver and afflicted me." The same is true in 14a, βέλεσιν αὐτοῦ κατηκόντισέν με, "with His weapons He has shot at me," where the Hebrew *Vorlage* can no longer be determined. Likewise, e. g., 21b, בְּעֶצֶם יָדָהּ תִּשְׁטַמְנִי / χεὶρὶ κραταίᾳ με ἐμαστίγωσας, "with a strong hand You have afflicted me"; or 22a, ἔταξας δέ με ἐν ὁδύναϊς, "You have put me in grief," whatever the *Vorlage* may have been.

33. In addition to reproducing literally 34.5b (וְאַל הִסִּיר מִשְׁפָּטִי; cf. at 27.2 above, § 31), our translator rendered bluntly also in v. 6a: ἐψεύσατο δὲ τῷ κρίματί μου "He has lied in my justice," for which the masoretic text has עַל מִשְׁפָּטִי אָכַזְבּ. In this light it is hardly sound methodology to accuse the translator of being "dogmat." (Beer) in v. 10, where LXX Μὴ μοι εἶη ἐναντὶ Κυρίου ἀσεβῆσαι corresponds to masoretic מִרְשַׁע לֹא־לָלָה; clearly the Greek derives from a somewhat different Hebrew *Vorlage* — especially when two verses farther on (12) οὕτως δὲ τὸν κύριον ἄτοπα ποιήσιν; ἢ ὁ παντοκράτωρ ταράξει κρίσιν; reproduces מִשְׁפָּט לֹא־יִרְשָׁע וְשִׁדְי לֹא־יִנְעוּ מִשְׁפָּט. On οὕτως for אֲרִי־קָמָן, see Chap. II, §A 3, *ad loc.*

34. There is a problem involved in the matter of the exact force of the preposition in בְּצַדִּיק, as distinct from לְפָנַי / צַדִּיק עִם. At 4.17, e. g., בְּצַדִּיק הֶאֱנוּשׁ מֵאֱלֹהִים was rendered τί γάρ; μὴ καθαρὸς ἔσται βροτὸς ἐναντίον κυρίου . . ., (Driver-)Gray (*ICC on Job*), without reference to the LXX, argues strongly for the meaning "before God"; Brown-Driver-Briggs (s. צַדִּיק, 842b) and (Driver-)Gray at 32.2, where עַל־צַדִּיקוֹ נִפְשׁוּ מֵאֱלֹהִים was translated διότι ἀπέφηεν αὐτὸν δίκαιον ἐναντίον κυρίου, would render "rather than God." In both 4.17 and 32.2, Dhorme follows the LXX in rendering "devant." In 32.2, where צַדִּיקִי מֵאֱלֹהִים (אֲמַרְתִּי) was translated δίκαιός εἰμι ἐναντὶ κυρίου, both (Driver-)Gray and Dhorme render "before" (see their philological notes *ad loc.*).

In fine, the precise meaning of בְּ (צַדִּיק) must be determined *per se*, if possible, before the LXX rendering of it can be evaluated.

35. Summary attention may be drawn to 38.1 ff., where God's numerous acts of creation are described in some detail. These acts are physical enough. It should come as no surprise to the student of the LXX of Job that the translator reproduced the Hebrew terminology faithfully.

## THE RABBIS AND JEWISH ART IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD<sup>1</sup>

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A PERSON who presents a novel thesis in the humanities must expect a good deal of misunderstanding. The chief difficulty, indeed, is to keep one's fellow scholars within the limits proposed, since they so often reject the suggestion in a form they have exaggerated beyond anything originally set forth. Over thirty years ago I said that Philo's interpretation of Jewish laws suggested that the Jewish law courts of Alexandria were making many decisions which adjusted Jewish traditions to those in force in Roman Alexandria. My suggestion, so far as I know, is now generally accepted. At the time several scholars thought it invalid because later rabbis could be shown to have made similar adjustments in a few details, from which it was at once concluded that all Alexandrian decisions must have reflected the jurisprudence of the courts in first century Palestine. Such a nonsequitur is no longer urged.

In my *By Light, Light*, I pointed out how drenched in the language of pagan mystery religions is Philo's interpretation of the religious values of the Torah, and how it seemed to me possible, indeed likely, that some Jews in Alexandria, at least, carried out their Sabbath and Festival cultus with a feeling that in contrast to pagans, Jews had the true rites which brought mystic rewards. Again my thesis was exaggerated by others to make me mean that Philo's mystic language could not have corresponded to any reality, unless Judaism in Alexandria had been completely changed by the introduction of formal ceremonies of initiation, cult dramas, and the like. Nothing disproves such a thesis, but there was no evidence for it at all, as it was easy to show. The issue was presented as an absolute dilemma: either the mystery language meant nothing whatever, was a mere *façon de parler*, or the Jews meant by it the full machinery of the celebrations of Isis or Eleusis. It has taken a number of years for my actual thesis to be considered on its merits, and now be widely ac-

<sup>1</sup> No one could better exemplify the thesis of this paper, and of most of my studies, than Dr. Julian Morgenstern. His life has demonstrated how deeply one can preserve the best in rabbinic Judaism while disagreeing with much in the teaching of the rabbis; and how one can appropriate the soul of Gentile thought and scholarship and still live dedicated to the People and their God.

cepted. To feel mystic value in the Kiddush or Seder is something mystic Jews have always done. Jews who read mystic values into the words of the Torah, as did not only Philo's group but also followers of Merkavah and all mystic Jews to the Ḥasidim could hardly be expected to stop such "nonsense," as many halachic rabbis considered it, when they lifted the cup or blessed the bread. Nor did they.

Now after the increasing acceptance of my real thesis on mystic Judaism I have aroused fresh protest by suggesting that the archaeological discoveries from Greco-Roman Jewry must be taken seriously as the only evidence we have from that group as a whole. Actually, the various archaeologists who discovered the data could hardly believe their eyes, and it was not until I had published the first three volumes of my *Jewish Symbols* in 1953 that more than a small fraction of the learned world had any conception of the nature and extent of this material. The objects seemed to violate all the traditions of orthodox Judaism. The more one studied them, the more one saw that they could not be brushed aside as ornament, as some tried to do, after the analogy of the designs of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Jewish tombstones of Poland, or the cupids on marriage contracts of that same period. For, although many of the forms borrowed by Jews were the same in both periods, the Greco-Roman Jews were borrowing live forms from pagan religious life, in contrast to the largely ornamental cupids later Jews borrowed from baroque and rococo art. Jews of the later period did not put figures of Mary and Jesus, or the crucifix, on their tombs, or anywhere else, for these represented the living religion of the Gentiles about them. But Jews in the ancient world were using the living symbols of pagans of the day, not only in synagogues, but, at Dura, elaborately integrated with biblical scenes. In graves the symbols appear with the *menorah*, *shofar*, *lulav*, and Torah shrine of Jewish worship. Certainly nothing in rabbinical tradition had given us reason to expect such combinations: as that Moses would lead the Israelites from Egypt brandishing the club of Hercules; that he should be found in his basket in the Nile by the naked Aphrodite-Anahita and given to the three Nymphs to be nursed like other divine, or human-divine, babies. Rabbinic tradition had not prepared us for the goddess of Victory holding out her wreath atop the Jewish Temple; or for the cosmic bull with Gayomart and Armaiti of Iranian tradition on the temple entrance; or for Ares with Victories presiding over the Exodus. When these Jews wanted to depict the futility of contemporary paganism they could do so forcibly by showing the local gods prostrate and broken before the Ark of the Covenant, after the analogy of Dagon. But it was not

their purpose when they turned the figure of the local Cavalier God into a representation of Mordecai in his triumph, or in Rome put up the dolphin and trident of Neptune along with the *shofar* and *menorah* in their tombs. The rabbis certainly held David the Psalmist in high regard, but never compared him to Orpheus, or led us to expect that he would be portrayed in a synagogue as Orpheus stilling the beasts. And so forth: the full list of the preposterous is long indeed.

Since these were all living symbols for pagans, their use by Jews involves not only the problem of rabbinic attitude toward the making of images, but of Jews' making precisely *these* images, and of introducing them not only into the synagogues and graves, but into biblical narrative itself, and among the objects used in Jewish worship. Nothing suggests that the Jews of the period ever worshiped the dolphin, any more than they worshiped the *menorah* or *shofar*. But we may assume that Jews who put the *menorah* and *shofar* on the graves at least attested their Jewish loyalty thereby. What did they attest when they put the dolphin on the grave with the Jewish objects? What did they mean by giving Moses the infancy of a demi-god, the mature power of Hercules, or by giving Mordecai the form of the Cavalier God? We must answer these questions, and all the questions raised by the other forms Jews borrowed, in one of two ways. First, we may assume that, by the fact they were Jewish, the Jews could not have meant anything at all by them, can ignore the implications of the objects represented, and simply look for gaps in the wall which the rabbis in general erected against image making and decoration. If, by this, we can show that any rabbis under any circumstances allowed any images at all, we may assume that all rabbis allowed all kinds of images everywhere, and so may see in these Jews a part of the unbroken succession of a changeless and monolithic Judaism, normative Judaism.

Although many scholars have taken substantially this line of argument, I protest that it is utterly fallacious. Basically it does not at all consider the evidence itself, the actual images and forms which these Jews made. We cannot hope to explain why the painters at Dura gave Moses the prerogatives of the divine babies, and the power of Hercules, by looking through rabbinic comments. And no amount of indignation can obscure the fact that the Jews did do this, and much else like it.

The second approach is to begin precisely with this new evidence, aware that new evidence may tell new things, do so with the a priori assumption that since Jews made the paintings, mosaics, and carvings, they might have been saying something for their Judaism which we

should not have heard in the aniconic tradition of the rabbis. In reading Philo we have long had to discuss Jewish remains with such an a priori assumption about his borrowing hellenistic terms of philosophy and mystery. For we know that Hellenism profoundly affected the tone of Philo's interpretations of Judaism, to the point that the rabbis had no interest in him: we should never have heard his name if Christians had not preserved his writings. Wolfson may be right that Philo represents "native Judaism" with a Greek veneer, native Judaism which registered in his deep loyalty to the Torah, written and in practice. I have never liked Wolfson's figure of "veneer," since the Greek elements in Philo's writings do not obscure his passionate devotion to the Jewish God, Bible, and People, which have always been basic in rabbinic tradition, while a veneer is designed precisely to conceal the cheaper wood beneath it. The figure, actually, does not represent Wolfson's own conception of Philo, and I agree with him heartily that we cannot understand Philo simply from the hellenistic schools of philosophy. Philo mingled with these a passionate commitment to Jewish tradition, as direct revelation, and, as Wolfson says, thereby represents in the history of western thought a great transition which reached its highest point in the Schoolmen. Still, I repeat, the end result in Philo himself made him so different from the rabbis that they did not like him. Living in Greco-Roman civilization could profoundly affect one's Judaism. We know that another Jew rewrote the Sibylline Books to put Moses into them, also something the rabbis did not like; and that the fragments from Alexander Polyhistor found in Eusebius show a variety of other deep modifications of "normative" Jewish attitudes on the part of individual Jews. It is well recognized that to understand these writers we must begin with their texts to see what they actually say before we judge their conformities to, or departures from, traditional Judaism. I cannot understand how there can be any question that we must do the same with archaeological data. We first must discover what these Jews actually did before we consider their relation to the Judaism preserved in rabbinical writings.

What the forms themselves tell us is too elaborate a matter to rehearse in a few pages. Their relation to rabbinical tradition still remains an important problem. Rabbinic allusion to each or any of the symbols, as I shall call them for short, whether allusion in literary figures or in what rabbis say of them directly, has the greatest importance. Of many of the symbols I have discussed, however, I could find no trace in rabbinical tradition. Trained rabbinical scholars will in time find passages which I overlooked, so that in details my conclu-



sions about different symbols can be corrected or amplified. Some symbols the rabbis did mention directly, such as the fish, bread and wine, or the eagle. Josephus and the rabbis certainly did not prepare us to find that the hated eagle was one of the most common ornaments on Galilean synagogues. That is, rabbinical mention may make the use of certain symbols in synagogues and Jewish graves more astonishing rather than less.

This is one of the many "facts" which several scholars who resist my conclusions do not discuss,<sup>2</sup> scholars who assume that *qua* Jewish, the archaeological data must represent an acceptable and accepted part of rabbinical Judaism. The hypothesis on which I am proceeding is that later rabbinical tradition has always correctly interpreted the Tannaim and Amoraim as deeply disliking figured representation, and allowing their use only in exceptional instances, if at all. If that is so, and yet we see that Jews of their own day commonly made such representations, then we cannot take without scrutiny the claim that those who made them were under strict rabbinic guidance and control. We ask, first, how reliable the tradition was that the rabbinical centers really did supervise world Judaism at this time; second, what the rabbis actually are recorded to have said about figured representations; third, what the Jews actually represented.

On the first of these there is no point in rehearsing the evidence here, since, so far as I know, the statements were adequately collected in the first chapter of Volume IV, and have often been discussed elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The few allusions to the authority of the Patriarchs and Sages, or the Roman recognition of the Patriarch as Ethnarch, with "power like the kings of the Gentiles even to carrying out capital punishment," as Origen tells us, tell us nothing specific about actual authority. We must see evidence of the exercise of power before mere legends or declarations of it mean anything. Frey<sup>4</sup> has covered the ground excellently. The only trace that the Patriarch exercised power outside Palestine is an inscription from Stobi of the year A. D. 165, which demands that if anyone wanted to make alterations in the

<sup>2</sup> As, for example, Ephraim E. Urbach, "The Rabbinical Law of Idolatry," *Israel Exploration Journal*, IX (1959), 149-65, 229-45.

<sup>3</sup> From the extensive bibliography the following are a few of the more important titles: E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 1890, II, i, 173, where the important text of Origen on the subject is quoted; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, 1927, I, 234; III, 635 f.; J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, 1936, pp. cx f.

<sup>4</sup> Frey, *op. cit.*, 504-507, inscription 694. He gives an excellent bibliography of the inscription, to which add A. Marmorstein in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XXVII (1936/7), 373-84.



synagogue there he must pay the "patriarch" 25,000 dinars. But this can by no means be taken *ohne weiteres* to be the Patriarch in Palestine mentioned by Origen a century and a half later. As Frey points out, it is highly unlikely that in the desperate years of the mid-second century a Jewish official in Palestine controlled the Jews in Macedonia. We have no trace of the rabbis controlling Jewish thinking or observance outside Jewish academies. This does not prove that they had no control, but it remains that our only test of rabbinic control over the centers which produced the art is the way in which that art squares with the major rabbinic traditions and positions. I suggested that the conformity of Jewish art to rabbinic traditions up to about the mid-second century of the common era made it a likely hypothesis that the rabbis, or pre-rabbinic Sages, who hated imagery were leading popular Jewish attitudes at the time. But in the Jewish art of the next three centuries there is not a single reservation of even the most liberal Sages not flouted in the actual representations, and the general position of the 'Avodah Zarah, Mishnah and Gemara', as well as of the tannaitic Midrashim, patently rejects such representations with horror.

Here is the second point, the problem of what the rabbis of that time actually did say, or preserved from earlier rabbis, about images. On this I feel Rabbi Boaz Cohen is my best guide.<sup>5</sup> After a brief survey of the pre-Exilic attitudes, a highly complex matter which does not affect our problem, he points out how under the Second Commonwealth, the crisis of Hellenization produced a greater vigor in the law, so that the Mosaic prohibition of images was extended to include every animate being. That the attitude was not uniform seems suggested by the story of the eagle on Herod's temple,<sup>6</sup> but in general Cohen's conclusion is quite similar to that I had reached for this period.

In the tannaitic period, the first two Christian centuries, the decisions of the rabbis remained very strict. Cohen's summary of their declarations follows:

One may not make any image in relief or in the round, be it carved out of stone, wood, or any metal, of the heaven itself, or of the heavenly servants such as angels, ministering angels, *Cherubim*, *Seraphim*, *Ophanim*, *Hasmalim* and *Hayyot ha-Kodesh* (the winged creatures of the heavenly chariot); or of the heavenly

<sup>5</sup> "Art in Jewish Law," *Judaism*, III (1954), 165-76. He has here outlined only the basic principles, and a note says he plans a larger annotated work on the subject. This article was published simultaneously with my review of the subject in *Symbols*, IV, 3-24.

<sup>6</sup> I discussed this in *Symbols*, VIII, 123-25.

bodies, such as the sun, moon, stars, and the constellations (*Mazzalot*); the earth itself, as well as the mountains and the hills, seas and rivers, of any living things on earth, such as birds, beasts, creeping things, snakes, scorpions, and ferocious animals; of living things in the water, such as fish, sea-monsters, dolphins, sea worms, sea snakes (*Shabririn*), reflected images of things in the sea (*Babuah*). (Perhaps there is an allusion here to the shadow sketches known as *en skiographiois*). Similarly the things beneath the earth, such as the abyss, the darkness, and thick darkness are forbidden.

The Tannaim further excluded the making of images even for the purpose of ornament and beauty, as the Gentiles did in the Provinces.

The Tannaim even went on to interpret "Turn not to the idols" to mean that one should not so much as look at an image, even the image of a Roman official on a coin, though, I may say, everyone knew that no cultus was offered to an image on a coin. A signet ring could be used if it had no image of an idol, that is, a god to whom worship was paid, but could be used if the image was what Cohen translates as "an ordinary figure." Even such a figure could be worn only if it was represented in intaglio. One rabbi said that in Jerusalem many such representations could be found, but no human faces. The rabbis changed the law so as to make it possible for a Jew to live in a Gentile city filled with cult images, and even for a Jew to practise the arts of sculpture and design, so long as the images Jews made were sold to Gentiles. One or another of the Tannaim specified images which he considered it dangerous for a Jew to make at all: an image bearing in its hand a staff, bird, or sphere, a sword, a crown, or a ring. One can deal with a torso when found, they said, but not with an independent hand or foot, or the sun or moon, and not a dragon or a human face. Yet practically all of these are to be found in extant Jewish art, not fragments found and sold, but made directly for graves and places of Jewish worship.

The principle in all this, as it seems to me, is the close following of the Second Commandment, which had been given in two distinct parts. The first forbade making "unto thee" any graven image, etc., by which the law does not literally forbid Jews to make for Gentiles, but only that Jews make images for Jews. This distinction seems to lie behind all the rabbinic pronouncements. The second part of the Commandment forbade one to worship such images once made, whether, as the rabbis correctly interpreted, made by a Jew or Gentile.

Almost all of this could be repeated for the Amoraim, but Cohen rightly says that "when paintings became the regular feature of syna-

gogue decoration of the time, the rabbis tactfully and tacitly bowed before the facts." (Actually, the sculptures of the Galilean synagogues of Capernaum and Chorazin have been dated confidently by the archaeologists in the last years of the Tannaim.) Cohen concludes that the Amoraim: 1) took no exception to mosaics in the synagogues; 2) allowed sculpture of all living beings except, in combination, of the four living beings of the Heavenly Chariot; 3) continued to forbid a ring with a human figure on it in relief; 4) always forbade engravings of human figures as well as sculpture of angels and heavenly bodies. Cohen takes it to represent the opinion of the Amoraim in general when a single rabbi, or a pair of rabbis, relaxed slightly to allow paintings and mosaics, "bowed before the facts." Actually the record of their bowing may well, as so often, simply have recorded a minority opinion. Granted that Cohen is entirely right, however, such bowing by no means explains what prompted Jews in the first place to make the great change. For it was indeed a great change when they began commonly to produce not only paintings, but mosaics and carvings in deep relief, in which they represented the human figure, Helios, Dionysus, centaurs, eagles, and the like, began to make them in the tannaitic period.

So we find ourselves involved in the third aspect of the problem. We must ask what were the "facts" before which the rabbis bowed, or, as Urbach puts it, "the reality with which the Sages had to reckon even if they did not approve of it." To Urbach, the "reality" is the problem of Jews' living in idolatrous cities, and making their living by manufacturing objects for Gentiles to use in idol worship. Cohen sees much more clearly that for us the more important fact before which the rabbis had to bow was that Jews were making the forbidden forms "for themselves," forms which they used (the question is, how used) in connection with their own worship of the Jewish God. For the rabbis had to face not only the "reality" of Jews living among Gentiles, but the "fact" that Jews were putting practically all the forbidden forms into their synagogues. I have all along insisted that without direct evidence to the contrary, of which not a scrap exists, we must assume that Jewish worship was never directed to these forms, not even in the symbolic sense that in bowing before the image one really bowed before the reality behind it. I have seen no evidence that Jews ever bowed before images. But the evidence is abundant that the rabbis had to bow before the presence of images in Jewish graves and synagogues.

Both of these phrases, the rabbis having to "reckon with reality," and "bow before the facts," represent my position exactly, once we

have clearly in mind what were the reality and facts. There were things going on in Jewry which the rabbis "did not approve." That Jews made these forms "for themselves," and put them in their places of holiest association, violated the spirit of such Judaism as appears in Josephus and the rabbis.

The problem is not whether a few rabbis can be shown to have bowed before the situation, but what prompted Jews to introduce the forms at all. Who started such a movement, and why? Certainly not the rabbis as a group themselves. In Beth She'arim rabbis are buried in plain sarcophagi along with the sarcophagi of Jews on which were blatantly carved reliefs of the most forbidden subjects, such as that of the sun as a human face, Zeus Helios.

Another bit of evidence, by no means adequately appraised, shows that what we would call orthodox Jews had to tolerate representations they did not approve. For after the paintings were finished in the Dura synagogue some person or persons came into the building and scratched out the eyes of many of the figures in the lowest register, did it so skillfully that the desecration can be recognized only by careful scrutiny. This could hardly have been done, as Kraeling suggested, by the desperate men who wrecked the synagogue for the city's final defense of its wall, since such people, if they did not like the paintings, would presumably have shown their contempt by hitting the faces with their shovels, rather than by so meticulously picking out the eyes. A better guess at what happened lies immediately at hand. Urbach discusses the rabbinic practice of "annulling" images so that they could not be called "images" any more. He quotes the passage I had discussed in which R. El'azar bar Kappara, as he transliterates the name, beat a Gentile until the Gentile would desecrate or annul the image on a ring which the rabbi had found and wanted to keep. Any kind of defacement would do when a Gentile did it, apparently, but when in the third century Rabbi Samuel saw his colleague, Rav Judah, wearing a ring on which a figure stood out in relief, Samuel called Judah a scornful name and ordered him specifically to "put out that fellow's eye." It would seem that some one or more Jews at Dura wanted the figures in these paintings, which seemed to them scandalous, annulled. It might possibly have been the artists themselves, to take away any grounds for accusation that they had painted objects and forms for worship; but in that case it is hard to see why only figures in the lowest register were thus treated, or why in no case is the eye damaged on a pagan divinity (Orpheus, Ares, Victory, Tyche). None of these was on the lowest register. The only probable guess is that one or more Jews at Dura did not like such figures at all,

thought them conducive to idolatry, and came in secretly to annul what of them could be reached by standing on the benches, did it so carefully that they would not be caught. I strongly suspect that most rabbis in the great tradition would have applauded the act, since even the more liberal rabbis, who held that all features of bird and beast might be copied, still did not allow the human countenance. The natural assumption from such evidence is that the dominant Jews at Dura liked and made the representations, or had them made, but that others in the congregation did not like them at all. Still, presumably, they tolerated one another within the same congregation. Those who scratched out the eyes clearly did not want to be caught: that is, they wanted to remain within the community. We need only look at the new state of Israel to see again Jews of all sorts, who completely disagree in their interpretation of Jewish law and worship, cooperating magnificently.

Our real question is direct and simple, however difficult to find the answer: what were the sources and inspiration of the representations we find in ancient Jewish synagogues and graves? We need not dispute whether the Jews at Dura, Randanini, Hammam Lif, Beth Alpha, and Capernaum were either "totally different" from the rabbis, or thought identically with them. Either extreme seems absurd to me. The question is whether, as we look for the incentive which demanded and produced the art, we may find it in the rabbinic tradition. I can see, at Dura for example, a few details which recall rabbinic 'Aggadah. But this by no means indicates that the artists of Dura were inspired by rabbinical ideas to make such pictures in the first place, that they must have had the stories directly from rabbis or rabbinical writings, or that all their course of thinking followed rabbinical leadings. Nothing whatever suggests that those who lived solely within the rabbinic *Denkweise* would themselves have wanted to make the paintings, or the mosaics and carvings elsewhere. A new force, a new movement in Judaism, seems to have created the new "reality," the "facts," before which the rabbis, some of them, had to bow. Since the forms themselves can be shown to have been deeply meaningful in pagan religious thinking and feeling, my "theory" is that some Jews in more direct contact with Greco-Roman civilization thought that their religion, or their lives, would be enriched by the conceptions in which these art forms had a place. They thought so with such conviction that they took the forms even into their graves and synagogues, and mingled them with their cult objects and the heroes from Holy Writ. If it is inconceivable, as it is to me, that the rabbis of whom we know would not just have tolerated, but have led such a movement, we



must ask who then did lead it, and why? The personalities we shall never know (beyond names in inscriptions), but I doubt if the movement was begun by any one man. Since Jews borrowed such generally similar forms throughout the Roman world, the movement was presumably a generally popular one, somewhat analogous to the development of Reform Judaism, which had in Moses Mendelssohn rather a spokesman and organizer than an originator. The forms which Jews borrowed from pagans in antiquity suggest a movement little resembling modern Reform, except that both meant that Jews were in each case taking into their lives what seemed to them valuable from Gentile civilization. For neither of them did it mean accepting the religious cultus of the Gentiles; for both it meant accepting ideas which did not come from, or generally please the halakhic rabbis. In both cases the rabbis, some of them, only "bowed to the facts."

That this was true in the modern world we know very well. That it was true in the ancient world is my hypothetical suggestion, and to it scholars must bow until they can produce a hypothesis which better explains the facts. In any case we must all, and always, bow to the facts. Since the Jewish symbols offer a new body of evidence, indeed a new kind of evidence, it will force all of us to be at least open to new conclusions. I have no illusion that in my *Symbols* I have exhausted, or pin-pointed, the ideas which Jews took from Gentiles and illustrated with Gentile plastic forms. We cannot determine, however, what Jews had in mind when they borrowed the Gentile forms by showing that a few rabbis did not object when other Jews began to use them.





## QETANAH, NA'ARAH, BOGERETH

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PRESIDENT Morgenstern has made important contributions to the history of marriage in Israel. I trust, therefore, that the present study of a related subject will be appropriate for a volume honoring this great scholar and beloved teacher.

According to the halakhah, a boy is a minor (*qatan*) until he is thirteen years and one day old. If by then two hairs have appeared in his pubic region, he is a man (*'ish*). If not, his legal majority is delayed till this minimum evidence of physical maturing is visible. Pubescence prior to the end of the thirteenth year has no legal effect; both age and the physical signs are necessary to change his status. But once they are present, the status changes immediately and completely from that of minor to that of adult.<sup>1</sup>

The law is quite different in the case of a girl. In her case, likewise, the appearance of hair in the pubic area is an indispensable requirement. If this is satisfied, she ceases to be a minor at the age of twelve years and one day.<sup>2</sup> But she does not immediately attain the status of womanhood. Instead, she is classified as a *na'arah*, girl, and remains on this level for six months. Only then is she recognized as an adult woman, *bogereth*.<sup>3</sup> The legal provisions applying to the three stages — *qetannah*, *na'arah*, *bogereth* — differ sharply.

The first two terms are familiar biblical Hebrew words, here used in a more technical sense. (In the Bible, *na'arah* has the same looseness of meaning as our English "girl.") *Bogereth* (and related abstract nouns and verbal forms) is found only in talmudic Hebrew and Aramaic; the exact meaning of the root and its relation to other Semitic words is disputed.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maimonides, M. T. (= Mishneh Torah), 'Ishuth 2:10, based on Mishnah Niddah 6:11, Bab. *ibid.*, 46a. There are some small exceptions to the rule that there is no intermediate stage between child and man; see below, nn. 36 f.

<sup>2</sup> Maimonides, *ibid.*, 2:1; Mishnah Niddah, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Maimonides, *ibid.*, 2:2. That the period of "maidenhood" lasts 6 months is stated by Samuel, Kethuvoh 39a; Qiddushin 79a; Niddah 65a. The saying is ascribed to Joshua b. Levi, Yer. Yevamoth 1:2, 3a.

<sup>4</sup> According to Jastrow, the basic meaning of the root בגר is "to be rough" — with reference to the wrinkled nipple of the mature woman. Kohut also renders

The facts just stated are familiar — so familiar, perhaps, that scholars have accepted them without asking what they mean. Why is it that the female attains her majority in two stages, while the male reaches his at a single bound? Nothing in the Bible suggests such a distinction.

It may be said there is no difficulty: different peoples have innumerable classifications of age-groups, especially for the period of adolescence. The three stages of minor, girl, and adult may have long been recognized in unwritten Jewish tradition, or may have been borrowed from the Syrian environment. No evidence is available to refute such a contention — or to support it. Among the various age classifications known to us from the ancient world, I have found no stage (for example, among the Athenians and Romans) that lasted less than a full year. Above all, such a reference to folklore or custom hardly explains the drastic changes in legal position which the talmudic law applies for six months to the *na'arah*.<sup>5</sup> It is to these legal provisions that we must turn in an effort to elucidate the problem.

# I

Deut. 22:28 f. deals with the rape of an unmarried girl. The offender must pay the father of his victim a fixed fine (*qenas*) of fifty shekels; he may also be required to marry the girl, and in such a case he can never divorce her by his own choice.

In this passage the young female is twice called *na'arah*. The rabbinic sources understand the term in the technical sense, and infer that no *qenas* is to be paid if the young woman was already a *bogereth* at the time of the attack.<sup>6</sup> According to R. Meir, the penalty is paid only for

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"rauh," "hart," citing Arabic and Persian analogues. But Levy regards the root as a variant of בָּרַר "to be ripe"; cf. below n. 42. Isserles, in a note to Yoreh De'ah 234:1, explains בִּגְדָה as "full of hair"; for the Targum Yerushalmi renders אִישׁ שֶׁעַר (Gen. 27:11) by גִּבֹּר בִּנְיָ. This rendering does not, however, appear in the printed texts of the Targum. Dr. S. J. B. Wolk was kind enough to furnish me with this reference.

<sup>5</sup> This inquiry was begun in amazement and is presented with trepidation. No one seems to have examined the problem. J. H. Greenstone stated it plainly enough (*JE*, VIII, 270, Art. "Majority") but hardly recognized it as a problem. L. Löw's study, *Die Lebensalter*, which offers much erudite detail on minor matters, does not mention this important subject. Nor have I found anything pertinent in the treatises of Louis M. Epstein: *The Jewish Marriage Contract; Marriage Laws in the Bible and Talmud; Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism*.

<sup>6</sup> Mishnah Kethuvot 3:8; Tosefta *ibid.*, 3:5; Sifre Deut. 244 (Finkelstein 274 f.).

the violation of a *na'arah*; the other scholars apply the rule also to the case of a minor: the *qenas* is to be paid unless the victim had passed beyond the status of *na'arah*.<sup>7</sup>

But payment of this statutory fine does not exempt the rapist from regular civil action. The court will award compensation for the girl's reduced value in the "marriage market," for the humiliation of her family, and for the physical pain she has endured. If the victim was a *bogereth* and not eligible for the *qenas*, she or her father may still sue for civil damages.<sup>8</sup>

Exod. 22:15 f. contains a similar law regarding the seduction of an unmarried girl. The rabbis find the cases analogous and transfer to the present instance several of the rules noted above. Exodus does not use the term *na'arah* and does not specify the amount of compensation; but according to the rabbis, a *qenas* of fifty shekels is to be paid for the seduction of a girl who has not attained the status of *bogereth*. In two respects, however, the law differs in the case of seduction. Additional damages may be sought by the victim's family (even if she was a *bogereth*) for impairment of her value and for the family's dishonor, but not for pain, since the maiden assented. These civil damages may be collected at once. The *qenas*, however, is not actually to be paid if the seducer marries the girl. In such case the sum constitutes her marriage portion (*kethubah*). But if either the man, the girl, or her father refuses consent to the marriage, the fine is immediately collectible.<sup>9</sup>

## II

Far more serious is the case of intercourse between a man and a betrothed female, that is, one who is legally though not yet actually married (Deut. 22:23 ff.). If the incident occurs in the country, the Bible assumes that the woman cried for help in vain; as a helpless victim, she is not to be penalized, and only the man is to be held guilty. But if the misadventure occurred in a city, where the woman could have summoned assistance by screaming, both she and her paramour are to be stoned to death.

The tannaitic Midrash follows the intent rather than the letter of

<sup>7</sup> Tosefta Kethuvoth 3:8; Bab. *ibid.*, 40b, where the Mishnah (3:8) gives only the view of R. Meir.

<sup>8</sup> Mishnah *ibid.*, 3:4, 4:1.

<sup>9</sup> Mekhilta Nezikin 17 (Lauterbach III, 129 ff.); Mekhilta R. Simeon on Exod. 22:15 (Hoffmann 148 f., Epstein 208 f.); Sifre Deut. 244; Mishnah Kethuvoth 3:4; Bab. *ibid.* 39b.

this provision: whether in town or country, if aid was available, both man and woman are guilty; otherwise, he alone is to be condemned.<sup>10</sup>

Here again Scripture uses the term *na'arah*, and again the rabbinic sources regard it as precise and technical. A minor would be exempt from all punishment; a *bogereth* would be subject to the regular penalty for adultery, namely, death by strangulation;<sup>11</sup> the more severe punishment of stoning applies only to one apprehended during the brief period that she was a *na'arah*.

Of course, this is all doubly theoretical. On the one hand, the tannaitic halakhah was elaborated long after the Roman government had deprived Jewish courts of jurisdiction in capital cases. On the other, the Rabbis in their open opposition to capital punishment had established the rule of *hathra'ah*, which made conviction possible only if the culprit had been warned in advance by two witnesses of the consequences of the crime he was about to commit, and had persisted in his purpose.

### III

We come now to something more complicated. Deut. 22:13 ff. deals with the case of a husband who declares that he did not find his wife a virgin at marriage. This charge may be refuted by her parents, who are to display the garment, i. e., bedlinen, on which the union was consummated, bearing appropriate bloodstains. In such case, the husband is flogged, and, in addition, he must pay the wife's father a *qenas* of one hundred silver shekels; he is further denied the power ever to divorce his wife. But if her parents cannot produce such a proof, she is to be stoned to death.

Once again we are to remember that during the talmudic period, no one could be executed on the basis of this law. Moreover, the rabbinic teachers (with only one recorded dissenter) had drastically reinterpreted the biblical text. They realized that the evidence of stained bedlinen is inconclusive; it could easily be faked by the parents, while a malicious husband might readily appropriate and destroy genuine evidence. The majority of the rabbis, therefore, explain the sentence "they shall spread the garment before the elders of the city" (Deut. 22:17) as allegorical. It means: the facts must be as plainly

<sup>10</sup> Sifre Deut. 243 (Finkelstein 273); Midrash Tannaim 143. I have not found this distinction in the Talmud or Codes.

<sup>11</sup> Mishnah Sanhedrin 7:4, 9; Tosefta *ibid.*, 10:8, 9; Sifre Deut. 242 (Finkelstein 472); Midrash Tannaim 142 f.

evident as a garment. They must, in short, be established by witnesses.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, the wife is subject to penalty only if her misconduct took place after her betrothal to her present husband.<sup>13</sup>

Thus the criminal aspect of the case was reduced *ad absurdum*. Prosecution would be possible only if two witnesses saw the young lady about to violate her betrothal vows, warned her, and saw her persist in her guilty way; then, however, instead of coming forward with their testimony, they must have waited until the husband on his wedding night discovered that his bride was not a virgin, and only then would they report on what they had seen.

But though there was no possibility of invoking the death penalty in such cases, it could and did happen that a husband might complain that his bride was not the virgin she had been represented to be. The Mishnah prescribes that virgins should be married on Wednesday because the courts sit regularly on Thursday: if the husband wishes to bring charges, he must do so without delay.<sup>14</sup> For if the woman actually had intercourse with another man after her betrothal, she is guilty of adultery, and the husband *must* divorce her, even if he doesn't want to. There is also a civil aspect: has the woman forfeited her right to the sum named in her marriage contract, or to part thereof?

The courts will not, on the basis of the husband's complaint alone, assume that the woman has committed adultery. His charge, even if honest, might be mistaken; or she may have been raped or accidentally deflowered, or she may have had an affair prior to her betrothal. In such cases she would not be forbidden to her husband. But as we shall see, the fact that he made the charge created a situation comparable to that of the suspected wife (*Soṭah*, Num. 5:11 ff.), and the authorities held that in such a case the husband should not be permitted to live with her any longer.<sup>15</sup>

In the scriptural text of this law, the young wife is called *na'arah*; and again the rabbinic commentators understand the usage as tech-

<sup>12</sup> Sifre Deut. 236, 237 (and see Finkelstein's nn., p. 269 f.); Midrash Tannaim 140; Mekhilta Nezikin 6 and 13 (Lauterbach III, 54, 102); Kethuveth 46a; Yer. *ibid.*, 4:4, 28c. According to Wolf Einhorn's version of the Beraita of the Thirty-Two Rules (*Midrash Tannaim*, Vilna 1925, p. 45b; not in Enelow's ed. of *Mishnah R. Eliezer*) #26, the allegorical interpretation of this v. was not approved by the majority as halakhah. But there is no other indication that the literalist view, though supported by the high authority of R. Eliezer b. Jacob, prevailed. See Maimonides, M. T. Na'arah Bethulah 3:12, though Karo *ad loc.* detects a minor inconsistency.

<sup>13</sup> Kethuveth 46a.

<sup>14</sup> Mishnah *ibid.*, 1:1.

<sup>15</sup> Below, n. 29.



nical: "to exclude the *bogereth*."<sup>16</sup> In what sense? On the one hand, the woman is liable to stoning only if she was a *na'arah* when the offense was committed; if she was a *bogereth* at the time, her guilt would be punished by strangulation. On the other hand, if the husband made the charge when his wife was already a *bogereth*, and the charge was proved groundless, he is exempt from the payment of the *qenas* and from flogging. Yet if his charge is sustained and the adultery occurred while the wife was still a *na'arah*, the more severe penalty of stoning would be imposed.<sup>17</sup> (These provisions are the only ones in which the law is applied more stringently to the woman than to the man; they seem to be motivated by the need of consistency with the rules already discussed in sections I and II of this article.)

To what extent, however, is the *bogereth* subject to the non-criminal implications of this law?

The rule of marriage contracts is as follows: If the bride is presumed to be a virgin, her basic marriage portion is two *minae*. It is half that amount when no such presumption exists — namely, if the woman is a widow, divorcée, convert, or freedwoman, or is known to have been accidentally deflowered. In these cases, no complaint may be made afterward that the bride was not a virgin; the fact that the husband makes a lesser settlement shows that he understands this.<sup>18</sup>

Now the *bogereth* receives the full marriage portion of two *minae*. Yet according to a statement in our editions of the Talmud, no charge of non-virginity may be leveled against one who was a *bogereth* at the time of marriage.<sup>19</sup>

This blanket statement, indeed, is promptly qualified. The husband's complaint may take one of two forms: either that there was no bleeding after the first union, or that he "found the door open," i. e., could effect entrance without the usual difficulty. According to the reading in our printed texts, the second of these complaints is not applicable to the *bogereth* but the complaint about the absence of blood is a valid one.<sup>20</sup>

Another reading of the text of the Gemara, however, states just the opposite: the only valid complaint against the *bogereth* is the "open door," but not the lack of bleeding. This reading was known to R. Ḥa-

<sup>16</sup> Sifre Deut. 238.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. n. 11, and see Kethuvoth 45a-b; Tosefta *ibid.*, 1:5; Maimonides M. T. Na'arah 3:2 and Karo's comments.

<sup>18</sup> Mishnah Kethuvoth 1:2-4.

<sup>19</sup> Tosefta *ibid.*, 1:3; Bab. *ibid.*, 36a.

<sup>20</sup> Kethuvoth 36ab. According to Rashi, the vaginal opening enlarges as the girl matures, so that entrance is effected more readily.

nel<sup>21</sup> and to some Geonim mentioned by Maimonides.<sup>22</sup> The latter is so concerned on this point that he departs from his usual habit of not mentioning sources. First giving the view found in our prints, he mentions the opposite view held by some Geonim and continues: "The manner of the Gemara does not indicate this; it was due to an error in the texts. I have examined many ancient manuscripts and found that this matter is as we have explained."

In attempting to settle this problem, commentators have attached considerable importance to a brief statement in the Yer. Talmud: "The *bogereth* is like an open wine-cask."<sup>23</sup> Nahmanides considers this statement to support fully the reading of Maimonides and of our present texts; the Tosafists, though inclined to take the same view, remark that it is still possible to explain the Yerushalmi passage in harmony with the other reading of the Bavli.<sup>24</sup>

A little more light is thrown on the matter by another discussion. Lev. 21:13 requires the high priest to "take a wife in her virginity." From this peculiarity of expression (it does not say "he must take a virgin as wife"), R. Meir inferred that he must not marry a *bogereth*, "whose tokens of virginity have disappeared." But R. Eliezer and R. Simon permit the high priest to marry a *bogereth*.<sup>25</sup>

Discussing the latter opinion, the Yerushalmi asks why R. Eliezer and R. Simon should have given this permission, though they agree with R. Meir in forbidding the high priest to marry a girl who has been accidentally deflowered. The answer is: "In the case of the *bogereth*, the hymen is consumed within her body; in the case of the victim of an accident, it has gone outside her body."<sup>26</sup> This certainly implies that the maidenhead of the *bogereth* is, or soon becomes, non-existent by a natural process. Modern physiology knows nothing of this process, but this is not the only case where old sources cite medical "facts" unknown to science.

But this inference from a single passage does not seem to have be-

<sup>21</sup> Cited by Tosafoth Kethuvoh 9a, s. v. האומר.

<sup>22</sup> M. T. 'Ishuth 11:13; Hagahoth Maimunioth to this passage note that this reading was also known to Alfasi and Rabbenu Tam.

<sup>23</sup> Yer. Kethuvoh 1:1, 24d bot.

<sup>24</sup> Nahmanides *apud* Karo, *Kesef Mishneh* to M. T. 'Ishuth 11:13; Tosafoth *loc. cit.* In his commentary to the Yerushalmi passage, David Frankel quotes both opinions.

<sup>25</sup> Yevamoth 59a; Sifra on Lev. 21:13. In Sifra and Mishnah Yevamoth 6:4, R. Meir's view appears anonymously.

<sup>26</sup> Yer. Yevamoth 6:4, 7c, which also records another version: the dissenting rabbis permit the high priest to marry one accidentally deflowered, but not a *bogereth* whose days of youth נעורים have passed.

come accepted. The Bavli understands R. Meir to mean simply that in the process of maturing, the hymen diminishes or shrivels; and the discussion seems to harmonize with the view already considered: that the initial penetration is easier when the bride is already a *bogereth*.<sup>27</sup> Elsewhere, the Yer. Talmud cites a tannaitic statement that the claim of non-virginity is refuted by the slightest evidence; then follows the case of a woman, of whose virginity there was found only as much as a mustard seed. R. Ishmael b. Jose passed on the case, and ruled that the charge against her was not admissible.<sup>28</sup> The discussion makes clear that the reference is to a blood-stain no bigger than a mustard seed. Thus Maimonides can argue that there is at least some bleeding in the case of a virgin *bogereth*.

Despite the uncertainties of texts and interpretation, and despite the technical character of the discussions, some general trends seem to emerge. The Rabbis limit the full application of the biblical law to the *na'arah* in the technical sense and restrict in some degree its application to the *bogereth*. There is good reason to think that their intent in this was to discourage the making of accusations by impulsive and perhaps ill-informed husbands.

For one thing, the view advocated by R. Elazar b. Pedath is adopted by both Gemaras: a husband who makes such a charge without further evidence is doubly penalized. He cannot deprive his wife of her marriage settlement, but he is forbidden to live with her any longer.<sup>29</sup>

Second, early sources report differences in practice as between Judah and Galilee in the matter of chaperoning betrothed couples prior to and including their wedding night. This subject is not part of our present inquiry; but it is worth noting that these sources deny the husband the right to make a subsequent complaint unless he has been subjected to such rigid and uninterrupted chaperonage as to preclude the possibility that he himself had previously deflowered his bride.<sup>30</sup>

Further evidence comes from the stories concerning actual charges of prior unchastity. These stories, incidentally, do not tell us whether the brides were minors, maidens, or adults; and other points of *halakhah* we have discussed are also passed over. What is significant is that in every instance the case is resolved in favor of the wife. In one

<sup>27</sup> Yevamoth 59a; cf. n. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Yer. Kethuveth 1:1, 25a end.

<sup>29</sup> Kethuveth 8b-9a; Yer. *ibid.*, 1:1, 25a.

<sup>30</sup> Mishnah *ibid.*, 1:5; Tosefta *ibid.*, 1:4.

case, the bride is proved — by an odd legendary technique — to be still intact; in another, blood absorbed into the texture of the garment is extracted by proper use of detergents; in a third, the bride proves to come from a family which congenitally does not bleed or menstruate; in a fourth, the non-bleeding was due to famine, and after the bride has been given suitable nourishment, the reaction is normal.<sup>31</sup> Still a further case is reported, in which Rabbi accepted as sufficient the bride's explanation that her hymen had been ruptured by walking up and down the high steep stairs in her parent's home.<sup>32</sup> *No instance is cited where the charge by the husband was sustained.*

It seems probable that we have here a clash between popular prejudice and the higher ethical notions of the Rabbis. They apparently objected to the breaking up of a marriage and the discrediting of a woman's virtue on the basis of her bridegroom's subjective impressions. Perhaps, too, they felt that there was an injustice in imposing a rigid standard on the woman without demanding equal stringency in the case of the man. This was the avowed reason why R. Johanan b. Zakkai did away with the ordeal of the bitter water.<sup>33</sup> The latter reform was perhaps easier to accomplish because it took place (presumably) during the years of upheaval and confusion; not long after, the destruction of the Temple made it impossible to reintroduce the old practice, even if popular sentiment desired it.

In the present instance, the Rabbis were less successful in accomplishing their aim, not so much because of the law in Deuteronomy, but because of old custom and ingrained prejudice.<sup>34</sup> Accordingly, a kind of compromise seems to have been reached. The rule concerning charges of prior unchastity was to be applied in all its fullness only to the *na'arah*, defined as a girl during the first six months after she ceases to be a minor. The attempt to exempt the *bogereth* altogether from this law was not acceptable to the public; but the rabbis were able to limit the application of the rule to some extent. In addition to restricting the application of this law as much as they could, they further discouraged recourse to it by the decision that an unsupported charge by the husband could not be invoked to the financial disadvantage of the wife. And such cases as were presented to them were decided, whenever possible, in the woman's favor.

<sup>31</sup> Kethuvoth 10a-b.

<sup>32</sup> Yer. *ibid.*, 1:1, 25a.

<sup>33</sup> Mishnah Soṭah 9:9.

<sup>34</sup> In this century, the Jews of the northern Sahara still inspected the bedlinen immediately after the consummation of a marriage. See N. Slousch, *Travels in North Africa* (Philadelphia, 1927), pp. 355 f.

This view of the matter implies that the technical explanation of the word *na'arah* in the biblical text, as well as the definition of the status as lasting only six months, may have in the first instance been motivated by the desire to nullify this particular law as far as possible; once applied here, the same exegetical method was then transferred to the other instances already treated. Such an explanation is offered here only as a possibility; but it is made more plausible by a striking parallel. The law of Deut. 21:18 ff., prescribing the death penalty for a juvenile delinquent whose parents complain that he is incorrigible, appeared to the rabbis as utterly horrible; and they assert that it was never put into practice.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, to avoid the remote possibility that some cold-blooded parents might ever invoke the statute, they proceeded to surround it with many technicalities. Among these was a sharp restriction of the age to which it might apply. A minor certainly is not subject to criminal prosecution; on the other hand, Scripture uses the term "son" and avoids characterizing the sinner as an *'ish*. Hence the penalty applies only between the appearance of the two initial pubic hairs and that of a fuller "beard" in the area; according to the authoritative opinion of R. Sabbetai, the maximum period during which the adolescent is subject to the rule is three months.<sup>36</sup>

#### IV

The distinction we have been studying also appears in the sources treating the law of vows contained in Num. 30. The Bible makes plain that an unmarried female is under the jurisdiction of her father, a married woman under that of her husband. The father therefore has the right to annul the vows of his unmarried daughter and the husband can nullify those of his wife. If the responsible male hears the vow and does not promptly disallow it, it is valid: no positive confirmation is necessary. Only the widow and divorcée are completely independent in this matter.

Rabbinic law makes a number of modifications. If a boy in his thirteenth year or a girl in her twelfth year utters a vow, we must examine the matter and determine whether or not the youngster understood the import of the vow. If he did, it is a real vow. The vow of one more than a year below the age of majority is null, even if understood,

<sup>35</sup> Sanhedrin 71a.

<sup>36</sup> Mishnah Sanhedrin 8:1; Bab. *ibid.* 69a; M. T. Mamrim 7:6.



whereas the vow of one who has reached majority is valid even if not understood.<sup>37</sup>

Second, the Mishnah defines the types of vows which when made by a female are subject to annulment by her father or her husband. The vows subject to such nullification are only vows of self-denial ('*innui nefesh*) or such other vows as would affect the relation between husband and wife.<sup>38</sup>

Further, the father's control over his daughter's vows terminates when she becomes a *bogereth*. "In one respect," notes the Mishnah, "the husband's authority exceeds the father's, for the husband can annul the vow of his adult wife, whereas the father cannot annul the vow of his adult daughter."<sup>39</sup> There is, indeed, a sufficient exegetical basis for this distinction. The Bible, in discussing nullification by the father, uses the expression *bine'ureha* ("in her youth"), which is understood to mean "while she has the status of a *na'arah*" — hence not after she has fully grown up; no such terminology is employed with regard to the husband's rights.

Still one cannot help wondering whether the biblical phraseology was the real source of the distinction, or whether the desire on the part of the sages to enhance the dignity of women led them to press the biblical language as far as they could.

Finally, the halakhah provides that if a *na'arah* has been betrothed — that is, legally married — though still living in her father's house prior to the actual marriage, her vows are effective unless both her father and her husband disallow them. For she is in some sense subject to both of them. If either of them maintains silence after hearing her vow, the other is helpless to nullify it.<sup>40</sup>

## V

Before attempting to state some highly tentative conclusions, we must take note of several passages which describe the external evidences of maturity in the female. Various opinions are recorded, dealing mostly with the development of the breast; one authority regards the flattening of the *mons veneris* as the decisive indication that the person is a

<sup>37</sup> Mishnah Niddah 5:6.

<sup>38</sup> Mishnah Nedarim 11:1; Bab. *ibid.* 79b; Sifre Num. 153. Later halakhists disagree as to whether there is any limitation on the right of the father to annul all oaths while the daughter is under age: see M. T. Nedarim 12:1 with commentaries.

<sup>39</sup> Mishnah Nedarim 10:2.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 10:1; Tosefta *ibid.*, 6:3.



*bogereth*.<sup>41</sup> The Mishnah reports an interesting analogy of "the scholars" between three stages in the ripening of a fig and the three stages in the maturing of a woman.<sup>42</sup>

But these physiological evidences were virtually disregarded by the halakhah. The one physical sign about which the authorities are insistent is the appearance of pubic hair. This, however, is proof that the female has become a *na'arah*; after six months, she automatically acquires the status of *bogereth* without any evidence of further bodily ripening.

The Gemara does not fully harmonize these two approaches. Maimonides, seeking in his Code to give proper weight to all the existing material and basing himself on some hints in the Talmud, attempted to integrate the material into one system. According to Maimonides, if one of the "upper" signs appears before the "lower" (i. e., the two pubic hairs), the status of the girl is regarded as doubtful, and the more rigorous provisions concerning both *qetanah* and *na'arah* are applied to her. If, however, all the signs enumerated in the sources have appeared except the hair, we must assume that she is indeed grown up (*gedolah*, sc. *na'arah*), and that the hair had appeared and then fallen out.<sup>43</sup> Joseph Karo, in his commentary on the passage, points out a difficulty: the signs listed in the tannaitic sources describe the appearance of the fully mature *bogereth*, not the *na'arah*.

## VI

Our examination of the data makes clear that the question we started with is a proper one. We have found ample evidence of struggle and conflict, but no simple hypothesis to explain all the facts has thus far emerged. I can only offer some tentative suggestions.

The concept and the term *bogereth* do not seem to have been an altogether new notion of the scholars. Academicians would have been more likely to adapt a biblical term (as they did in the case of *na'arah*) than to introduce an unfamiliar root. The comparison of a ripening woman to a ripening fig may well be a bit of popular lore.

I suggest that an informal distinction of popular speech was seized upon and applied technically by the scholars for their own purposes. What these purposes were, we can only surmise. I offer three possibilities, no one of which would exclude the other two.

<sup>41</sup> Tosefta Niddah 6:4.

<sup>42</sup> Mishnah *ibid.*, 5:7.

<sup>43</sup> M. T. 'Ishuth 2:8.

1. Even though they were not permitted to try capital cases, the Rabbis never ceased to elaborate rules of procedure which would make a death sentence impossible. The restriction of the harsh laws in Deut. 22 to the *na'arah*, so that they could be applied in full severity to any person only during a period of six months out of her entire life, may have been part of this process.

2. But, as we have seen, a more practical purpose may also have been involved. For though there was no chance of a girl being stoned to death because her husband denied that he had found her a virgin, the possibility of humiliation and financial loss to the bride and her family remained. Such charges did come before the courts, and in their efforts to discourage them, the scholars had to confront deep-rooted custom and prejudice. Among the expedients which they employed was the attempt to restrict the application of these rules to the *na'arah* — an attempt, which had it been successful, would have all but eliminated the possibility of preferring such charges. But this attempt was not fully successful, and the sources leave us in some doubt as to the exact rulings they were able to establish. It seems clear, however, that they were concerned to protect women against flimsy charges and in general to raise the dignity of womankind. The application of the same rule of interpretation in the case of vows, whereby the *bogereth* was no longer subject to interference by her father, may have had the same intent.

3. But these considerations hardly apply in the cases of seduction and rape with which we began. We might reply that if in several other cases the rabbis interpreted the word *na'arah* technically to exclude the *bogereth*, consistency would require them to do the same here. But I venture to suggest something further.

These two cases, as well as that of the husband's denial of his bride's chastity, involve the application of *qenas*. This term, sometimes employed in rabbinic literature in the general sense of "penalty," has in the present instances the special meaning of a money penalty in an amount fixed by Scripture. The *qenas* for rape or seduction is fifty shekels, for slandering a bride one hundred shekels. Another instance: if a vicious ox gores a slave to death, the owner of the ox must pay a *qenas* of thirty shekels to the owners of the slave (Exod. 21:32).

Now the halakhah insists that cases involving *qenas* can be tried only before judges possessing full ordination.<sup>44</sup> This meant, that, even

<sup>44</sup> See, e. g., Sanhedrin 13b bot. The Gemara seems to attach importance to *qenas*-cases as distinctive of ordination, but does not explain why. Rashi finds the

while the Patriarch was still ordaining "elders," cases of *qenas* could be adjudicated only by scholars ordained in Palestine — since the Babylonian teachers received only partial ordination.

What was the reason for this particular restriction? Surely cases of *qenas* do not call for special talent on the part of the judge. All he needs to do is determine the facts by the usual methods; the penalty is fixed and automatic. Far more expertness is required to decide a civil suit for damages, where the judges had to fix the compensation for financial loss and medical care plus such intangibles as physical suffering and impairment of honor. In such matters, the courts had vast discretionary powers.<sup>45</sup> If these could be entrusted to non-Palestinian scholars, why were they forbidden to judge the far simpler cases involving *qenas*?

I have not found any discussion of the subject in the literature. Timidly, I venture the guess that it was the rigid character of these laws that disturbed the rabbis. No leeway was given to the judges to make allowance for the particular circumstances of each case, or even for changes in the purchasing power of the shekel. Perhaps they restricted the practice of this branch of law to the fully ordained because they found the law distasteful and wanted to limit its application as far as possible. If this is so, the further restriction of the law of *qenas* in respect to rape and seduction (even in the land of Israel) may have had a similar intent. At least, it seems to fit with the rule that civil damages might be sought in addition to the *qenas*, as well as by the *bogereth* who was not eligible for the *qenas*.

All these suggestions, however, remain no more than suggestions. It is my hope that this study will serve to stimulate better qualified scholars to pursue the subject and to arrive at more definite conclusions.

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reason in the use of אלקים in Exod. 22:8. According to a generally accepted view, this title is applied to fully ordained judges: M. T. Sanhedrin 4:4.

<sup>45</sup> "The confiscation of property by a court is valid" — Gitṭin 36b and frequently.

# AMOS STUDIES

## Part Four

### THE ADDRESS OF AMOS — TEXT AND COMMENTARY

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#### I

#### AMOS DELIVERED ONLY ONE ADDRESS\*

We have suggested in Parts I and II of this series of studies that Amos delivered only one, single address. He delivered this address at Beth-El, at the national sanctuary there, during the course of an important festival, for the formal celebration of which the people had come together from all parts of the Northern Kingdom. In all likelihood, in fact in almost complete certainty, this was the New Year's Day, the New Year's Day of the solar calendar which had been inaugurated in the Northern Kingdom by Ahab, largely under the influence of his wife, Jezebel, the Tyrian princess, and in response to the pressures of evolving commercial life and resulting expanding international relations. Whether this New Year's Day was celebrated upon the day of the vernal equinox, as seems to have been the practice in Tyre, or upon the day of the autumnal equinox, as was certainly the practice in the Southern Kingdom from the days of Solomon on, we do not know with certainty; but the probability is that it was the day of the vernal equinox.

This thesis, that Amos delivered only one, single address, is, I believe, altogether novel. At least I know of no scholar who has ever propounded it before, and much less attempted to piece this single

\* This article was accepted for publication in Volume XXXII of the *Annual* before it was known that the volume would appear as a tribute to Julian Morgenstern. The editors are pleased to include it in this dedicatory volume not only because it is the looked-for concluding part of the author's *Amos Studies* but also because no volume of the *Annual* would be complete without an article by him. Since the *Annual* first appeared in 1924 Morgenstern has contributed a distinguished article to each successive volume. — THE EDITORS.

address together from the various sections or fragments preserved, in badly disorganized form, in the current Book of Amos. In the opinion of apparently practically all modern scholars Amos went about the country, impliedly to many sections of the Northern Kingdom, delivering addresses, all more or less denunciatory in character, and most of them, so it would seem, quite brief, each requiring but a few minutes for delivery. The Book of Amos is a collection of these addresses, so they maintain. Various scholars have attempted to recover at least some of these single, brief addresses, but with practically no agreement among themselves and apparently also with not too much confidence in the correctness of their own reconstructions. Accordingly, from the standpoint of practically all modern biblical scholars, the Book of Amos is a collection of fragmentary utterances by this significant prophet, put together, with but little regard for organization and resultant thought-unity, by the prophet himself, after his dismissal from Beth-El by Amaziah and his return to his native land, Judah, and to his home in or near Tekoa; or if not put together by the prophet himself, who, more probably than not, as a simple shepherd, could not write, or at least could not write sufficiently well and readily to record all this book, then by some acquaintance or disciple, but at the prophet's dictation.

Many basic considerations tend to disprove this hypothesis and to lend strong support to that which we present. The facts that Amaziah apparently did not know the prophet's name and that he addressed him (7:12) by the general title, *חזה*, "seer," and that, quite plainly, he assumed that Amos was just another ordinary prophet, one who could be easily cowed by the authority of the chief priest of the national sanctuary at Beth-El, preclude the possibility that Amos could have functioned as a prophet and have delivered his prophetic utterances in various parts of the country, for in such case, and particularly as a prophet bringing an altogether new message of assured national doom, he would have quickly achieved a certain wide reputation and his name would unquestionably have been well known to Amaziah.

Likewise, Amos' emphatic declaration to Amaziah that he was not a professional prophet (7:14) carries with it the implication that this was his first, and therefore his only, appearance in the prophetic role, and that, accordingly, he delivered only one, single prophetic address. And indeed his first four visions, all of which must have come to him before he actively initiated his prophetic mission, do imply clearly<sup>1</sup> that he was acquainted with the full content of his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part I, pp. 52-114.

prophetic message before he set out upon the task of presenting it to the people to whom it was directed, that he understood completely that his mission was to communicate to the people, Israel, the message of its utter doom as Yahweh's recompense to it for its countless social iniquities and its faithlessness to its covenant with its god. From the very beginning his message must have been closely unified in his mind. Such a message he would certainly not have broken up into numerous brief addresses, each spoken in a different locality and before a different assemblage of the people, and each in itself an incomplete and inadequate presentation of the divine decree regarding it which he was charged to communicate to all Israel. Instead, once fully aware of the nature and complete content of the message which he was commissioned by his god to bring to Israel, he would most naturally have given thought to the question how he might discharge this mission most effectively. Certainly he would never have dreamed of going about the country and delivering small, disconnected portions of his total message to little groups of people scattered throughout the country. Rather, he would have sought some favorable place and occasion, where and when he might deliver his message in a closely unified form in a single and effective address. And quite plainly the gathering of the people in vast numbers at the great, national sanctuary at Beth-El for the celebration of the all-important New Year's Day provided him with just the setting which he eagerly desired. But this consideration implies again the deliverance by Amos of only one, single address.

Furthermore, had Amos presented his message to Israel in various localities and in many brief and disconnected addresses, each address delivered to a different group, this activity would certainly have required considerable time, at least several months, as Hölscher and Sellin claim, and not at all improbably an ever longer period, perhaps even a number of years. But the editor (1:1) sets the prophet's entire ministry in the course of the reign of a single king, Uzziah of Judah and his contemporary, Jeroboam II of Israel. And not merely that, but, with far narrower time-limitation, he assigns the entire course of Amos' prophetic activity to a single year, two years before the earthquake. Quite obviously he conceived of the prophet's active ministry as of brief duration, as extending over not more than one year. Certainly such a concept accords far better with the assumption of a single address than with that of numerous brief addresses delivered in different localities and with varying periods of time intervening between them.

Also, we shall see that the address, in the form in which we have



reconstructed it, and for which, be it noted, we have used by far the greater part of the Book, evolves logically and forcefully and advances steadily towards a powerful, climactic conclusion, the prophet's announcement of the divinely ordained doom of the people and of its king and the precise manner thereof. In fact the full unity and logic of the prophet's thought can be appreciated only when his words are arranged in the form of a single, unified address. Moreover, and this is a quite decisive consideration, unlike the books of other prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah for example, whose ministry extended over a period of years and who in the course thereof delivered numerous addresses, and who of necessity in these various addresses repeated not infrequently thoughts and messages originally set forth in earlier addresses, in the Book of Amos, particularly as we have used the content thereof in the reconstruction of the total address, there is practically no repetition whatsoever. Essential thoughts are presented only once. And when properly rearranged and coordinated, as we have endeavored to do, the address manifests no repetition of thought whatsoever, but advances directly, logically and climactically toward its by the prophet clearly preconceived goal. Also it should be noted that in its broad outlines and thought-sequences, as we have reconstructed it, it conforms quite closely to the order of passages in the present *MT*. In short, the address itself, as we have reconstructed it, is the final and most decisive evidence that Amos' entire prophetic ministry was discharged in a single, brief moment of hardly more than a half-hour's duration, and perhaps not quite that long, and consisted of a single address.

Moreover, within the address itself certain important procedures on the part of the prophet lend further confirmation to the hypothesis of one, single address. Of the denunciations of the seven nations at the very commencement of the Book (1:3-2:5) we have concluded that only four come from Amos, while three are of secondary authorship. These four denunciations, all markedly uniform in structure and together totalling twelve verses of text, are, it is plain when the address is considered as a unit, in themselves not primary motives in the address but together serve as the very effective introduction to the fundamental task of the prophet as discharged by this address, the denunciation of Israel for its iniquities and the announcement of its assured doom. This is evidenced by the fact that the prophet begins his denunciation of Israel (2:6) in precisely the same manner as he began his denunciation of each of the four foreign nations at the commencement of his address. Furthermore, his arraignment of Israel for its many iniquities and acts of faithlessness to its god and his

eventual announcement of the doom of the people and its king conform exactly, though of course in greatly expanded form, to his arraignment of each of the four nations for its sins and announcement of its impending doom, and that too, like Israel's doom, at Yahweh's hands. Certainly the prophet's denunciation of these four nations was an incidental rather than a fundamental element of his total message, the introduction, and an effective introduction it certainly was, as we shall see in due time, to the address as a whole. But an utterance twelve verses in length would certainly be the introduction only to an address of at least several times this length. This conclusion points unmistakably to the conclusion that Amos must have delivered at Beth-El an address of considerable length, one which began with the denunciations, each in brief and summary form, of the four nations, and then continued, following closely the pattern set forth in each individual section of the introduction, with the denunciation and arraignment of Israel, and reached its climax in the announcement of the doom at Yahweh's hands of the nation and its king. Precisely this is the form and content of the address as we have reconstructed it. Certainly this is quite decisive evidence that Amos delivered an address of considerable length, one of approximately seventy-seven verses, as we have reconstructed it. And this consideration points again to the conclusion that our prophet delivered only one, single address.

Also, within the address, constituting the greater part of its second half, is a group of specific denunciations of various social groups or classes within the nation. Though of slightly varying length, these six specific denunciations are all cast in practically one and the same form. Three, and quite probably four, of these denunciations begin with the striking and very disturbing word, *הוי*, "Woe!", while the other two begin with the almost equally alarming *שמעו*, "Hear ye!" Furthermore, within each separate denunciation the offending groups are described regularly by participles. It is of course conceivable that each of these denunciations may have been spoken by the prophet at a different time, in a different place and before a different group there assembled, to whom he felt that this particular denunciation applied especially. But the decided uniformity of literary construction of these six denunciations, their close unity of thought and the manifestly cumulative effect which, when read or heard together, they unfailingly produce, suggest very strongly that they were actually spoken by the prophet together as a unit and as a part of a longer address. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in Isa. 5 a single address is recorded, probably the very first address of that great prophet, in the initial stage of his prophetic career certainly

the spiritual disciple of Amos, in which likewise, after a very artistic and effective introduction, which, precisely like the introduction to Amos' address, prepared the prophet's audience to accept the principle which the prophet was enunciating and then, to their consternation, compelled them to apply it to themselves, Isaiah proceeded to denounce in brief and summary manner six different groups or categories of sinners in Judah. Here too each denunciation is introduced by **הוי**. Plainly in this, probably, as said, his very first prophetic address, Isaiah was adhering closely to the pattern of a prophetic address set by his spiritual master, Amos, both as to the form and the number of the individual denunciations. And just as in Isa. 5 these six denunciations together are an integral part of a single address, so also the six denunciations in Amos.

Certainly all this cumulation of evidence points strongly to the conclusion that Amos delivered only one, single address, and that too at Beth-El, and that therein his entire prophetic ministry was summed up.

But the most decisive evidence of all will be the address itself, as we have reconstructed it. And so, with much confidence in the correctness of our hypothesis and in the broad results of our reconstruction, we present the address of Amos.

## II

### TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

#### INTRODUCTION

	כה אמר יהוה	I:3
3/3	על־שלשה פשעי דמשק / ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו	
3/2	על־דושם כבחרצות הברזל / אתי <הר> הגלעד	
4/3	ושלחתי אש בבית חזאל / ואכלה ארמנות ביהדר	I:4
3/3	והכרתי יושב מבקעת־בעל / ותומך שבט מבית־עדן	I:5aβba
3/3/2	ושברתי בריח דמשק / וגלו עס־ארם קירה / אמר יהוה	I:5aabβ
	כה אמר יהוה	I:6
3/3	על־שלשה פשעי עזה / ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו	
3/2	על־הגלותם גלות שלמה / להסגיר לאדם	

4/3	ושלחתי אש בחומת-עזה / ואכלה אֶרְמוֹתֶיהָ	I:7
3/3	והכרתי יושב מאַשְׁדּוֹד / ותומך שבט מאַשְׁקֶלֶן	I:8
3/3/2	והשיבותי ידי על-עַקְרוֹן / ואבדו שרי פלשתים / אמר יהוה	
	כה אמר יהוה	I:13
3/3	על-שלשה פשעי בני-עמון / ועל-ארבעה לא אשיבנו	
3/2	על-בִּקְעָם הָרוֹת הַגִּלְעָד / להרחיב גבולם	
4/3	ושלחתי אש בחומת רבה / ואכלה אֶרְמוֹתֶיהָ	I:14a
3/3	בסער ביום סופה / בתרועה ביום מלחמה	I:14bβa
3/3/2	והלך מלכם בגולה / הוא ושריו יחדו / אמר יהוה	I:15
	כה אמר יהוה	2:1
3/3	על-שלשה פשעי מואב / ועל-ארבעה לא אשיבנו	
3/2	על שרפו עצמות — — — — — / מלך-אֲדוֹם לשיד	
4/3	ושלחתי אש בקיר מואב / ואכלה אֶרְמוֹתֶיהָ	2:2
3/3	ומת בשאון מואב / בתרועה בקול שופר	
3/3/2	והכרתי שופט מקרבה / וכל שריו אהרונ עמו / אמר יהוה	2:3

## THE ARRAIGNMENT OF ISRAEL

	כה אמר יהוה	2:6
3/3	על-שלשה פשעי יִשְׂרָאֵל / ועל-ארבעה לא אשיבנו	
3/2	על-מכרם בכסף צדיק / ואביון בעבור-נַעֲלִים	
3/3	השפים בראש דלים / ודרך עניים יטו	2:7a
3/2	ובגדים חבלים יעטו / אצל כל-מזבח	2:8
3/2	ויין עשוקים ישתו / בית אלהיהם	
3/2	האֶפְיִאִין זאת בני-יִשְׂרָאֵל / נאם יהוה	2:11b
3/2	כיידעתי רבים פשעֵיכֶם / ועצמים חטאיכם	5:12a
3/3	ה- — — — — — / אִסְאֲשַׁכַּח לִנְצַח כְּלִי-מַעֲשִׂיכֶם	8:7b
3/3	באו בית-אל ופשעו / הגלגל והרבו לפשע	4:4
3/3	והביאו מִקְדָּר זבחיכם / ושלמיכם מעתודים	
3/3	וקטרו מחמץ תודה / וקראו נדבות השמיעו	4:5
3/2	כיֵּיכֵן אֶהְבֹּתֶם בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל / נאם יהוה	

4/3	וּגַם אֲנִכִּי נַחְתִּי לָכֶם / נִקְיוֹן שְׁנַיִם בְּכָל־עֲרִיכֶם	4:6
4/4	וְחֹסֶר לֶחֶם בְּכָל מְקוֹמוֹתֵיכֶם / וְלֹא שְׁבַתְּם עֲדֵי נֹאֲמִי־יְהוָה	
4/3	אֲנִכִּי מִנְעַתִּי מִכֶּם הַגֶּשֶׁם / הַמַּטְרָתִי עַל־עֵיר אַחַת	4:7aaba
4/4	וְעַל־עֵיר אַחֶרֶת לֹא אֲמַטִּיר / וְלֹא שְׁבַתְּם עֲדֵי נֹאֲמִי־יְהוָה	4:7bβ+8b
4/3	הַכִּיתִי אֶתְכֶם בַּשְּׁדָּפוֹן וּבִירְקוֹן / הַחֲרַבְתִּי גִנוֹתֵיכֶם וְכֶרְמֵיכֶם	4:9
4/4	וְחֲאֵיכֶם וְזִיתֵיכֶם יֵאָכֵל הַגּוֹם / וְלֹא שְׁבַתְּם עֲדֵי נֹאֲמִי־יְהוָה	
4/3	שִׁלַּחְתִּי בְכֶם דָּבָר כְּדַבְר־מִצְרַיִם / הִרְגַּתִּי בַּחֲרֹב בַּחוּרִיכֶם	4:10
4/4	וְאָעַל בָּאֵשׁ מַחְנוֹיֶכֶם בְּאַפִּיכֶם / וְלֹא שְׁבַתְּם עֲדֵי נֹאֲמִי־יְהוָה	
4/3	הִפַּכְתִּי בְכֶם מִהַפְּכַת אֱלֹהִים / וְרַב הַפֹּגֵר בְּכָל־מְקוֹם	4:11+8:3ba
4/4	וַתְּהִי כְּאוֹד מִצֵּל מִשְׁרָפָה / וְלֹא שְׁבַתְּם עֲדֵי נֹאֲמִי־יְהוָה	
4:12	לָכֵן עֲקִב־כִּי־זָאֵת עָשִׂיתִי לִי / כֹּה אַעֲשֶׂה לָךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל / הַכּוֹן	
4/4/3	לִקְרֹאת אֱלֹהֶיךָ	
3/3	כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה / דְּרֹשׁוּנִי וַחֲיוּ	5:4
3/3	וְאֵל תִּדְרָשׁוּ בֵּית־אֵל / וְהִגְלַגְל לֹא תִּבְאוּ	5:5
3/3	כִּי־הִגְלַגְל גִּלָּה יִגְלָה / וּבֵית־אֵל יִהְיֶה לְאֵין	
3/3	שְׁנֵאתִי מֵאֲסָתִי חֲגִיכֶם / וְלֹא אֲרִיחַ בַּעֲצֵרְתֵיכֶם	5:21
3/3	כִּי־אֲסִיתְּעֵלוּ לִי עוֹלוֹת / < לֹא אֶקְחָנָה מִיִּדְיָכֶם >	5:22
3/3	וּמִנַּחְתֵּיכֶם לֹא אֲרִצָּה / וּשְׁלָמִי מִרְיָאֵיכֶם לֹא־אֲבִיט	
3/3	הַסֵּר־מֵעָלִי הַמּוֹן שִׁירֶיךָ / וְזִמְרַת נְבִלְיָךְ לֹא־אֲשַׁמַּע	5:23
3/3	וַיִּגַּל כַּמִּים מִשְׁפֹּט / וַצִּדְקָה כִּנְחָל אֵיתָן	5:24

## TRANSITION

3/2	שָׁמְעוּ הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה / עֲלֵיכֶם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל	3:1a
3/2	הֲלֹא כַּבְנִי־כּוֹשׁ אֶת־סִלִּי / נֹאֵם יְהוָה	9:7
3/2	הֲלֹא יִשְׂרָאֵל הָעֵלִיתִי / מֵאֲרֶץ מִצְרַיִם	
3/2	וְפִלְשֹׁתַיִם מִכַּפְתּוֹר / וְאֶרֶם מִקֵּיר	
3/2	רַק אֶתְכֶם יִדְעָתִי / מִכְּלִי־מִשְׁפַּחוֹת הָאָדָמָה	3:2
3/2	עֲלִיכֶן אֶפְקֹד עֲלֵיכֶם / אֶת־כָּל עֲוֹנוֹתֵיכֶם	
3/2	שָׁמְעוּ וְהִעִידוּ בְּבֵיתִי־עֵקֶב / נֹאֵם יְהוָה	3:13a
3/3	הַשְׁמִיעוּ עַל־אֲדָמַת אֲשׁוֹר / וְעַל־אֲרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֲמָרוּ	3:9
	הָאֲסָפוּ עַל־יְהִיר שְׁמֵרוֹן / וּרְאוּ מִהוֹמוֹת בְּתוֹכָהּ / וְעֹשׂוֹקִים	
3/3/2	בִּקְרֶבָה	
3/2	לֹא־יִדְעוּ עֲשׂוֹת נִכְוָחָה / נֹאֵם יְהוָה	3:10a
3/2	שָׁמְעוּ הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה / עֲלֵיכֶם בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל	5:1

3/2	נפלה לא־תוסיף קגם / בתולת ישראל	5:2
3/2	נטשה עֲל־אדמָתָהּ / אין מקימה	
3/2	כִּיהֶעִיר הִיצֵאת אֶלֶף / תשאיר מאה	5:3
3/2	והֶעִיר הִיצֵאת מאה / תשאיר עשרה	
3/2	כִּיהֶנְנִי מְקִים גּוֹי / עליכם בית־ישראל	6:14
3/2	ולחצו אתכם מלבוא־חמת / עדי־נחל הערבה	
3/3	הנה־עֵינִי בַּמַּמְלָכָה הַחֲטָאָה / והשמדתי אותה מעל־פְּנֵי־הָאֲדָמָה	9:8a
3/3	והניעותי בגוים את־בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל / כאשר ינוע בכברה	9:9aβba
4/4	בחרב ימותו כל־חֲטָאֵי עָמִי / האמרים לא־תִּנָּשׁ עֲדִינוּ הָרָעָה	9:10
4/4	כֹּאשֶׁר־יִצִּיל הָרָעָה מִפִּי הָאָרֶץ / שתי כרעים אֶרְבֵּל אֶזֶן	3:12
4/4	כִּן־יִנָּצְלוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּשִׁמְרוֹן / בפאת מטה וב -- עֶרֶשׁ	

## THE FIRST DENUNCIATION

4/4	שמעו זאת השפים אביון / הכבשים עֵנִי אֶרֶץ לֹא־מֵר	8:4
4/3	מתי יעבר החדש ונשבירה / והשבת ונפתחה בר	8:5
4/3	להקטין איפה ולהגדיל שקל / ולעות מאזני מרמה	
3/3	הנשבעים בְּאִשְׁמֵת שִׁמְרוֹן / ואמרו חִיגֵד וחי־דָד	8:14aba
3/3	לכן יעֲזִיבוּסֶכֶם עַל־דָּל / ומשאת־בר תקחו ממנו	5:11
3/3	בתי גזית בניתם / ולא תשבו בם	
3/3	כרמי חמד נטעתם / ולא תשתו את־יֵינֵם	
	----- / -----	

## THE SECOND DENUNCIATION

4/4	הוי ----- / -----	
4/3	צָרִי צָדִיק לִקְחֵי כֹפֶר / ואביונים בשער הטו	5:12b
3/3	ההפכים ללענה משפט / וצדקה לאֶרֶץ הַנִּיחוּ	5:7
3/3	שנאו בשער מוכיח / ודבר תמים יתעבו	5:10
3/3	הִרְצוֹן בַּסֶּלַע סוֹסִים / אִם־יִחַרֶשׁ בַּבֶּקֶר יִם	6:12
3/3	כִּיהֶפְכַּתֶּם לְרֹאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט / ופרי צדקה ללענה	
3/3	לכן ----- / -----	



## THE THIRD DENUNCIATION

4/3	<הוי> המגדים ליום רע / ותגשון בשבט חמס	6:3
3/3	השכבים על-מטות שן / וסרוחים על-ערש'ם	6:4
3/3	ואכלים כרים מצאן / ועגלים מתוך מרבק	
3/3	השתים יין מוקק / וראשית שמנים ימשחו	6:6a
3/3	הפרטים על-פי הנבל / חשבו-להם כל שיר	6:5
3/3	האצרים חמס-ושר בארמנותיהם / ולא-נחלו על-שבר יוסף	3:Iob+6:6b
	לכן-עתה יגלו בראש גלים / וסר מרוח סרוחים / <נאם	6:7+8aβ
4/3/2	יהוה <	

## THE FOURTH DENUNCIATION

4/3	שמעו הדבר הזה פרות-הבשן / אשר בהר שמרון	4:I
	העשקות דלים הרצצות אביונים / האמרות לאדניהן הביאה	
4/4	ונשתה	
3/3	לכן-כה אמר יהוה / צר יסובב הארץ	3:II
3/3	והורד ממך עוזך / ונבזו ארמנותיך	
4/3	והכה הבית הגדול רסיסים / והבית הקטן בקעים	6:IIaβb
3/3	ונשא אתכן בצנות / ואחריתכן בסירות דונה	4:2b
4/3	ופרצים תצאנה אשה נגדה / ונשגלתנה וקחרמתנה נאם-יהוה	4:3

## THE FIFTH DENUNCIATION

3/3	הוי השאננים ב --- / והבטחים בהר שמרון	6:I
4/3	נקבי <שם> ראשית הגוים / וכאלהים הם לבית-ישראל	
3/3	השמחים ללא-דבר האמרים / הלא-יבחזקו לקחנו-לנו קרנים	6:13
3/3	עברו כלנה וראו / ולכו משם חמת-ירבה	6:2
3/3	היטבתם מן-הממלכות האלה / אסירב מגבלם נבלכם	
	הנה-אנכי מפיק תחיתכם / כאשר-תפוק העגלה המלאה / לה	2:13
3/3/3	עמיר <נוסף>	
3/3/2	נאם יהוה / --- / --- / --- / ---	

## THE SIXTH DENUNCIATION

3/3	הוי המתאווים את־יוס־יהוה / למחזה לכם יוס־יהוה	5:18ab <sup>a</sup>
3/3	הלא־חשך יוס־יהוה ולא־אור / ואפל ולא־נגה לו	5:20
3/3	והיה ביום ההוא / נאם אדני יהוה	8:9
3/3	והבאתי השמש בצדדים / והחשכתי לארץ ביוס־אור	
3/3	והפכתי חגים לאבל / וכל שיריכם לקינה	8:10aa
3/3	ושמתי כאבל יחיד / ואחריתה כיום מר	8:10b
3/3	תתעלפנה הבתולות היפות / והבחורים האמיצים <ייעפו>	8:13
3/3	<וייגעו הנערים ויכשלו> / ונפלו ולא־יקומו עוד	8:14b
3/3	והעליתי על־כל־מתנים שק / ועל־כל ראש קרחה	8:10a <sup>β</sup>
3/3	בכל רחבות מספר / ובכל־חוצות יאמרו הרהו	5:16a <sup>β</sup>
3/3	וקראו אכר אל־אבל / ובכל כרמים מספר	5:16b + 17a
3/3	והלילו שרות היכל / ומספר אל־יודעי נהי	8:3aa + 5:16b <sup>β</sup>
3/3	ואבד מנוס מקל / וחזק לא־יאמץ כחו	2:14a
3/3	ותפש הקשת לא־יעמד / ורכב הסוס לא־ימלט	2:15a <sup>ab</sup>
3/3/2	ואמיץ לבו בגבורים / ערום ינוס ביוס־ההוא / נאם יהוה	2:16

## THE DOOM OF ISRAEL

	מתעב אנכי את־נאון יעקב / וארמנתי שונאתי / והסגרת	6:8a <sup>γb</sup>
3/3/3	עיר ומלאה	
	ונשמו במות יעקב / ומקדשי ישראל יחרבו / וקמתי	7:9
3/3/3	על־בית־ירבעם בחרב	
	ונשאתם את־סכות מלכם / ואת־כיון צלמיכם <תעמסו> /	5:26a + 27a
3/3/4	והגלתי אתכם מהלאה לדמשק	
	אמר יהוה	5:27ba

## INTRODUCTION

- 1:3 Thus sayeth Yahweh:  
 For the three transgressions of Damascus,  
 Yea, for the four, I shall not let it return;  
 For their threshing, as with threshing-  
 instruments of iron, Mt. Gilead.

- 4 And I shall send fire against the house of Hazael,  
And it will consume the palaces of Ben Hadad.
- 5 And I shall cut off the inhabitants from Biq'at-Baal  
And him who wields the scepter from Beth-Eden,  
And I shall break the bar of Damascus,  
And the people of Aram will go into exile to Kir,  
Hath Yahweh declared.
- 6 Thus sayeth Yahweh:  
For the three transgressions of Gaza,  
Yea, for the four, I shall not let it return;  
For their carrying off into exile a complete exile group  
In order to deliver them over to Edom.
- 7 And I shall send fire against the wall of Gaza,  
And it will consume its palaces.
- 8 And I shall cut off the inhabitants from Ashdod  
And him who wields the scepter from Askelon,  
And I shall turn my hand against Ekron,  
And the princes of the Philistines will perish,  
Hath Yahweh declared.
- 13 Thus sayeth Yahweh:  
For the three transgressions of the Ammonites,  
Yea, for the four, I shall not let it return;  
For their ripping up the pregnant women of Gilead  
In order to expand their territory.
- 14a And I shall send fire against the wall of Rabbah.  
And it will consume its palaces.
- 14b $\beta$ a With a whirlwind on the day of the storm,  
With the trumpet blast on the day of battle.
- 15 And their king will go into exile,  
He and his princes together,  
Hath Yahweh declared.
- 2:1 Thus sayeth Yahweh:  
For the three transgressions of Moab,  
Yea, for the four, I shall not let it return;  
For their burning the bones of . . . . . ,  
King of Edom, to lime.
- 2 And I shall send fire against Kir Moab,  
And it will consume its palaces.  
And Moab will perish in the tumult,  
With the trumpet blast, with the sound of the  
ram's horn;

- 3           And I shall cut off the ruler from its midst,  
             And all his princes shall I slay with him,  
             Hath Yahweh declared.

## THE ARRAIGNMENT OF ISRAEL

- 6           Thus sayeth Yahweh:  
             For the three transgressions of Israel,  
             Yea, for the four, I shall not let it return;  
             For their selling the innocent man for silver  
             And the needy person for a pair of sandals;  
 7a          They who stamp upon the head of the poor,  
             And the way of those in want they turn aside,  
 8           And garments taken in pledge they don  
             At the side of every altar,  
             And wine gotten through oppression they drink  
             In the house of their god.  
 11b        Is this not so, O ye children of Israel?  
             Oracle of Yahweh.  
 5:12a      Verily, I know that many are your transgressions  
             And mighty are your sins.  
 8:7b      Is .....  
             Or must I forever forget all your deeds?  
 4:4        Come to Beth-El and transgress,  
             To Gilgal and transgress all the more;  
             Yea, bring of cattle your sacrifices  
             And your peace-offerings of young rams,  
 5          And burn of leavened grain a thank-offering,  
             And announce free-will offerings, proclaim (them)  
             aloud,  
             For so you love (to do), O children of Israel.  
             Oracle of Yahweh.  
 6          But on the other hand I gave unto you  
             Cleanness of teeth in all your cities  
             And lack of food in all your towns;  
             But ye would not return unto Me. Oracle of  
             Yahweh.  
 7aaba     I withheld from you the rain;  
             I let it rain upon one city,

- 7bβ+8b But upon another city I would not let it rain,  
But ye would not return unto Me. Oracle of  
Yahweh.
- 9 I smote you with blasting and mildew;  
I caused your gardens and your vineyards to  
dry up,  
And your fig trees and your olive trees the locust  
consumed,  
But ye would not return to Me. Oracle of Yahweh.
- 10 I sent against you a plague like the plague of Egypt;  
I slew your youths with the sword,  
And I made the stench of your camps to ascend into  
your nostrils,  
But ye would not return unto Me. Oracle of  
Yahweh.
- 4:11+8:3ba I brought upon you an earthquake,  
And many were the corpses in every town,  
So that ye were like a brand snatched from the blaze,  
But ye would not return unto Me. Oracle of  
Yahweh.
- 12 Therefore, because this thou hast done unto Me,  
Thus shall I do to thee, O Israel;  
Prepare to meet thy God!
- 5:4 For thus hath Yahweh said,  
Seek ye Me and live;
- 5 But seek not Beth-El,  
And to Gilgal come ye not;  
For Gilgal shall surely go into exile,  
And Beth-El shall become non-existent.
- 21 I hate, I reject your festal sacrifices,  
Nor will I partake of the odor of your concluding-  
festival offerings;
- 22 Even if you offer unto Me burnt offerings,  
I will not accept them from your hands;  
And your grain offerings I will not regard with favor,  
And to your peace offerings of young cattle I shall  
pay no attention.
- 23 Remove from Me the din of thy songs;  
Yea, to the music of thy pipes I shall not listen;
- 24 But let justice roll on as water  
And righteousness as a mighty stream.

## TRANSITION

- 3:1a       Hearken to this word  
               Against you, O children of Israel!
- 9:7        Are ye not unto Me as the Cushites?  
               Oracle of Yahweh.  
               Did I not bring Israel up  
               From the land of Egypt,  
               But also the Philistines from Caftor  
               And Aram from Kir?
- 3:2        However, you have I known more intimately  
               Than all the families of the earth;  
               Therefore must I visit upon you  
               Even all your iniquities.
- 13a        Hearken and bear testimony against the house of Jacob;  
               Oracle of Yahweh;
- 9         Announce throughout the land of Assyria,  
               And throughout the land of Egypt proclaim;  
               Gather ye together upon Mt. Samaria  
               And behold the disquiet in its midst  
               And the oppression within it.
- 10a        They know not how to act straightforwardly.  
               Oracle of Yahweh.
- 5:1        Hear ye this decree  
               Against you, O house of Israel!
- 2         Fallen, never again shall she rise,  
               The virgin of Israel;  
               Stretched out upon her soil,  
               With none to raise her up.
- 3         For the city which goeth forth a thousand  
               Shall have a hundred left,  
               And the city which goeth forth a hundred  
               Shall have ten left.
- 6:14       For behold, I am about to raise up a nation  
               Against you, O house of Israel,  
               And they shall ravage you from the Pass of Hamath  
               Unto the Valley of the Arabah.
- 9:8a       Behold, Mine eyes are against the sinful kingdom,  
               And I shall efface it from off the face of the earth.
- 9aβba     Yea, I shall shake out among the nations the house of  
               Israel  
               Even as one shakes out through a sieve.



- 10 By the sword shall die all those sinners of My people  
Who say, the catastrophe will not come near  
unto us.
- 3:12 Just as the shepherd snatches from the mouth of the lion  
Two shanks or a piece of an ear,  
So shall those children of Israel who dwell in Samaria  
deliver themselves  
With the corner of a bed or the \_\_\_ \_\_\_ of a couch.

## THE FIRST DENUNCIATION

- 8:4 Hear this, ye who trample down the poor,  
Who crush the lowly of the land, saying,
- 5 When will the new moon festival pass so that we may  
deal in grain,  
And the Sabbath that we may open the grain-store,  
In order to make small the measure and to make large  
the price  
And to pervert the scales of deceit?
- 14aba Who swear by Ashima of Samaria,  
And say, As liveth Gad and as liveth Dad!
- 5:11 Therefore, because of your treading down the poor  
And extortions of grain ye take from him,  
Houses of hewn stone have ye built,  
But ye shall not dwell in them,  
Charming vineyards have ye planted,  
But ye shall not drink their wine.
- -----

## THE SECOND DENUNCIATION

- Woe unto -----
- 12b Antagonists of the innocent, takers of bribes,  
And who turn away the poor in the gates;
- 7 Who turn justice to wormwood,  
And innocence they bring down low to the earth;
- 10 Who hate one who correcteth in the gates,  
And him who speaketh the truth they abominate!
- 6:12 Do horses run on bare rock,  
Or does one plow the sea with oxen,

That ye have turned justice to poison  
 And the fruit of innocence to wormwood?  
 Therefore \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

## THE THIRD DENUNCIATION

- 3           Woe unto those who deny the evil day  
               And dominate with a rod of violence;  
 4           Who recline upon beds of ivory  
               And are sprawled out upon their couches;  
               And who eat lambs from the flock  
               And calves from within the stall;  
 6a          Who drink purified wine  
               And anoint themselves with the finest oils;  
 5           Who play short notes upon the mouth of the harp,  
               Who compose for themselves all manner of song;  
 3:10b+6:6b   Who store up oppression in their palaces  
               And worry themselves not about the break-down  
               of Joseph!  
 6:7+8aβ    Therefore shall they now go into exile at the head of  
               the exiles,  
               And ended shall be the feast of the sprawlers!  
               Oracle of Yahweh.

## THE FOURTH DENUNCIATION

- 4:1          Hear ye this, ye cows of Bashan  
               Who are in Mt. Samaria;  
               Who oppress the poor, who crush the needy,  
               Who say to their lords, Bring hither, that we may  
               drink!  
 3:11        Therefore thus hath Yahweh said:  
               The enemy shall overrun the land,  
               And thy strength shall be brought low from thee,  
               And thy palaces shall be despoiled;  
 6:11aβb    And he shall smite the greathouse into fragments  
               And the humble house into splinters;

- 4:2b And he will carry you away with hooks,  
           Yea, even the very last one of you with fishhooks;  
       3 And through the breaches shall ye go out, each woman  
           straight ahead,  
           And ye shall be raped, and ye shall be violated.  
           Oracle of Yahweh.

## THE FIFTH DENUNCIATION

- 6:1 Woe unto those who are at ease in \_\_\_\_\_,  
           And who are confident in Mt. Samaria,  
       Men of renown, the first of the nations,  
           And who are like gods to the house of Israel,  
       13 Who exult in Lo-Debar, who say.  
           Have we not through our own might taken  
           Karnaim for ourselves?  
       2 Pass over to Kalneh and observe,  
           And go from there to Hamath-Rabba;  
       Are ye any better than these kingdoms,  
           Or is your territory greater than their territory?  
       2:13 Behold I am about to make you topple over.  
           Even as the full wagon topples over  
           To which a sheaf is added.

-----  
 -----  
 Oracle of Yahweh.

## THE SIXTH DENUNCIATION

- 5:18aba Woe unto those who yearn for the Day of Yahweh!  
           For what then is the Day of Yahweh unto you?  
       20 Is not the Day of Yahweh darkness and not light,  
           Yea, thick darkness, with no illumination to it?  
       8:9 And it shall be on that day,  
           Oracle of my Lord, Yahweh,  
       That I shall make the sun to set at noon,  
           And I shall bring darkness upon the earth in the  
           daylight,  
       10aa And I shall turn your festival into mourning  
           And all your songs into a dirge;

- 10b           Yea, I shall make it like the mourning for an only child  
              And its final portion like a bitter day.
- 13           The beautiful virgins shall grow faint,  
              And the sturdy youths shall become weary;
- 14b           Yea, the boys shall become exhausted and shall stumble,  
              And they shall fall and never rise again.
- 10aβ          And I shall bring sack-cloth upon all loins  
              And baldness upon every head.
- 5:16aβ       In all the squares there shall be mourning,  
              And in all the streets they shall be saying, Alas,  
                  alas!
- 16ba+17a     And they shall summon the farmer to wailing,  
              And in all the vineyards there shall be mourning;
- 8:3aa+5:16bβ And the singing women of the palace shall howl,  
              And mourning shall be to the professional wailers;
- 2:14a         And escape shall be lost to the swift,  
              And the strong man shall not retain his might,
- 15aab         And he who holds the bow shall not survive,  
              And he who rides the horse shall not escape,
- 2:16          And the mighty one, whose heart is among the warriors,  
              Naked shall he flee upon that day.  
              Oracle of Yahweh.

## THE DOOM OF ISRAEL

- 6:8aγb       I loathe the arrogance of Jacob  
              And his palaces I hate,  
              And I shall deliver up the city together with its  
                  fortress.
- 7:9           And the high places of Jacob shall be devastated,  
              And the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid in ruins,  
              And I shall rise against the house of Jeroboam  
                  with the sword.
- 5:26a+27a     And ye shall take up the tabernacle of your king,  
              And the platform of your two images ye shall load  
                  (upon some animal),  
              And I shall send you into exile beyond Damascus,  
              Hath Yahweh declared.
- 27ba

## COMMENTARY

1:3. "For the three — — — for the four," i. e., "for the many, oft-repeated": cf. 1:6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4; also II Kings 9:32; Jer. 30:23; Prov. 30:15, 18, 21, 29; also in the Keret poem from Ras Shamra.<sup>1</sup> "I will not let it return," i. e., "unto Me," to resume such relations with Me, as a God of universal character, as were previously held. Implicit is of course the doctrine of repentance, of which, as we shall see, Amos makes extensive use. אָשִׁיבֵנו, the masc. suffix here, and also in the parallel passages in the denunciations of the other nations, since the antecedent is not the city itself but the nation. For כְּבַחֲרָצוֹת read כְּבַחֲרָצוֹת, as in Tiglath-Pileser's inscription from Nimrud.<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as in the denunciations of the other nations, all uniform in their literary organization, the corresponding distich is a 3/2, it is plain that a word has been lost in the second stichos of the second distich; accordingly, following a hint from G, insert הָר before הוֹלֵעַד and thus recover a very common designation of the land.

1:5. To make this v. conform to v. 8 and also to achieve an effective climax, with Damascus, the capital city, mentioned last, rearrange this v., with Marti *et al.*, in the order, αββα, ααββ. For בַּקְעָתִיבֶעַל read בַּקְעָתִיבֶעַל, i. e., Baalbek.<sup>3</sup> The שַׂטָּן was probably the governor of the province rather than the king of the nation, for certainly for the Aramaeans the king would have been cut off from Damascus rather than from Bit-Adini; so also in v. 8. Yahweh will exile the Aramaeans to Kir, in the lower Euphrates Valley, i. e., back to the country whence He had brought them originally (cf. 9:7). This picture of the doom of Damascus indicates clearly that the prophet envisaged Assyria as the all-conquering nation, for exile of conquered peoples and resettlement in a new land were a regular procedure of Assyrian warfare; likewise, only a nation possessing a vast extent of territory could thus dispose of conquered peoples; and also Kir was within Assyrian domain; this seems to imply further that, anticipating Isaiah, Amos, to some extent at least, regarded Assyria as Yahweh's agent in the fulfillment of His purpose with Israel and other nations.

1:6. "A complete exile," i. e., the total, surviving population of some captured city, presumably an Israelite border town, taken prisoner and sold in one body into slavery to the Edomites, no doubt to work the copper mines in the Arabah, a very harsh service indeed, in which most probably these slaves did not long survive.

1:7. Here and also in vv. 10, 14 read אַרְמְנוֹתֶיהָ, a four-syllabled word with a pronominal suffix, as two beats for the sake of the meter.

1:8. In Amos' day there would have been no basis whatsoever for speaking of the Philistines as a "remnant"; accordingly, following the suggestion of the parallel distichs in 1:15 and 2:3, which deal with the fate of the rulers of the respective lands, emend שָׂרֵי to שָׂרֵיהֶם. With G and also for the sake of the meter and to conform to the wording of the corresponding stichos in the denunciations of the other nations,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, 79 ll. 84 f.; Gaster, "A Canaanite Magical Text," *Orientalia*, II (1942), 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, II, pp. 4/5, l. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eissfeldt, *Ras Shamra und Sanchuniathon*, 31-36; Malamet, "Amos 1:5 in the Light of the Til Barsip Inscriptions," *BASOR* #129 (1953), 25 f.; Maundrell, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 483.

omit ארני. It should be noted that of the five major Philistine cities Gath is not mentioned here (so also in Zeph. 2:4); according to II Kings 12:18 Gath had been conquered by Hazael of Syria during the reign of Jehoahaz over Israel; according to II Chron. 26:6 it was captured again by Uzziah of Judah; probably out of consideration for this latter conquest Amos does not include Gath in his list of self-governed Philistine cities here.

1:13. Vocalize בִּקְעָם; certainly the *pi.* should be read here rather than the *qal* (cf. II Kings 8:12; 15:16; Hos. 14:1); the ripping open by the victors of the pregnant women of a conquered territory, manifestly in order to reduce the number of future potential enemies and aspirants for regained political independence, seems to have been an extreme but not too uncommon practice in the warfare procedures of West Asiatic nations of the prophet's day. As it stands in *MT* the second stichos of the second distich of the v. is too overloaded for the meter; accordingly omit both למֶטֶן and אֶת and read להרחיב; certainly this simple reading is more forceful than that of *MT* and conforms more closely to the meter of the corresponding distich in the denunciations of the other nations.

1:14a. There is no conceivable reason why ושלחתי of the corresponding distich of all the other denunciations of the nations should here, in this one, single instance, be changed to ורצחתי; this editorial change was probably influenced by Jer. 49:27; moreover, this change exerts a weakening effect; accordingly read here also ושלחתי. Out of consideration for 2:2b it seems well to read 1:14bβα in this order, with בהרועה here also coming in the second stichos of the distich; this produces something of a climactic effect within the distich.

2:1b. 2:1b would conform to the regular 3/2 meter of the corresponding distich in the denunciations of the other nations if we could assign מלך to the first stichos and אדום to the second; but it is impossible to separate in this manner two nouns standing together in close, construct connection; furthermore, it is clear that only one, single Edomite king is here referred to; accordingly we must assume, with Proksch, that the name of an Edomite king has been lost here, that it constituted the final metrical beat of the first stichos, and that מלך-אדום in the second stichos must be read together as one beat.

2:2. In the first stichos of the first distich there is one word too few for the expected four-beat meter; this lack might be corrected, as Proksch suggests, by supplying בערי before מואב; however, this is a pure conjecture, without any concrete basis; and inasmuch as at this point in these denunciations of the nations the capital city of the particular nation is mentioned, and since the capital city of Moab was regularly known as קיר מואב (Isa. 15:1), it seems well to transfer, with Meinhold *et al.*, הקריית from the end of this v. to this spot and emend to קיר מואב here, and at the end of the v. to read ארמנותיה, as in 1:7, 10, 14. The purpose of blowing the trumpet in battle was not merely to give signals to the army but also to summon the deity to come to the help of his people (Num. 10:9).

As is apparent at a glance, these denunciations of these four nations are all cast in the same literary mold, both as to form and thought-development. This can assuredly not be the result of impassioned, spontaneous utterance, but indicates that the prophet had planned in advance this introduction to his address. Certainly too with each successive denunciation of an archenemy of Israel and announcement of its impending doom at Yahweh's hands the interest of his Israelite audience and its endorsement of the prophet's words must have increased steadily. "This is truly a prophet of Yahweh, and what he announces is sure to happen," they must have



said to themselves and to each other. Eagerly they awaited his next word. And when, in 2:6, he began anew, על־שלושה פשעי, they must have asked themselves, "Which nation will he doom now?" Then, when they heard the name, Israel, their own nation, they could, surely, hardly believe their ears. But having already admitted to themselves that this man was indeed a prophet, speaking in the name of Yahweh, they had to listen to him to the bitter end and weigh carefully all that he said. Quite obviously these denunciations of these four nations, Israel's archenemies, were all uttered together and together served as the introduction to the prophet's address proper, his denunciation of Israel and announcement of its doom at Yahweh's hands. Undeniably this was a carefully planned and an exceedingly effective introduction to the main body of the address.

2:3. Inasmuch as in vv. 1-2 מואב is a masc. noun and so is the name of the nation rather than of the country, it is necessary here to read, with Marti *et al.*, following G, מקרבה for מקרבה of MT and likewise שרי for שריה.

2:6. הצדיק, a technical term of legal procedure, "the man who has the right on his side." "For a pair of sandals," cf. Speiser, "Of Shoes and Shekels," *BASOR* #77 (1940), 18; Jaussen, *Naplouse*, 32, note 1.

2:7. This v. is greatly overloaded. In the first place, על־עפר ארץ should, with Proksch, following G and S, be omitted; it confuses the thought and likewise ruins the meter of the stichos, while its omission restores order in both respects. For השאפים read, with G, V and S, השפים. Likewise v. 7b should be omitted for various reasons; it might perhaps be read as a 4/4 distich, a meter which would be decidedly disturbing here; however, it reads more like prose than like true, metrical poetry, such as this address certainly is. Moreover, the sin which it records does not conform to the sins committed by the rich against the poor, here listed. In fact it is doubtful whether Amos would have cited such a sin as is here recorded. Certainly v. 7b disturbs the unity of this passage and for all these considerations should be omitted as a late gloss. For עניים read עניים, a better parallel to דלים.

2:8. נטה, a *hif.* impf. of נטה, could mean here only "they incline, they bend down," and would be transitive in meaning; under no condition could it connote "they stretch themselves out; they recline," as it is usually interpreted and as the presence of the preposition על, before בנדים suggests. Accordingly emend to יעטו, "they clothe themselves"; "they don." And inasmuch as עטה is a transitive verb, we should, with Proksch, omit על. The basic thought here is that garments worn at a sanctuary for the performance of a religious rite become charged with the quality of holiness, and therefore may not be removed from the sanctuary when the worshiper departs, but must be left behind, just as is the custom still today for the pious Muslim who performs the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>1</sup> In some sanctuaries a sacred wardrobe was maintained and garments therefrom were loaned to the worshipers during the performance of the various ritual acts (cf. II Kings 10:22), so that their own garments might not thus become sanctified and so could be worn again by the worshiper after his departure from the sanctuary. The prophet's condemnation here is of those unscrupulous wealthy men who have taken in pledge the clothing of a poor man, with the understanding between them that the pledge would be returned whenever the debt would be paid. But so little regard for their moral and legal obligations have these unscrupulous rich that when they visit a sanctuary for the purpose of worship, unwilling in their pride and self-indulgence to wear the garments

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *Reste des altarabischen Heidentums*, 55, 110; Lods, *Israel*, 270-73.

which the sanctuary provides, and which are worn also by other, common people, but equally unwilling to wear their own costly garments and then have to leave these behind when they return home, they take with them to the sanctuary the garments of the poor man, which they had taken in pledge, wear these, and then leave them behind at the sanctuary, in total disregard of their assumed obligation to return these to their owner if and when he pays his debt. For עוֹשִׂים, "those who have been fined," *G* apparently read עֲשׂוּקִים, "oppression"; this seems the preferable reading here. Just what "the wine of those who have been fined" might mean and how it could have found its way to the sanctuary it is difficult to imagine; on the other hand, "wine gotten through oppression or fraud," practiced of course upon the helpless poor, and brought to the sanctuary by the worshiper, there to be used by him in the performance of ritual acts, is easily comprehensible; for עֲשׂוּקִים with the proposed connotation cf. 3:9. Thus emended and interpreted the two distichs of the v. stand in close and effective parallelism.

2:9-11a, 12. V. 11b plainly interrupts the close connection between vv. 11a and 12; moreover, vv. 9-11a, 12 certainly constitute a literary unit; but equally certainly, with their sudden shift to the second plu. they disturb the context where they stand; nor do they fit into any other position in the address of Amos; it is best, therefore, to regard them as a late, editorial gloss. On the other hand, v. 11b fits perfectly, both as to thought and meter, after vv. 7a, 8, and in fact, when linked to these two vv., itself takes on new meaning.

5:12a. This half-verse, which does not fit into the thought of the address where it stands in *MT*, but which fits perfectly here both as to thought and meter, is in all probability the immediate continuation of 2:11b; in fact it answers directly the questions posed in 2:11b. The כִּי here is the כִּי of certainty, "verily"; for חֲטָאִיתֶם read, with Harper *et al.*, חֲטָאִיתֶם, in order to agree with the masc. adjective.

8:7b. This half-verse expresses a thought which is the logical and fitting continuation of the thought of this entire passage thus far, as we have reconstructed it. The אִם, which introduces the question expressed in 8:7b, indicates that the question here recorded must be the alternative of another question of parallel form and import, which stood in the stichos which immediately preceded (cf. 3:6). This alternative question has been lost completely; the present 8:7a is unquestionably a late, editorial gloss inserted to replace the missing original question. גִּאוֹן יַעֲקֹב occurs again in 6:8, where it connotes "the arrogance of Jacob"; but certainly Amos would not have represented Yahweh as swearing by the arrogance of Jacob. The thought of Yahweh taking an oath seems to have evolved at the very earliest only in the late pre-Exilic period. Not only this passage but also 4:2a and 6:8aa, where this thought likewise occurs, must be set down as late glosses.

4:4-5. The thought of this section of the prophet's address is continued effectively in 4:4-5, where the same theme is dealt with, viz., acts of dishonesty and oppression of the poor, practiced even at the great sanctuaries of the land, certainly extreme transgressions, even as the term, פִּשְׁעִים, implies, especially when coupled with large and costly sacrifices, such as only the very wealthy could offer. In 4:4a חֲרָבוֹ read, with Wellhausen, following *G*, וְחֲרָבוֹ. In 4:4b for לְבָקָר read מִבָּקָר, "of cattle," an unusual and costly sacrifice for a single person. Likewise for מִעֲשֵׂהֵיכֶם לשלש ימים מעשרהיכם, which makes no sense, since there is no primary connection between tithes and a three-days period of waiting, read וּשְׁלֵשֶׁת יָמִים מִעֲתֹדֵיכֶם, "and your peace offerings of young rams." With this reading, which is not a too extreme emendation of *MT*, a very effective parallelism between the two stichoi of the distich is effected. Inasmuch

as the meter here is plainly  $3/3$ , read ושלמים, a noun with both a prefix and a suffix, as two beats.

4:5. The first distich of this v. continues, in effective, parallelistic form, the thought of the preceding distich, as we have reconstructed it. The thank offering consisted regularly of leavened grain (cf. Lev. 7:13; 23:17). This picture of the sacrificial procedure of the wealthy oppressors of the poor in offering extreme and expensive sacrifices at the major sanctuaries and announcing their free-will offerings aloud, so that every one near by might hear and be properly impressed, and of their belief that thus they have secured for themselves the favor of the Deity, is a most effective bit of satire. The omission of the altogether superfluous ארני, following נאם, makes the passage more vigorous in expression.

4:6. This is the only occurrence of אני in the entire Book of Amos, whereas אנכי is used six times; and inasmuch as אנכי is used in the parallel and immediately following v. 7aα, it seems well to emend אני here to אנכי. Plainly the meter of this double-distich and of the four parallel double-distichs which follow, all recording the hardships which Yahweh sent against His people as successive warnings of the great catastrophe sure to eventually befall them if they did not mend their ways, is  $4/3$ ; accordingly read בכל and give the word a full beat. ולא שבתם עדי, "but ye did not return unto Me," i. e., "ye did not repent."

4:7. At the beginning of the v. is somewhat superfluous and disturbs the meter; therefore it had best be omitted. Likewise for the sake of poetic rhythm it seems well to omit את. Also לקציר - - - - - בעור, a very prosaic clause, throws this strophe out of balance with the three other parallel strophes, disturbs the meter and adds nothing essential to the thought; with its omission, as an editorial gloss, order is restored to this strophe and it now parallels the three other strophes both in thought and metrical form. It seems well to omit the והמטרה ו' and for the second אחה to read אחרה. Likewise, vv. 7c-8a are obviously non-metrical prose, add little, if anything, to the thought of the strophe, and even over-expand it in comparison with the parallel strophes, and had therefore also best be omitted as a late gloss.

4:9. For הרבות read, with Wellhausen *et al.*, ההרבתי.

4:10. For בדרך read, with Proksch, כדרך; דבר מצרים was the bubonic plague. Also, with Proksch, omit the phrase, disturbing both as to meter and syntactical connection, עשיתי שובי סוסים. ואעל read ואעלה. Omit the ו' of ובאפכם and read, as the context demands, באפכם.

4:11. A מהפכת אלהים was an earthquake; since הפכתי is a transitive verb it requires a direct object; accordingly it is necessary to omit the כ' of כמהפכת; but the omission of this כ' removes the preposition of comparison, and so necessitates the removal with it of ואתיעמרה, likewise disturbing of the meter; in its stead insert 8:3bα, which in its present position stands completely isolated as to thought-connection, but fits in here perfectly both as to thought and meter.

4:12. As it reads now the v. is meaningless and actually untranslatable; this difficulty is easily removed by changing the second אעשה לך עשיתי. Also by shifting v. 12aβ, as thus reconstructed, to precede 12aα a more logical and likewise a far more forceful expression of the thought here set forth is secured. Thus rearranged, the v. is a  $4/4/3$  tristich; this is particularly effective at this point in the address, since here one important thought of the prophet's message is concluded. For עקביכי cf. II Sam. 12:10.

4:13. This v. is certainly not the continuation of the address up to this point. In

fact it seems to have no thought-connection whatever with any part of the address. Instead the thought which it does express suggests strongly that it was a refrain, recited in the synagogue after the reading, as a part of the regular synagogal liturgy, of a selection from the prophets. Unquestionably then it is a gloss.

5:4. 5:1-3 also are not the immediate continuation of 4:12, but, as we shall see, belong elsewhere in the address. On the other hand, 5:4 f. do carry forward the thought of the address effectively from the point reached at 4:12 and are in all likelihood the immediate continuation of the address at that point. In the section of the address beginning with 5:4 the Deity, speaking through the mouth of the prophet, resumes the expression of His dissatisfaction with the ritual worship tendered to Him by Israel at its major sanctuaries and states, in forceful and climactic manner, that what He demands of His people is not at all sacrifice and ritual worship, as they have mistakenly assumed, but rather the strict practice of justice and righteousness in their living and dealing with each other. In 5:4a omit the altogether unnecessary and metrically disturbing בית ישראל. Read דרשוני, a verb with a suffix, as two beats for the sake of the meter.

5:5. In 5bβ for לאון read, with G, V and S, לאין. The facts that in v. 5a the third stichos is metrically somewhat disturbing and that in v. 5b Beer Sheba is not mentioned again, as are Beth-El and Gilgal, suggests strongly that 5aγ is a late, Judaeal gloss. Note that both יולה and יהיה are 3rd masc. rather than 3rd fem.; accordingly their subjects, בית אל and גלגל, must refer to the respective sanctuaries rather than to the cities in which they were located.

5:21. The immediate continuation of 5:4-5 seems to be 5:21-24; these vv. bring this section of the address, the prophet's arraignment of Israel, to a very powerful, climactic conclusion. The mention of the act of smelling on the part of the Deity indicates that both חניכם and עצרתכם designate specifically the festival sacrifices rather than, in a more general sense, the festivals themselves.

5:22. As it stands, 5:22a has no possible syntactical connection with either v. 21 or the remainder of v. 22 and is likewise metrically disturbing. It is either the first stichos of a distich referring to burnt offerings, another and an important type of sacrifice, the second stichos of which has been lost, or it is a gloss; perhaps the former hypothesis is the more probable, since in this listing of the various kinds of sacrifice the absence of burnt offerings would be significant; in such case the missing stichos can be supplied only by conjecture, as we have done in our reconstruction of the text. Inasmuch as the other sacrifices are referred to in the plu., emend ושלמי to ושלם.

5:23. The sudden shift from the 2nd plu. to the 2nd sing. when addressing Israel occurs elsewhere within the course of the address (4:11 f.) and so does not require textual emendation, as Proksch proposes, particularly since in 5:21 f. the 2nd plu. is used with a distributive connotation and in 5:23 the 2nd sing. with a collective connotation.

The arraignment of Israel, paralleling both in thought and form, though at far greater length, the arraignment of each of the four nations previously denounced by the prophet, is followed quite naturally and effectively by the transition to the announcement of the doom, first of six particular social classes or groups within the nation and then of the nation as a whole. This particular section of the address begins with 3:1.

3:1. This v. in its MT version lacks metric form and is plainly considerably overloaded; accordingly, with Löhr and Marti, omit אשר דבר יהוה and likewise the whole of v. 1b; with this omission the original 3/3 meter is recovered and the v.



likewise becomes more meaningful and forceful, and serves effectively as the introduction to the short elegy which follows immediately. V. 1b, which is sheer prose, was probably added by some late editor, who wished to make it seem that Amos' denunciation was of Judah as well as of Israel, probably by the interpolator of 2:4-5 and 3:1b.

9:7. This v. which, where it stands in *MT*, is plainly dislocated from its original position in the address, fits in perfectly here and is quite obviously the immediate antecedent of 3:2. The v. is a triple-distich. The first distich has plainly two words too many in the second stichos; either **נָאם יְהוָה** or **בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** could be omitted without anything essential being lost; all in all, since **יִשְׂרָאֵל** occurs as the second word of the second distich, it seems better to omit **בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** here and to retain **יְהוָה נָאם**. Inasmuch as **נָאם יְהוָה** rather than **כְּבִנֵי כְשִׁים** is the normal form of expression (cf. Gen. 10:7; I Chron. 1:9), we should so read here. **וּפְלִשְׁתִּים**, a four-syllabled noun with a prefix, must be read as two beats for the sake of the meter.

3:2. **רַק** here has the force of "but, however." The **מ'** of **מִכָּל** is the **מ'** of comparison.<sup>1</sup> **כָּל** in the second stichos must be given a full beat for the sake of the meter and so be vocalized **כָּל יָדַע**. **בָּהֶר** here has much the force of **יָדַע**, the verb regularly used by later writers to designate Yahweh's choice of Israel. 9:7+3:2 have definitely the character of a **קִינָה**, a dirge or elegy and so quite naturally are cast in the characteristic 3/2 elegiac meter. This is true also of the passage which follows almost immediately, 3:10a+5:1-3+6:14.

3:13. The thought of this section of the address is continued by 3:13. The v. is manifestly too long for the expected 3/2 meter; accordingly once again omit, with Proksch, the altogether superfluous **אֲדֹנִי** and also **הַצְבָּאוֹת**.

3:9. 3:9+10a continues directly the thought of 3:13. Certainly the land or nation which contrasted most naturally with Egypt was, not Ashdod, but Assyria; accordingly emend, with *G*, **אֲשׁוּר** to **בַּאֲשׁוּר**. Also for the first **אֲרַמְנוֹת** read, following a hint from *G*, **אֲרַמָּה**. Omit the second **אֲרַמְנוֹת** and the **ב' בָּאֲרָץ** and likewise the **ו' וְאֲמָרוּ**, and thus recover the complete second stichos of the distich and likewise the parallelism between the stichoi. V. 9b plainly constitutes a 3/3/2 tristich. For **הָרִי** read, with *G*, **הָרָה**. With Proksch omit the altogether unnecessary and metrically disturbing **רַבּוֹת** in the second stichos of the tristich.

3:10a. With Proksch omit the **ו'** of **וְלֹא**. 3:10a constitutes a perfect 3/2 distich, and so introduces, in the characteristic 3/2 metrical form, the **קִינָה** or dirge which follows. 3:10b belongs in a different setting.

5:1. 5:1-3+6:14 constitute the dirge and are all in the proper 3/2 meter. In its *MT* form 5:1 is prose and is plainly overloaded. Accordingly omit the altogether superfluous words, **אֵה** (for the sake of effective brevity), **אֲשֶׁר אֲנִכִּי נִשָּׂא** and **קִינָה**; this later word was probably inserted by some editor, who sought to call attention to the fact that these vv. which we have grouped together here constitute a dirge in its characteristic poetic form. If these words were original, this would be the only passage in the entire address in which the prophet refers to himself in the 1st person; this is probably further evidence of its secondary character. With the omission of these words nothing essential is lost, and the thought expressed in the distich becomes much clearer and more forcibly stated.

5:2. **עַל-אֲרַמְתָּהּ**, a four-syllabled, nominal unit, with a preposition and a pronominal suffix, must be read as two beats for the sake of the meter.

<sup>1</sup> So Battenwieser, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 307, note 1.

5:3. As it stands in *MT*, the v. does not fit, as it should, into the regular 3/2 meter; accordingly omit the altogether superfluous and quite plainly editorial מִקֵּינָה; כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה. For וְהִי־צִאָה read, with Proksch, for the sake of the meter, וְהָעִיר הִי־צִאָה לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל at the end of the v. is entirely superfluous, syntactically confusing, and disturbs the meter, and so should be omitted.

6:14. This v. has no direct connection, where it stands in *MT*, with either what immediately precedes or what follows; there it is completely isolated; but transferred to follow 5:3, still as a part of the dirge in its characteristic 3/2 meter, it advances the thought of the dirge by a significant step. The word, גִּי, standing at the end of the first half of the v., is plainly out of place and should be transferred to follow immediately its governing verb, מָקַם. Likewise, with Proksch, the altogether superfluous and metricaly disturbing words, נָאֻם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, must be omitted. Thus reconstructed, the original 3/2 meter of the distich is recovered. לְבוֹא חֶמֶת, the pass at the southern end of the Biq'ah, on the northern border of Israel.<sup>1</sup> נָחַל הָעֲרָבָה, the wady running into the Arabah, separating Israel from Judah and marking the southern border of the Northern Kingdom (cf. II Kings 14:25).

9:8a. The immediate continuation of the address we find in 9:8-10. Certainly 9:8b, which has no metrical form but is sheer prose, and which voices a thought which qualifies or even contradicts Amos' message of Yahweh's total rejection of Israel, a thought which, however, accords closely with the message of Isaiah and his prophetic successors, the message of the saved remnant, must be the work of a later redactor. In 9:8a omit אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה and for עֵינִי read עֵינִי and thus recover the original 3/3 meter of the distich and also a far more vigorous formulation of the thought here set forth; this emendation is confirmed by the use of the 1st person with reference to the Deity in vv. 8aβ-10.

9:9. This v. too is considerably overloaded and in its *MT* reading lacks metrical form. Certainly v. 9bβ, which plainly qualifies the message of the total doom of Israel at Yahweh's hands, which the passage announces, must be the work of the same redactor who interpolated v. 8b. Likewise redactional are the rather meaningless and confusing opening words of the v., כִּי־הִנֵּה אֲנִי מַצֵּחַ; certainly with Yahweh Himself carrying out the actions expressed by the series of verbs which follows, there is no need for Him to issue a command, a command which in this instance would be addressed only to Himself. Likewise for בְּכִלְהֵגוֹיִם read the simpler and actually more meaningful בְּגוֹיִם. With these changes in *MT* the original, vigorous metrical form of the distich is recovered. The figure here employed, of shaking out as through a sieve, suggests that Israel will be dispersed far and wide among the nations.

9:10. V. 10b is plainly overloaded; accordingly omit the altogether superfluous וְחִקְרִים; for תִּנֵּשׂ read, with Harper *et al.*, תִּנֵּשׂ, and omit the ב' בְּעֵרְנוֹ in conformity with Hebrew idiom; with these simple textual emendations the original meter, 4/4, of the distich is recovered.

3:12. The continuation of the address and the effective climax of the transition section thereof is 3:12. With the omission of the superfluous, somewhat disturbing and plainly redactional כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה at the beginning of the v., the original 4/4 meter of the double-distich is recovered. The desperate procedure of the shepherd here described, attempting at the risk of his own life to tear from the mouth of the lion,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eissfeldt, *op. cit.*, 31-36.



which has killed and is eating a sheep of his flock, a poor fragment thereof; conforms to the legislation in Exod. 22:12, that in a case such as this the shepherd must bring proof that he has not been lax in the performance of his duties. The v. goes on to say that just as the shepherd in such a case can at the most rescue only an utterly useless pair of shinbones or a piece of an ear of the devoured sheep, so will the Israelites in Samaria, on the day of their conquest by their ruthless enemy, save for themselves no more than a few utterly worthless possessions. Just what the "corner" of a bed or the דמסק of a couch may have been we have not the slightest idea; not at all improbably some corruption too deep for correction, even by conjecture, is latent in both words.

From the transition portion of his address, in which he announced in more or less general terms the total destruction of his people, the prophet proceeds to denounce six particular social groups or classes within the nation. Each of these six denunciations commences with a word of warning, שמעו, "Hear ye," or הוי, "Woe!", and ends with the announcement of the fate of the particular group or class. As might be expected from Amos, the shepherd and herdsman, the first group denounced was the merchants of Israel, represented by the prophet as insatiably greedy for gain, unscrupulous in business dealings and merciless in their treatment of the poor. This particular denunciation is found in 8:4-5, 14ab $\alpha$ ; 5:11. The original conclusion of this denunciation, announcing the ultimate fate of these corrupt merchants, is missing and has plainly been lost.

8:4. For השאפים read, just as in 2:7, with Harper *et al.*, השפים. For ולשבית read, with *G*, הכבשים, and for עניי, with *Q* עניי, לאמר, the first word of v. 5 in *MT*, must be drawn to the end of v. 4 both to complete the thought of the v. and to restore the meter of both vv. 4 and 5a.

8:5. For the day of the new moon being, like the Sabbath, a day of abstention from ordinary labor cf. II Kings 4:23; Isa. 1:13; 66:23; I Chron. 23:31. In v. 5a omit, with *G*, for the sake of the meter the altogether superfluous שבר בר, literally "grain," but here apparently the storage-chamber or silo in which the grain was kept. V. 5b, literally, "in order to make small the ephah and to make large the shekel and to make crooked the scales of deceit."

8:6. V6a is, as has been recognized by several earlier commentators, largely a duplication of 2:6, while v. 6b is in the main a repetition of two words of v. 5a; accordingly the whole of v. 6 should be discarded as a gloss.

8:14ab $\alpha$ . As it stands in *MT*, 8:14ab $\alpha$  is plainly out of place; it has absolutely no thought-connection with either what precedes or what follows and also interrupts the natural thought-connection between 8:13 and 14b $\beta$ ; on the other hand, it plainly describes the frequent practice of the dishonest merchants of Samaria in enforcing their false statements to their customers by swearing oaths in the names of various gods. Certainly in v. 14ab $\alpha$  we expect to hear the names of the gods by whom these corrupt merchants swear; for אשמה read, with Gressmann, אשימה; II Kings 17:30 mentions Ashima as a goddess worshiped by the people of the Syrian city, Hamath; 14a $\beta$ b $\alpha$  together constitute too lengthy a passage to form the three-beat stichos which we expect here; accordingly, almost entirely by conjecture, we would emend גר דן (cf. Gen. 30:11; Isa. 65:11) and דן דרך to דן, a possible epithet of Tammuz,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Called in Akkadian *dādu*, "child, beloved one"; cf. E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 57 f.; Lods, *op. cit.*, 127, 130.

or possibly a shortening of the name, Adad; accordingly condense *MT* of this passage to read *חירר וחירר*; certainly the alliteration thus achieved would be particularly effective in the phrasing of an oath. V. 14b $\beta$  we have transferred to a position in the address where it seems to fit in better than here.

5:11. This v. in its present *MT* setting interrupts the obvious thought-connection between 5:10 and 12; on the other hand, it deals quite plainly with those corrupt merchants, and so must be the continuation of this denunciation, the commencement of the announcement of their particular doom. For *בוסכם* read either, with Proksch, *בוסכם* or, and perhaps better, with intensification of the thought expressed by the simple verb, *בוסכם* (cf. Isa. 63:18; Jer. 12:10); for *ומשאח* read, with Proksch, following *G*, *משאח*, the plu. of *משאח*. For the severity of the punishment here contemplated cf. Deut. 20:5 f.; 28:30; Isa. 65:22; Mic. 6:15; Zeph. 1:13. Plainly the conclusion of this first denunciation of Israel is missing.

The second denunciation deals with the corrupt judges. Both its commencement and its conclusion are likewise missing and presumably have been irretrievably lost. Not at all improbably this denunciation began with *הרי*.

5:12. 5:12a we have already set earlier in the address, where it seems to fit better into the evolving thought. The denunciation of the corrupt judges commences accordingly with 5:12b, as the reference to the city-gate, the regular place of judgment, indicates. Following *הרי*, *מדין* is understood (cf. Isa. 10:2).

6:12. This v. is plainly, as its second distich indicates, a part of the denunciation of the corrupt judges, misplaced from its original position in the address; it has no thought-connection whatsoever with either what precedes or what follows it in *MT*. The statement of the impending fate of these judges has been lost; not at all improbably it commenced, just as does 6:7, with *לכן*. For *בבקר ים* read *בבקר ים*, first proposed by Michaelis, and thus restore the three-beat meter.

The third denunciation deals with those self-indulgent lovers of luxury who are selfishly concerned only with their own comfort and pleasure and the satisfaction of their appetites, who themselves deal arrogantly and oppressively with their servants and others inferior to themselves in power and social position, and who give no thought whatever to the expanding moral bankruptcy of the nation. This denunciation we have in practically complete form.

6:3. It is quite certain that this denunciation too, like the fifth and sixth denunciations, began with *הרי*, a word now missing and essential to the meter; if not this, then we must conclude that an entire distich, introducing the denunciation, has been lost. These self-satisfied aristocrats, puffed up with their apparent success in life, confidently believe that their good fortune will continue indefinitely and that there will never be a day of reckoning for them. The *ל* of *ליום* is probably the sign of the direct object, a manifest aramaism (so Harper). For *והגשון* read *והגשון*, "who govern, i. e., administer their households and other private affairs." For *שבה* read, by conjecture, *בשבת*.

6:4. Read *על ערשם* with two beats for the sake of the meter. The shift here from the 2nd plu. of v. 3 to the 3rd plu. is neither unnatural nor difficult.

6:6a. 6:6a, with its theme of drinking the finest wine, etc. is the natural immediate continuation of 6:4b, with its theme of eating the costliest and most delicious of meats. For *במורקי יין* read, with *G* and *S* and following Proksch, *מין מוקק*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Albright in *BASOR* #66 (April, 1937), 31.

6:5. הפרטים, from פרט, "to split, to break up into fine pieces," "who play short, staccato notes." With Proksch, omit כדויר as a gloss; certainly it is a superfluous word here and seriously disturbs the meter of the distich. It is hardly likely that these self-indulgent, wealthy men could invent new kinds of musical instruments; much more probably some of them composed songs; accordingly for כלי read, with Oort, Nowack and Maag, כל and give the word a full beat.

3:10b+6:6b. 3:10b has absolutely no thought-connection with 3:10a nor with 3:11; however, transposed to this position and linked with 6:6b in a perfect join, both as to thought and meter, it fits well and enriches considerably the content of the denunciation. המסיושר, plainly an idiomatic term expressing one, single idea, must naturally be read as one beat. The "breakdown of Joseph," i. e., the moral rather than the political breakdown of the Northern Kingdom.

6:7+8aβ. The fourth and sixth denunciations both end in נאם יהוה, certainly a fitting, climactic conclusion to each denunciation; we would therefore expect this denunciation too to end in the same manner. The thought that Yahweh, when He swears an oath, must swear by Himself, since He is the one and only God of all the world, evolved only after Deutero-Isaiah had proclaimed his message of absolute universalism; accordingly נשבע אדני יהוה בנפשו, at the beginning of 6:8, must be a post-Exilic gloss; with these words removed, נאם יהוה follows, just as we would expect, immediately upon 6:7 and so should be linked directly to that v.; this makes 6:7+8aβ a 4/3/2 tristich, an impressive metrical conclusion to this denunciation.

The fourth denunciation is directed at the wives of the self-indulgent men just dealt with; these women are just as self-indulgent as their husbands and also just as unjust and oppressive in dealing with the poor, presumably their servants and those with whom they transact the business of their households.

4:1. Although addressed to the women of Samaria, this denunciation opens with שמעו, an impv. 2nd plu. masc., just as does the first denunciation; this is one of the two customary words of warning or alarm with which the prophet begins each denunciation, and so it is used here regardless of the resultant awkward syntax; it is therefore probably best not to change the gender of the word. פרוהיהבשן must be read as one beat for the sake of the meter; the cows of Bashan were probably well fed and cared for and were therefore fat and sleek; hence the application of this term to the well-nourished wives of the aristocracy of Samaritan society. For לאדניהם read, with Wellhausen, לאדניה, הביאה, impv. 2nd sing. masc., quoting the actual words of each individual wife to her own husband.

3:11. Inasmuch as vv. 6:11aβb; 4:2b-3, which are plainly the conclusion of this denunciation, speak of the conquest of Samaria by some victorious enemy and of the carrying away of these women into captivity and their humiliation and degradation by their captors, some mention of this enemy must have stood earlier in the denunciation; just this lacuna 3:11, which, where it stands, has no thought-connection with what immediately precedes, while 3:12, which follows, we have already assigned to a different position in the address, fills in perfectly here and supplies just the appropriate thought. Here once again אדני must be omitted as a superfluous word, disturbing of the meter. For וסביב read, with Wellhausen, following S, and as the text requires, יסובב. For והוריר read, with Proksch, והורר, to agree with the *nif.*, with passive connotation, in the next and parallel stichos. For the sake of the meter ארמנותיך must be read as two beats.

6:11. 6:11aα is plainly a gloss, quite meaningless in this position; but it does seem to emphasize the fact that 6:11aβb has no thought-connection with what

immediately precedes or what follows; however, transferred to this position in the address, it becomes meaningful indeed.

4:2. 4:2a is plainly another meaningless and somewhat disturbing gloss. The subject of וַיִּשָּׂא in v. 2b is the צָר in 3:11. For אַחֲכֶם read, with Wellhausen, אַחֲכָן. For וְאַחֲרֵיהֶן with the connotation, "the very last one of you," cf. the oft-recurrent expression, בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים, "on the very last of the days; on the last day." Just what carrying away into captivity "with fishhooks" might mean it is almost impossible to even guess; in all likelihood some textual corruption is present in בְּסִירוֹ דָּוָה too deep and incurable to be solved even by conjecture.

4:3. The text of this v. is badly corrupted; the vss. offer practically no assistance; accordingly the text can be corrected only by conjecture; we therefore propose, in the light of the fate which in ancient times usually befell women taken captive in war, to emend וְהַשְׁלַחְנָה to וְהַשְׁלַחְתָּנָה (cf. Zech. 14:2) and the absolutely meaningless וְהַרְמִינָה to וְהַרְמִינָהּ.

The fifth denunciation is directed against those short-sighted military and political leaders of Israel, who, bedazzled by a few, recently won military victories over now sorely weakened Syria, cherish fond hopes, which they pass on to the people at large, that Israel is on the verge of becoming a world-conquering nation and a great world-empire.

6:1. Certainly בְּצִיּוֹן here is not original but can be only a late, editorial substitution for some name or title of Samaria; what this may have been we have no way of knowing. נָקְבִי cannot possibly be in the construct relationship with רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם; almost certainly a word has been lost here, and that word can be only the noun which is used quite frequently with נָקֵב, viz., שֵׁם, as in fact both Σ and Θ indicate by their renditions of the passage; נָקְבִי שֵׁם "men of renown"; perhaps this should be vocalized נָקְבִי (cf. Num. 1:17; Ezra 8:20 *et passim*). 6:1b. is completely corrupt; accordingly emend, with Proksch, to וְכָלֵהֶם הֵם לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל.

6:13. The continuation of 6:1 seems to be 6:13, which, at the very best, has only the loosest possible thought-connection with what immediately precedes and what immediately follows it in *MT*. לְאֶדְבֶּר, a town in Gilead not far from Maḥanayim (cf. II Sam. 9:4, 5; 17:27). קַרְנִים, probably identical with Ashterot Karnayim (Gen. 14:5), a city in Bashan. Impliedly these two old Israelite towns had been taken and held in possession by the Syrians, but had been recently recaptured by Israel from a Syria retaining, since her conquest by the Assyrians in 797 B. C., but a shadow of her former military power. These victories, probably the very first gained by the armies of Israel in many years, had so encouraged the leaders of the people that the smug court-party, the counsellors of the king, had even begun to cherish and disseminate delusions of Israel as a destined world-empire.

6:2. כָּלָה, undoubtedly identical with כָּלָה of Isa. 10:9, a city in Northern Syria, frequently mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> חַמַּת רְבָה, i. e., Ḥamat on the Orontes, one of the most powerful cities and city-states of Northern Syria, captured and destroyed by Sargon in 720 B. C. Apparently both of these city-states had been defeated by some enemy shortly before Amos' time and each had probably been severely treated by its conquerors and lost considerable territory. V. 2ba, which in thought parallels closely v. 2aaβ, if retained, should undoubtedly be linked with v. 2a; but if so, this would make a 3/3/3 tristich out of the half-verse. According to II Chron. 26:6, Uzziah of Judah was victorious over Gath; therefore Amos would

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Winckler, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, 255.

hardly have mentioned Gath at this point in his address, for to have done so would have tended to confirm his hearers in their belief that it was Yahweh's purpose to give His people victory over their enemies, and this would have directly counteracted the thought which the prophet was endeavoring to bring home to his audience; accordingly v. 2b $\alpha$  should probably be omitted as a gloss, and this, in turn, makes v. 2a a 3/3 distich, a more normal meter in this setting. For הַטּוֹבִים read, with Proksch, הַטְּבִיחִים, and, with the same scholar, shift the preposition מ' from מִבְּלֶכֶם to מִבְּלֵם. The continuation of this denunciation and the commencement of its conclusion seem to be 2:13, which, once again, stands isolated in MT, with no apparent thought-connection with either what precedes or what follows. The v. is plainly a 3/3/3 tristich; but equally plainly a word has been lost at the end of the third stichos, a word indispensable to both the thought and the meter; accordingly supply, by conjecture, נוֹסֵף, מעיק and תעיק here present difficulties; these are the only instances of a verb, עוק, in the entire Bible; the connotation is therefore uncertain; it may perhaps mean "to totter," as Koehler suggests,<sup>1</sup> but this is very uncertain; all in all it seems better, with Hitzig *et al.*, to emend to מפיק and תפיק, "to totter" (cf. Jer. 10:4 and also the connotation of this verb in Aram). The remainder of the conclusion of this denunciation has been lost, but in all likelihood it too ended, as do the majority of these denunciations, in a 3/3/2 tristich, the concluding stichos of which and of the entire denunciation was נָאם יְהוָה.

The sixth and final denunciation is directed against those who eagerly await the coming of the Day of Yahweh, confidently believing that on this day Yahweh will finally prove His mastery over the gods of all the other nations, and that with this Israel will triumph over these nations and go on to world-leadership and world-dominion. Manifestly then it advances the thought of the preceding denunciation in significant manner. The text of this denunciation was in some way badly broken up and scattered through the Book of Amos; as we have reconstructed it, it reads well as a unit, is the longest and probably the most vigorous of the six denunciations, is a potent climax to them and paves the way effectively for the climactic conclusion of the entire address, the prophet's announcement of the divinely decreed doom of Israel as a nation.

5:18. 5:18b $\beta$  is plainly a duplication by some careless scribe of 5:20a, which, in our reconstruction of the address, follows immediately upon 5:18aba.

5:20. The "Day of Yahweh," such was the popular belief in the pre-Exilic period in both Israel and Judah under the conditions of solar religion flourishing in both kingdoms at the time of Amos, was one of the two annual equinoctial days, the one which was celebrated as the New Year's Day. At sunrise of this day, the day of the autumnal equinox in Judah, the first rays of the rising sun shone in through the eastern gate of the Temple at Jerusalem, kept closed throughout the remainder of the year, but solemnly opened upon this day for this particular ceremony, then on across the courtyard into the open doors of the Temple and down the long axis thereof into the sacred recess at its far western end, where stood the symbol of Yahweh's presence, the ark, conceived of as the throne of the Deity.<sup>2</sup> Presumably a ceremony of similar character was celebrated in Beth-El, the royal sanctuary, on the day of the vernal equinox, the New Year's Day of the Northern Kingdom, the

<sup>1</sup> *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 690.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness," *HUCA*, VI (1929), 1-37.



very day which Amos chose for his visit to this sanctuary and the delivery of his prophetic message. In both kingdoms, therefore, the Day of Yahweh, falling upon the equinoctial New Year's Day, would have been indeed both in fact and in popular expectancy a day of light, of light in extreme measure. But, in refutation of popular opinion, the prophet now declares that the eagerly awaited Day of Yahweh would be a day of darkness and not of light, not of national victory and triumph but of national doom.

8:9 ff. The immediate continuation of this denunciation is in 8:9 ff.

8:10a. 8:10aβ is almost certainly displaced from its original position in the address; however, instead of setting it to follow immediately after v. 9, as Prokisch proposes, we would place it to follow after vv. 13, 14b. For הניכם read the sing., חונכם, as both the context and the 3rd sing. pronominal suffix in v. 10b convincingly attest; the festival in question is the New Year's Day, the Day of Yahweh. וכל before שריכם must have a full beat and so should be vocalized וכל. Inasmuch as יום יהוה is plainly the antecedent of the two pronominal suffixes, it is necessary to vocalize, with G, ושמתי, or even ושמתי, and ואחריה.

8:11-12. These two vv. introduce an entirely new thought and interrupt the obvious immediate connection with v. 13; and inasmuch as the thought which they voice is in no way integral in the prophet's message, it is no doubt best to regard this passage as a gloss, probably of post-Exilic date.

8:13. ביום ההוא, these two words overload the meter; moreover, with vv. 11-12 discarded and v. 13 linked directly to v. 10, these two words become superfluous; they are probably an editorial interpolation resulting from the necessity of reestablishing the thought-connection of v. 13 with v. 10, interrupted by the insertion of vv. 11-12 between them. At the end of the distich in v. 13 a word, a verb in parallelism with תתעלפנה, absolutely indispensable to both the thought and the meter, is plainly missing; accordingly supply יעפו.

8:14b. This half-verse has no immediate thought-connection with v. 14a. This latter half-verse we have already transferred, along with 8:5, to the first denunciation, where the two half-verses fit in together in perfect manner. With v. 14a removed, the close thought-connection of v. 14b with v. 13 becomes immediately apparent; however, if we link v. 14b immediately with v. 13, we would have to read the resultant text-unit as a 3/3/3 tristich; and while this is by no means impossible, it seems more probable that something, the equivalent in size of a three-beat stichos, and which expressed a thought paralleling closely the thought of the two parallel stichoi in v. 13, has been lost; if so, this missing stichos must be linked with v. 14b and with it would constitute another 3/3 distich, conforming to the prevailing meter of this sixth denunciation; this in conjunction with v. 13 would form a very graphic and effective double-distich; this missing stichos can be reconstructed only by conjecture; very probably it contained the two verbs, ינע and כשל, which regularly continue the thought of the verb יעף (cf. Isa. 40:28-31), plus the name of a third segment of the population paralleling הבחורים and הבחולות of v. 13; accordingly for this word we propose, though with considerable reservation, הנערים (cf. Isa. 40:30; Lam. 5:13); with the distich reconstructed thus, the thought expressed in v. 14b is the natural and oft-repeated continuation of the thought implicit in ישל (cf. Isa. 8:15; 31:3; Jer. 46:6; 50:32; Ps. 27:2; Dan. 11:19) and provides the normal transition from the thought of v. 13 to that of v. 14b.

8:10aβ. As has been already indicated, we would make v. 10aβ the immediate



continuation of vv. 13-14b; in v. 10a $\beta$ , since כַּל must, for the sake of the meter and also for proper emphasis, receive a full beat, it should be vocalized כַּל.

5:16-17a. The continuation of this denunciation and of the graphic picture of the Day of Yahweh as a day of darkness and doom we find in 5:16a $\beta$ ba, 17a; 8:3aa; 5:16b $\beta$ , all closely linked together to form three 3/3 distichs, as has been said, the prevailing meter of this denunciation. In 5:16a $\beta$  and again in v. 17a read כַּל for the sake of the meter. Certainly v. 17a offers the proper continuation of the thought of v. 16ba.

8:3aa+5:16b $\beta$ . For שִׁירוֹת read, following a suggestion of Hoffmann, שָׁרוֹת. These two half-verses, thus linked into a single, 3/3 distich, say that the singing women of the palace, whose normal task was to sing joyous songs for the entertainment of the master and his guests, will instead howl, while the professional mourners, the יוֹדְעֵי נְהִי, whose occupation was to wail and lament at the funerals of others, will now have occasion to mourn for their own family losses.

2:14-16. The continuation of this denunciation and its climactic conclusion we find in 2:14-16. These vv., however, seem to be somewhat overloaded; we would accordingly, in agreement with various earlier commentators, regard vv. 14b and 15a $\beta$  as glosses; certainly the prophet would not have employed לֹא יִמְלֹךְ twice in two successive stichoi, as in *MT* of v. 15a $\beta$ b; neither would he have told the fate of the swift-footed twice (v. 14aa and v. 15a $\beta$ ); with these two clauses removed, what remains reads as a 3/3 distich plus a 3/3/2 tristich, the very effective climax of the entire denunciation.

The climax and conclusion of the prophet's address, the announcement of the doom of all Israel as a nation, we find in 6:8a $\gamma$ b; 7:9; 5:26a; 27aba. Just as the prophet had announced (1:5b) that the doom of Aram at Yahweh's hands, because of its transgressions of Yahweh's ordinances and way of life, would be its being driven back to Kir, whence Yahweh had brought it up originally (9:7), so now Israel's doom, likewise at Yahweh's hands, would be that He would drive it back to the desolate country, whence, as abundant evidence indicates and as is now generally recognized by practically all biblical scholars, Israel, the Northern Kingdom, had come originally, to that northern section of the vast Arabian Desert which lay to the east and northeast of Damascus. There those of them who survived the general destruction of the Day of Yahweh would of necessity resume their original, nomadic way of life in all its details, even in the manner of worshiping their god. This conclusion is cast in the form of tristichs, three thereof, a 4/3/2, a 3/3/3 and a 3/3/4; this metrical arrangement provides a very powerful climactic effect for the address as a whole.

6:8aa $\beta$ . These two stichoi together are quite obviously an editorial gloss which greatly weakens the effect of the original and so should be discarded.

6:8a $\gamma$ b. For מִתַּחַב read, with *G*, מִתַּעֲב. For the sake of the meter וְאֶרְמוֹנוֹתָיו a noun with both a prefix and a suffix, must be read as two beats. Vocalize, with Hoffman and Ellhorst, וְיִמְלֹאָה, "and its fortress."

7:9. The statement in 7:9c that Yahweh would rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword must have been the basis of Amaziah's report to the king that Amos was conspiring against him (7:10). Furthermore, this statement of the prophet could have come only near the very close of his address, just as we have placed it, for had it come earlier, Amaziah would almost certainly have interrupted the address at that point and would not have allowed it to proceed further.

5:26-27. 5:26b is, as many commentators, beginning with Wellhausen, have

recognized, unquestionably a late, editorial gloss, representing an attempt to explain, and that, too, incorrectly, the strange terms, סִכּוֹת מַלְכֵכֶם and כִּיִּן צִלְמֵיכֶם, which immediately precede. With the omission of v. 26b, v. 26a+27a become a tristich in the very unusual 3/3/4 meter; this rare meter, with the third stichos lengthened by a beat, is employed occasionally, as was pointed out to me in personal correspondence by Professor Robert Gordis, as the very last metrical unit of a prophetic address;<sup>1</sup> this prolongation by one beat of the very last stichos of an address imparts a decidedly climactic effect thereto.<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of v. 26a and the reasons for emending סִכּוֹת to סִבָּת and for interpreting כִּיִּן צִלְמֵיכֶם as a dual, "your two images," cf. Morgenstern, "The Ark, the Ephod and the 'Tent of Meeting,'" 261-63;<sup>3</sup> in support of this emendation it may be noted that The Fragments of a Zadokite Work, 9:6 f.<sup>4</sup> cites this v. but reads סִבָּת instead of סִכּוֹת. At the end of the second stichos in *MT* a word, indispensable to the meter, is plainly missing; this word can be only a verb, one which would be in close parallelism with וַשְׁאֲחֵם at the beginning of the first stichos, and the supplying of which here would create a most effective chiasm between the first and second stichoi of the tristich; accordingly insert here, by conjecture, תַּעֲמִסוּ, "ye shall load (upon the back of one of your animals, presumably a camel)"; we do not suggest that there is here any play upon the name of the prophet.

5:27b. Only אָמַר יְהוָה is original here, the remainder of the half-verse is certainly a gloss. Just as at the beginning of the address, where the same two words occur, they stand outside the meter. We can readily imagine that at the commencement of his address the prophet paused for a moment after the introductory words, כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה, before proceeding with the address proper, and the same procedure again at the close of the address before again uttering אָמַר יְהוָה, i. e., the commencing and ending of the address with the same words, voicing just the thought which they do, must have produced a powerful, climactic effect and have impressed upon his audience that this address was now completed and that he was truly speaking in the name of Yahweh, speaking therefore, in a sense at least, as a prophet.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Isa. 48:19 and Morgenstern, "The Message of Deutero-Isaiah in Its Sequential Unfolding," *HUCA*, XXX (1959).

<sup>2</sup> In this connection it may be noted that Amos' denunciation of Amaziah and announcement to him of his impending doom (7:17), which, as we have shown (Part I, p. 64 [= *Amos Studies*, I, 48]), is likewise cast in metrical form and ends in a 3/4 distich (as I would now arrange the distich, rather than as a 3/3, as I felt constrained to arrange it twenty-five years ago, when Part I was written). Accordingly, the prophet concluded not only his address proper but also his denunciation of Amaziah, the very last word which he uttered in his prophetic role at Beth-El, with a four-beat stichos.

<sup>3</sup> *HUCA*, XVII (1943).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II, 816.

## III

## THE MESSAGE OF AMOS

Amos was a shepherd by occupation. His home was in the village of Tekoa, on the edge of the barren and forbidding Wilderness of Judah. As a shepherd he led for at least a considerable portion of each year a relatively solitary existence. Accordingly he had ample opportunity for personal reflection upon life and its problems and the contemporary conditions within his own Kingdom of Judah and the neighboring and closely related Kingdom of Israel. His personal background then was very similar in essential details to that of Elijah, who, so we have endeavored to establish,<sup>1</sup> was of Kenite origin, and so also from the South and with a strong semi-nomadic strain in his way of life and his preparation for his very significant prophetic ministry. It is not surprising, therefore, that these two prophets should have had something, and even much, in common in outlook, in approach to prophetic task and its technique, and even in the content of their prophetic messages and programs.

Quite naturally Amos' point of view was that of the shepherd. Illustrative of this is the fact that the word, ארמון, "palace," occurs eleven times in Amos, five times in Jeremiah and only fifteen times in all the remaining books of the Bible. For those resident in these palaces Amos, speaking in the name of Yahweh, has only contempt and condemnation.<sup>2</sup> And the sins with which he charges them are such primarily from the standpoint of the humble shepherd, viz., luxury, self-indulgence, dishonesty in business dealings and in human relations, oppression of servants and of those socially inferior to themselves. Likewise the sins which he cites as illustrative of the conduct of the four foreign nations, Israel's enemies, for which their doom is pronounced by Yahweh, are such primarily when measured by the standards of desert, nomadic life, viz., undue cruelty in the conduct of war (1:3), selling into slavery captives taken in warfare (1:6), splitting open the wombs of the pregnant women of a conquered territory (1:13), and the burning of the bones of a slain enemy (2:1). Obviously, as conceived by Amos, just as also by Elijah, Yahweh was still essentially a nomadic or, perhaps more precisely, a pastoral, deity, to whom the simple life and ethical standards of nomadic and semi-nomadic existence were dear, while commercial, urban existence,

<sup>1</sup> Part III, in *HUCA*, XV (1940), 167-94 = *Amos Studies*, I, 291-318.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially 6:8a.

with its fundamental difference in social organization and related ethical standards, was more or less abhorrent.

This same principle manifests itself in the prophet's evaluation of the religious practice of these people, in their relatively complex ritual observance, their pilgrimages to their great sanctuaries, their elaborate and costly manner of festival observance, their multiplication of sacrifices and heaping up of the number and value of the animals which they offered and their supplementation of their ritual procedure with music and song (5:5, 21-23). All this is, so he maintains, unacceptable to Yahweh, and their music is to Him naught but a disagreeable din. What He really desires of His people, as, impliedly, their ancestors once knew, but they have forgotten or disregarded completely, is a way of life, the simple life of the nomadic Semite, still basic in pastoral culture, where everyone was the social equal of all his brethren and justice was the primary, indispensable principle of human relations. What, Amos affirmed, Yahweh demanded of His people was not at all termination of extensive commercial practice and urban existence, but return to the simple, humane way of life and the social relations and ethical standards which motivated this. This had been instituted by Yahweh of old and this He still demanded of His people. So spoke this inspired shepherd prophet.

As a shepherd, and therefore passing much of his time in human solitude, Amos had, as has been said, ample opportunity for self-communion and meditation upon the circumstances and conditions of his day as they manifested themselves in the life of his fellow-Israelites, Yahweh's people, and especially so in the commercially more active, wealthier and culturally more highly developed Israel of the North, the Northern Kingdom. From a psychic standpoint his eye was keen to behold a vision, or a series of visions, and his ear attuned to hear the voice of Yahweh, his god and his people's god, speaking directly to him and conveying a message which directly concerned them. And, quite naturally, an intense devotee of Yahweh, he interpreted life for Israel in terms of Yahweh's will and purpose, especially for and with His people. And feeling himself charged irresistibly by his god to convey to Israel the message, communicated to him but obviously intended for them, he chose to go, or perhaps went involuntarily and naturally, not to the temple in Jerusalem, the central sanctuary of his own Southern Kingdom, but rather, though a Judahite himself, to Beth-El, the royal shrine, the main sanctuary of the Northern Kingdom. Obviously too before setting out upon his ominous mission he knew, at least in broad outline, as the divine revelation to him through the first four visions records, just what was

the full content of the message which he was charged to bring to this people, his Northern kinsmen, thus sinful and faithless to its and his god. Quite plainly he deliberately chose the New Year's Day, as observed in the Northern Kingdom, the day for the joyous celebration of which the people would gather at Beth-El, the royal sanctuary, in vast numbers from all parts of the kingdom. And plainly too he had meditated long and hard upon the manner in which he could most effectively deliver his message and thus discharge his mission. And plainly, furthermore, he had planned his address in advance, at least in its broad outline, while its introduction, by which he hoped to win the respectful attention and initial commendation of his audience, the denunciation of the four nations, Israel's archenemies, he had even composed in his mind in effective, poetic, metrical form.

In one essential respect Amos was undoubtedly a pioneer. He was unquestionably the very first universalist in the history of the religion of Israel and even in all the history of religion.<sup>1</sup> He conceived of Yahweh as more than the god of Israel alone. His power and authority extended in principle and also, at least in certain practical aspects, in reality over all the peoples of the world. He it was in truth, and not at all their own gods, who had brought from their original homes the Philistines, from Caftor, and the Aramaeans, from Kir, and had settled them in the lands of their present habitation. He had not always been Israel's god nor had Israel always been His people. He had rather, at a certain moment in its history, taken Israel unto Himself, chosen it from all the various peoples with which, in one way or another, He had had dealings, as His people, and thus He became its god, to care for, protect and prosper it throughout all time, while it in turn was to do His will, to live the way of life which He had ordained, and to worship Him, and Him alone, consciously as its god in the simple, unpretentious, ritual manner which alone was pleasing unto Him. In a sense then Yahweh was to Amos a universal god.

Other peoples, it is true, did likewise conceive of their gods in somewhat universal terms. To the Assyrians of the prophet's day Ashur was potentially a world-god, and would be so in reality, when, under his divine favor and guidance, they had succeeded in their ambition of conquering the entire world; for then certainly his authority would be world-wide and all peoples and their gods would be subject to him. Other nations with world-conquering aspirations, Egypt and the Hittites for example, had no doubt cherished similar concepts of their own gods.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kapelrud, *Central Ideas in Amos*, 42, 47.



But to Amos Yahweh was a universal god in an altogether different sense. His relationship to peoples other than His own was entirely different than that of the deities of these other nations. They were the conquerors of nations, who crushed and enslaved the conquered peoples and made them subject, each in turn, to his own native people. But Yahweh, as conceived by Amos, was to other peoples primarily the benevolent, divine benefactor, who respected their own personal existence as independent nations and, by implication, even prospered them in their ways. And in return Yahweh demanded of all nations conformity to those standards of ethical human relations which, in first degree, He demanded of His own people. If they did not conform thereto punishment, even to the extent of termination of national existence, would be their portion from Him. Moreover, He could, should the occasion for this ever arise, use one nation as the instrument of His purpose in dealing with another nation, even with His own people. Unlike the gods of the other nations, He had not destined His people for world-conquest, nor yet to be conquered by some other nation. Impliedly then peace between the nations, world-peace, and with it no doubt world-justice in international relations, was Yahweh's will and purpose for all mankind. Actually Amos does not say this directly nor even suggest it indirectly, but nonetheless it is clearly implicit in his picture of Yahweh's relations to the other nations of the world. Almost certainly Amos himself did not realize that he was representing Yahweh, his god, in a new light, as, in principle, a universal god. But nonetheless such was his conception of Yahweh. And accordingly he was certainly, even though he himself did not perceive this, a true universalist in religion, the first such in all human history.

Yet Amos was not a complete, thorough-going universalist by any means. Universalism was remotely implicit in his message rather than openly asserted. In fact, as has just been said, he himself assuredly did not grasp all the implications and potentialities of this new message which he was proclaiming. He did not conceive of Yahweh as the god of all the nations simultaneously, of all mankind as a unit. In fact he did not conceive at all of mankind as a unit. To him the nation was the ultimate unit of human existence and organization. And to him Yahweh was, for the present at least, in a nationalistic sense the god of Israel alone and little more. His was then only a nascent universalism. It required two full centuries of active prophetic ministry and of gradually evolving religious thought before true universalism in the full sense of the term found vocal expression in the prophetic message of Deutero-Isaiah. Amos merely stood at the threshold of



this development. But it is his credit to have inaugurated this evolutionary process in the history of religion which has culminated in our conception of God and religion today.

And so, while a universalist by implication, Amos was in his concrete religious thinking and program still essentially a nationalist. To him the single nation, and not mankind at large, was the ultimate unit of existence. And even though Yahweh's power and benevolent purpose extended over all the nations, and even though He demanded of them conformity to certain standards of conduct, Yahweh was not at all the god of all the nations or of all mankind. Rather He was, for the present at least, Israel's god and its alone. His primary relations were with the one people and only with it. He was Israel's god and Israel was His people. His relations to it were more intimate, more benevolent, more all-inclusive, more so by far, than His relations with any other people. But, by further implication at least, even though the prophet does not say this directly, Yahweh could, when He would have cast Israel off in punishment for its faithlessness to Him, take, if He were so minded, some other people to Himself as His people in its stead. And this, so the prophet must have felt more or less consciously, was probably what Yahweh would do;<sup>1</sup> for what reality could a god have and what reason was there for his divine existence, if he had no nation or people to worship him and for whom he could in turn exercise his divine powers? Yes, though a universalist in the more remote implications of his thinking and of his prophetic message, Amos was still essentially a nationalist in his immediate religious outlook and program.

According to Amos then the relations of Yahweh with Israel and of Israel, in turn, with Yahweh were those of election. At a certain moment in its history Yahweh had chosen Israel from all the peoples of the world to be His own particular people, His and His alone. And Israel, in turn, had accepted this election, with all its implications and all its obligations, of which it was fully aware. True, Amos does not use the verb, בחר, "to choose," to describe this procedure on Yahweh's part. Apparently this term had not yet come into general use to describe Yahweh's action in thus taking Israel unto Himself. Rather he employs the verb, ידע, "to know" (3:2), to record this procedure. So do likewise Hosea (13:5) and Isaiah (1:3 f.), his immediate successors as prophets of Yahweh; and as the passage from Isaiah, just cited, makes clear, this verb, as used by these earliest literary prophets to describe the relationship between Yahweh and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Exod. 32:10; Num. 14:12 and also Isaiah's doctrine of the saved remnant, the nucleus of a new Israel.

Israel, implies election, coupled with all the obligations inherent therein, while its negation implies rejection.

Such a relationship between god and people implies, in turn, a covenant, a covenant mutually binding and obligatory. Even though Amos does not employ the term, ברית, "covenant," not even a single time,<sup>1</sup> there can be no question that he regarded this relationship of election between Yahweh and Israel as based upon a covenant. And although he gives not the slightest intimation thereof, there can be little, if any, doubt that, in conformity with the tradition then prevailing, particularly in his own country, Judah, he regarded this covenant between Yahweh and Israel as having been contracted at Sinai, just after Israel's traditional exodus from Egypt, through the saving grace and benevolence of Yahweh and the mediation of Moses.

Such a covenant relationship is actually a partnership entered into by two contracting parties, whereby each party obligates himself to do for the other something which that other party needs indispensably or desires eagerly and which he cannot do for himself. As His covenant obligation Yahweh undertook to provide for Israel in its own existence and to protect and prosper it in all its relations with other nations and peoples and with the world at large. And Israel, for its part, undertook to worship Yahweh and Him alone, to worship Him in the only manner which was pleasing unto Him and which He had revealed to it in all its implications, and to live the manner of life which He had instituted, primarily for it but also, to a certain degree at least, for all other peoples. Such was the obligation of each party to the covenant to the other.

Now there could be no question whatsoever that Yahweh would and did fulfill His covenant obligation to Israel in complete degree. True, there had been occasions when misfortune had befallen Israel, when famine had prevailed for a season, when the rainfall proved inadequate, when one or another form of vegetation disease ruined the crop, when pestilence or plague befell the people, when severe defeat in battle was their lot, or even when a disastrous earthquake worked immeasurable destruction and took many lives (4:6-11 + 8:3b $\alpha$ ). But that was not at all because Yahweh was irresponsible or faithless in the discharge of His covenant obligation to Israel. On the contrary, these various catastrophes, each in its own time, had befallen Israel just because of its covenant with Yahweh. He had Himself brought these calamities upon Israel because of His covenant relationship with it. For Israel, on its part, had been faithless to its

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Davies, "The Yahwistic Tradition in the Eighth-Century Prophets," in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson*, 41 f.

covenant obligation and had sinned against Yahweh again and again, constantly, habitually, it might almost be said, and that too basically, grievously and even wilfully. And these various catastrophes, each in its turn, Yahweh had brought upon His people, perhaps to some extent as well merited punishment for its iniquity, but primarily as warnings of what would certainly be Israel's ultimate fate if it did not terminate this way of life and conduct, this violation of its covenant obligation, and return to Yahweh, its god and covenant partner, with heart and soul and with the firm resolve to henceforth walk faithfully with Him and fulfill its covenant obligation to Him loyally and completely.

And, quite plainly, it was Yahweh's wish and hope that each such warning would be rightly understood and taken to heart by Israel, and that it would in consequence return to Him and thereafter live and walk with Him loyally and happily in faithful fulfillment of its portion of the covenant with Him. For this Yahweh was waiting. And constantly up to the present moment He had held out to Israel the possibility of return to Him lovingly, generously and forgivingly. But Israel had failed, or perhaps even refused, to understand and had stubbornly and selfishly persisted in its evil, faithless way, disregarding its god and His loving purpose with it, its covenant obligation to Him and the warnings which He had given to it. And now, at last, at long last, it was too late for such return. Yahweh's patience with His people was exhausted and His faith in it and His hope for it were frustrated completely. Now naught remained for Him to do, and that too in accordance with the full implication of covenant relationship, but to abrogate this covenant completely, to declare it null and void, as no longer valid and binding upon Him in any way. And now He would bring catastrophe upon Israel, no longer as a warning, but rather as the well merited and rigorous punishment for its sinful disregard of the covenant with and its faithlessness to Him. "Prepare to meet thy god, O Israel!" (4:12).

He would let Israel be defeated in warfare, would bring an enemy, a foreign nation, obviously Assyria, using it as the instrument of His punishment of Israel, to overrun the land and destroy its cities and their luxurious palaces. He would let a considerable portion of the people be massacred and another portion, Amaziah, the chief priest of Beth-El among them, be carried off into captivity in a distant, foreign land, in conformity with the established and widely known Assyrian program of warfare; and the tiny fragment of the people which would survive this many-phased disaster He would drive out of the land completely and cause them to return, even as He proposed

to do likewise with sinful Aram, to the land from which He had brought them at the very first, to the forbidding and foreboding waste of the desert far beyond Damascus, there to resume the uninviting, difficult and exacting, primitive, nomadic life which their ancestors had lived before they had come to know Him and before He had in His generous love taken them unto Himself as His people, His covenant people and nation. And for a people so situated, a people left entirely without a god of its own to protect and provide for it, what hope and what future could there be?

After none of the warnings which He had sent to it, or, perhaps more precisely, had inflicted upon it, had Israel elected to return unto Him. In each instance He had waited and hoped, but all in vain; Israel did not and would not return. It would not repent of its evil way. If only it would repent, He was ready, and even eager, to take it back to Himself and renew His covenant relations with it. Repentance, return, return unto Him, return into covenant relations with Him, just this and naught else is what repentance was. תשובה, which etymologically has the connotation, "return," is the regular word in post-biblical Hebrew for "repentance," while the verb, שוב, "to return," has the secondary meaning, "to repent." Plainly that return which signified repentance was the return of Israel to its god and to right covenant relations with Him. Just that is what Hosea and the literary prophets who followed him pleaded with Israel to do. But obviously Amos was the first to proclaim the doctrine of repentance. And obviously too this doctrine of repentance is closely bound up with the concept of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, His chosen people. And obviously too Amos was the first of the prophets to proclaim the doom of Israel in conformity with the conditions of the covenant relations existing between Yahweh and Israel. In fact, viewed from one angle, just that was the primary reason for Amos' mission, as Yahweh's agent, to Israel, the Northern Kingdom, to announce to it Yahweh's final decision, that His covenant with it was now abrogated, and so was no longer binding upon Him, that He would no longer be its god nor it His people, that after punishing it deservedly for its faithlessness to Him, He would cast it off completely and leave it, now a people without a god, to its unhappy fate; for unless one party to a covenant notified the other party at the proper moment of the abrogation of the covenant by him, before his dealing further in any way with the other party, he could himself be regarded only as a violator of the covenant in his turn and be responsible to the other party therefor. Viewed in this light, the primary function of each of the successive literary prophets was, as Yahweh's appointed mes-

senger to it, to announce to Israel Yahweh's decision to abrogate His covenant with it or else to modify this covenant in some decisive manner.

Moreover, Amos was the only one of these prophets to proclaim the complete nullification of these covenant relations and the total repudiation and destruction of faithless Israel by Yahweh, its faithful, just and righteous god. The prophets who followed Amos, each in turn and each in his own way, qualified this doctrine. Thus Hosea proclaimed his message of Yahweh's unending love for, patience with and hope for sinful Israel and the consequent, never-ending possibility of Israel's eventual, true repentance and return unto its god. Isaiah in turn proclaimed the doctrine of the saved remnant as the replacement for the faithless, sinful and therefore deservedly punished and destroyed mass of the nation. Jeremiah heralded the hopeful message that the trials and sufferings of the Exile were intended by Yahweh for the discipline and regeneration of sinful Israel and to prepare it to return, regenerate, unto Him. Ezekiel, in his turn, advanced the doctrine that Yahweh needed Israel "for His name's sake," for the sake of His reputation as a god among the nations, and that He would, therefore, Himself restore Israel to its homeland and there Himself change its heart so that it would never again sin and be faithless to Him.<sup>1</sup> And Deutero-Isaiah, as the climax of this evolving doctrine, first proclaimed by Amos, announced that Yahweh needed Israel indispensably to function as His servant, His agent, charged with the task of effecting the salvation of all the nations. But, as has just been said, in this significant line of development of religious principle and doctrine, which in truth brought Judaism into being, Amos stands, in one respect at least, at the very head, as the initiator of this long, evolutionary process.

As has already been intimated, Amos disapproved uncompromisingly of the complex and ostentatious ritual practice current throughout the Northern Kingdom of his day in its worship of Yahweh. He interpreted as conforming not at all to the will or desire of Yahweh the elaborate celebration of festivals at the various shrines, the heaping up of costly sacrifices, the proclamation, in pompous pride and arrogance, of costly freewill offerings, the garish use of music and musical instruments, the pilgrimages from one sanctuary to another in the celebration of the great festivals, all this especially when coupled, as it seemed to him it surely was, with excessive corruption of human relations, the unprincipled dealings of men with fellowmen, all equally

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Morgenstern, "Moses with the Shining Face," *HUCA*, II (1925), 18-20.



the creatures of Yahweh. It was not that Yahweh did not expect, and even demand, the homage and active worship of His people. But the homage which He demanded of them was modest and the worship simple and reverent, prayer, supplication, an occasional sacrifice, the quiet observance of the essential festivals, and all this linked inseparably to a way of life, plain and even humble, animated by the basic principles of morality, justice, righteousness and good will in human relations, in the dealings of men with fellowmen, and especially with fellow-Israelites, all together Yahweh's people, and all this coupled with repentance, whenever the occasion for this arose.

This was not at all individualism in religion, and Amos was far from being an individualist in his religious theory and program. But ethical, righteous conduct is in first degree essentially a matter of the individual and of a nation as a collection of individuals. Accordingly, in his insistence upon right, ethical conduct primarily in the human relations of individuals to each other, as the primary and essential element in the proper worship of Yahweh and in the living of the life which He demanded of His people, there was a certain minimal, rudimentary element of individualism in religion, the nucleus out of which the principle of individualism slowly but steadily evolved, until it finally received its definitive expression in the message of the prophet Ezekiel. In this respect too Amos was, in a small degree, the precursor of later, basic, Jewish doctrine.

Perhaps it may be appropriate to say here a few words about Amos' conception of prophecy and his attitude toward prophets. When Amaziah charged Amos not to prophesy further at Beth-El but to return to his homeland, Judah, and there continue to function as a professional prophet and earn his livelihood thereby (7:12 f.), it is clear from both Amos' manner of action and the message which he had presented that Amaziah drew the inference that Amos was a professional prophet, performing in the manner typical of the professional prophet. To this Amos replied (7:14 f.) that he was not a prophet, i. e., a prophet by profession, nor was he associated in any way with any prophetic guild or group. Instead he was by occupation a simple, humble shepherd and cultivator of sycamore figs. But Yahweh had taken him from following his flocks and had charged him to go and prophesy, i. e., deliver a prophetic message, against His people, Israel. Amos says, in other words, that upon only this one occasion and only in response to Yahweh's direct command to him, had he come up to Beth-El and delivered there a prophetic message. From all this it is obvious that Amos had a profound respect for the office and the task of the prophet. This is evidenced also by the fact



that he depicts the prophet (3:3-8) as one who walks with Yahweh, prepared, when Yahweh speaks, to hearken and thus be charged with a message, which, as Yahweh's agent and spokesman, he is, in turn, to deliver to the people for whom it is intended, Yahweh's covenanted people, Israel. Plainly then Amos had a profound respect for the person of the prophet and for his office. He recognized too that in this one, single instance, but only in this one, and not at all habitually or professionally, he too had functioned as a prophet at Yahweh's bidding and in response to Yahweh's direct revelation to him; he too had been for the moment a prophet, Yahweh's chosen messenger unto His people. And quite plainly he assumed that he had now discharged his divine commission completely, that his prophetic ministry was ended, and that never again, unless of course called once again by Yahweh, would he function as a prophet.

Such in broad outline was the prophetic message of Amos, the self-dedicated servant and messenger of Yahweh, the god of Israel, a significant and in various aspects a pioneering figure in the evolution of biblical religion, of historic Judaism and of all true religion, as we interpret this today.

#### IV

##### SECONDARY PASSAGES IN THE BOOK OF AMOS

The Book of Amos in its *MT* form consists of one hundred and forty-six verses. Of these the address proper, as we have reconstructed it, consists of the equivalent of seventy-seven verses. The narrative portion of the Book, 3:3-8+7:10-17, the visions, and the introductory statement, 1:1-2, all of which we have treated in Part I of this work, consist of the equivalent of twenty-nine verses. Accordingly, the original Book of Amos, as it emerged from the hand of either the prophet himself or, far more probably, from that of its compiler, consisted of approximately one hundred and six verses. Therefore the equivalent of some forty verses, just a little more than one-fourth of the present Book, is of secondary, editorial origin. Of these forty secondary verses we have already disposed of the equivalent of thirteen verses in our discussion of the text of the portions of the Book which we have already treated. Hence some twenty-seven verses remain to be considered. These we will treat relatively briefly and in the order of their sequence in the Book.

1:9-12. Here we have the denunciations of Tyre (vv. 9 f.) and of Edom (vv. 11 f.). It is apparent at a glance that both denunciations

follow closely the pattern of the denunciations of the four nations of the original address in that the two vv. of each of these two denunciations repeat almost verbatim, with the exception of the name of the particular nation here concerned and the summary statement of its gross sin, in punishment for which Yahweh is about to destroy it, the first two vv. of the original denunciations. But there is nothing whatsoever here which corresponds to the third, the climactic, v. of those denunciations. It is inconceivable that our prophet would have uttered these two denunciations in such incomplete and ineffective form. Moreover, the sin for which Tyre is denounced, viz., the selling of a complete group of captives, plainly Israelite captives, into slavery to Edom, is precisely the same, even as to wording, as the sin attributed to the Philistines in the second of the four original denunciations (1:6). Unquestionably this statement here is copied, with a very slight verbal modification, which modification may even be due to textual corruption, from the denunciation of the Philistines. Certainly Amos would not, in just this one instance, have denounced two nations for one and the same sin. There can accordingly be no question whatsoever that, as the majority of modern biblical scholars are agreed, these two denunciations are not from Amos but must have been compiled and inserted by some later hand. Moreover, the ascription to Tyre of the sin of selling Israelites in great number into slavery enables us to fix the date of this editorial insertion fairly accurately. We know that, following the great catastrophe which befell the Jewish people in 485 B. C., in the infliction of which Edom was the leader of a group of allied nations, all the immediate neighbors of and all bitterly hostile to Judah, while Tyre was a more or less passive participant therein,<sup>1</sup> a very large number of Jewish captives were sold in the slave market of Tyre to the Greeks of the Mediterranean world. Undoubtedly this bitter denunciation of both Tyre and Edom is the product of the period following soon after 485 B. C. This conclusion finds particular confirmation in the reference in the denunciation of Tyre (v. 9) to the "covenant of brothers."<sup>2</sup>

2:4-5. Likewise the denunciation of Judah must be secondary. It too, like the denunciations of both Tyre and Edom, consists of only two vv., and also, like them, lacks anything which would correspond to the third, the climactic, v. of the four original denunciations. Moreover, the sins with which it charges Judah, viz., rejection of the revelation of Yahweh and of His statutes and carrying on the

<sup>1</sup> Morgenstern, "Jerusalem — 485 B. C.," *HUCA*, XXVII (1956), 101-79; XXVIII (1958), 15-47; XXXI (1960), 1-29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 19-45.

same false worship as their ancestors had been guilty of, are sins regularly denounced in the Bible, and particularly in its post-Exilic sections. This denunciation is patently later than even the denunciations of Tyre and Edom. This is evidenced by its altogether conventional thought and likewise by its references to the palaces of Jerusalem (v. 5). This reference suggests that this denunciation must have been composed and inserted here at a time sufficiently later than the catastrophe of 485 B. C. for Jerusalem to have been restored and likewise to have recovered something of its former stateliness as a city. This could be only after the period of Ezra and Nehemiah, most probably then at some moment early in the fourth century B. C. The editor who inserted this passage here must have had a double purpose in so doing. In the first place he plainly sought to build up the number of the nations denounced by Amos to seven, the traditionally sacred number. This fact in itself evidences that this denunciation is probably later than the denunciations of Tyre and Edom. And in the second place, he wished to make it seem that Amos had denounced his own nation, Judah, as well as the Northern Kingdom, Israel. Accordingly, he must have interpreted the true, original message of the prophet, even as we too have interpreted it, as directed only against the Northern Kingdom and not at all, at least in primary degree, against the Southern Kingdom, Judah; for had he interpreted the prophet's message, as set forth in the original address, as we have reconstructed this, as being directed at Judah as well as at Israel, there would have been no reason for nor justification of this particular denunciation of Judah alone. We shall see that at least one other secondary passage, 3:1b, the very next passage to be discussed, has this same motivation. The realization, from this evidence, that the prophet did not include his own nation, Judah, in his denunciation as a whole is of importance for the correct interpretation of his message.

3:1b. This half-verse, plainly an editorial expansion and a reinterpretation of the term, בני ישראל, "sons of Israel," of v. 1a, affirms again that Amos' message was directed, not only against Israel, the Northern Kingdom, but against all Israel, i. e., including the Southern Kingdom, Judah, as well. The fact that this half-verse is cast in non-metrical prose form is further evidence of its secondary character. It may well be the work of the compiler of 2:4-5.

3:14-15. The first half of v. 14 is certainly non-metrical prose. The second half of the v. may be arranged as a 3/3/2 and v. 15, omitting נאם יהוה, as a 3/3/3. But inasmuch as the thought of v. 15

is expressed, and that, too, forcefully, in 6:11, which we have fitted into its proper place in the prophet's address, and since there is no other place in the address where these one and one-half vv. would fit, and since, moreover, the prophet would hardly state this thought twice in the address, it is a reasonable inference that this passage does not belong in the address proper. On the other hand, the reference in v. 14b to the altar at Beth-El suggests that this passage may be a part of Amos' denunciation of Amaziah. If so, then it can be fitted only in 7:17, between  $\alpha\alpha\beta$  and  $\alpha\gamma b$ . This would make the passage read thus:

	לכן כה אמר יהוה	7.17 $\alpha\alpha$
3/3	אשתך בעיר תזנה / ובניך < > בחרב יפלו	7.17 $\alpha\beta$
3/3	ופקדתי על-מצבת בית-אל / ונגדעו קרנות המזבח < >	3.14b
3/3	והכיתי בית-החרף על-בית-הקיץ / ואבדו בתי השן	3.15 $\alpha\alpha$
3/3	וספו בחים רבים / ואדמתך כחבל תחלק	3.15 $\beta\beta$ +7.17 $\alpha\gamma$
	ואתה על-אדמה טמאה תמות / וישראל גלה יגלה מעל-	7.17b+3.15b $\gamma$
4/4/2	אדמתו / נאם יהוה	
7:17 $\alpha\alpha$	Therefore thus sayeth Yahweh:	
7:17 $\alpha\beta$	Thy wife will become a harlot in the city,	
	And thy children will fall by the sword.	
3:14b	And I shall visit My wrath upon the sacred pillar	
	of Beth-El,	
	And the horns of the altar will be hewn off.	
3:15 $\alpha\alpha$	And I shall smite the winter-house together with the	
	summer-house,	
	And the houses of ivory will be laid waste.	
3:15 $\beta\beta$ +7:17 $\alpha\gamma$	Yea, many houses will come to an end,	
	And thy land will be apportioned by measure.	
7:17b+3:15b $\gamma$	And thou wilt die in an unclean land.	
	And Israel will go into exile completely far away	
	from its land.	
	Oracle of Yahweh.	

In 7:17 $\alpha\beta$  omit ובנותיך for the sake of the meter. Inasmuch as 3:14b $\beta$  speaks of the altar in the sanctuary at Beth-El, and clearly implies that there was only one altar there, in  $\alpha\alpha$  of the same v. for מצבה read מזבח. This sacred stone, probably pillar-like in form, although strictly forbidden by later legislation (Lev. 26:1; Deut. 16:22), was in Amos' day a common cult-object in Israel, the Northern

Kingdom (Hos. 3:4; 10:1 f.). Doubtless there was then such a cult-object at Beth-El, standing in close proximity to the altar. Omit the altogether superfluous and somewhat bathetic **וַיִּפְּלוּ לָאָרֶץ** in 3:14b as disturbing of the meter. 3:15 deals quite obviously with the destruction of the cities of the Northern Kingdom, and particularly of the capital city, Samaria, with its many magnificent homes. In 7:17a **וְאֶדְמַתְךָ** does not connote Amaziah's own, personal property, as might at first be imagined, but designates rather the whole territory of the Northern Kingdom. In 7:17b by "an unclean land" a foreign country is certainly meant, unclean no doubt because Yahweh is not there and cannot be worshiped there. Jeremiah was the very first to affirm the possibility of worshiping Yahweh in a foreign land (Jer. 29:7); to Amos this was still impossible. It must be admitted that this is rather drastic treatment of the text, but it is the only way in which 3:14b-15 can be retained for the body of the Book. Moreover it adds to Amos' denunciation of Amaziah something which is notably lacking in 7:14-17, viz., the statement of the fate of Beth-El, the sanctuary of which Amaziah was the chief-priest. Moreover, the specific reference here to the sanctuary at Beth-El, with its altar and its sacred pillar, forbids the assigning of 3:14b-15 to a period much later than the time of Amos. All these considerations support our conclusion of the genuineness of this passage. Thus one and one-half vv. are added to our reconstruction of the original Book of Amos.

4:13; 5:8-9; 9:5-6. It is assumed by the vast majority of biblical scholars that these three passages, totalling five vv., are all fragments of a single poem, a poem of definitely psalmodic character.<sup>1</sup> That such was most probably the case is evidenced by the common theme which pervades them all, viz., the role of Yahweh in the universe and its operation, by the common metrical form, and by the thrice repeated refrain, **יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ**. Plainly they have no connection whatsoever with the thought or purpose of the prophet's address proper. In fact, in every case they disturb the consecution of thought and, despite the beauty and dignity of their theme, had they actually been spoken by the prophet, would, as they stand, have greatly weakened the effect of his address. Certainly these poetic fragments are not original with the prophet but are interpolations into his address. This conclusion is supported further by the fact that, whereas these three pieces seem to have been originally parts of one and the same poem, a psalm almost certainly, they are here broken up into three fragments inserted at fairly widely separated places in the address. We can only guess at the reason for this interpolation, and that too in the respective

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kapelrud, *Central Ideas in Amos*, 38 f.



positions within the address in which we find them. We have good reason to believe that in the early Synagogue the reading of selections from the prophets constituted a very important, perhaps even the central, portion of the ritual.<sup>1</sup> It may well be that, just as in the later Synagogue, after the readings from both the Law and the Prophets a blessing was and is pronounced, thanking the Deity for the gift of these inspired and inspiring writings, so also in the early Synagogue, after the reading of a section from the Prophets, a verse, or even several verses, from some then current psalm, extolling the greatness, power, majesty and beneficence of the Deity, was read or recited in order to mark the conclusion of that particular reading. This assumption, which, for lack of positive evidence, cannot be proved, but which seems altogether reasonable and probable, would account adequately for the frequent occurrence in the prophetic writings of passages of varying length, psalmodic in origin and character, whose regular theme is the greatness, power and benevolence of Yahweh, always conceived of as the universal God, all of which are plainly interpolations into the original text.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, these three psalmodic passages may well have found their way into their present positions in the body of the address of Amos as the result of this early, Synagoga practice.

5:6, 13-15. These two passages, in both of which the thought is expressed that if the people will only seek out Yahweh and live the life which He had meant that they should live, there may still be hope that He will forgive them and be gracious unto them and keep them as His people so long as they continue in the right way of conduct, contradicts the central theme of Amos' message to Israel, that the time for repentance and return to Yahweh has passed and their rejection and destruction by Yahweh are now fully determined upon by Him. Accordingly, these four vv. can be only interpolations, made long after the prophet's time, by some scribe or Synagogue reader, who, seeing that, despite the prophet's word, the people had not yet been destroyed and that Yahweh was still their god, called upon them in his own manner to depart from their persisting evil ways and seek out Yahweh, and thus win His forgiveness and promise of a secure and happy future. It would appear from the conclusion of v. 14 that the people maintain that Yahweh is still with them and that accordingly their way of life must be not displeasing to Him, as the writer

<sup>1</sup> Morgenstern, "The Origin of the Synagogue," in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, II, 192-201.

<sup>2</sup> Morgenstern, "Isaiah 42:10-13," in *To Do and To Teach — Essays in Honor of Charles Lynn Pyatt*, 27-38.



or preacher claims is the case. V. 14b seems to be prose rather than metrical poetry. The designation in v. 15b of the Northern Kingdom as "the remnant of Joseph," suggests strongly that this passage must have been interpolated into the address proper at some time after Sargon's final triumph over Israel in 721 B. C. and his carrying off a considerable section of the people into captivity in Assyria. לביתאֵל, at the end of v. 6, which plainly disturbs the meter, is probably an editorial interpolation. The same is true of בעת ההיא in v. 13a, as is evidenced by the occurrence of עת also in v. 13b.

5:19. This v. is certainly an interpolation. It plainly interrupts the close and forceful unity of vv. 18 and 20 and presents a poorly related thought. Moreover, it is couched in nonmetrical prose form. It is probably the work of some editor, who sought, with conspicuously bad taste, to illustrate the thought of v. 18 as he understood it.

5:25. With the omission of the altogether unnecessary בית ישראל the v. becomes a perfect 4/4. It might perhaps be transposed to intervene between 5:22 and 23, and so be retained as a part of the prophet's address; but if so, it would present an altogether unnecessary thought and would weaken somewhat the effect of this remarkably vigorous section of the prophet's address. Certainly 5:24 is the extremely powerful, climactic statement of this section of the address. Accordingly, where it stands in *MT* v. 25 is definitely out of place. It seems best then to regard it as a gloss, interpolated by some scribe who ventured to supplement the portion of the message of the prophet, expressed in the vv. immediately preceding, by a thought of his own. 2:10, which also speaks of Israel's journey through the desert, we have likewise set down as an interpolation.

6:9-10. These two vv. are ordinary prose, without the slightest trace of metrical form. Obviously then they have no place whatever in the prophet's address. Equally obviously they are an interpolation by some editor who apparently did not appreciate the metrical form and the poetic quality of the address proper and who sought to enhance the picture of the capture of the city and its fortress by the enemy sent by Yahweh, by adding a note of horror thereto. It is questionable whether v. 10 is the work of the author of v. 9, for it seems to contradict that v.; for v. 9 says plainly and directly that even if there be as many as ten men in a single house, they shall all meet death in the siege, while v. 10 seems to speak of the death of only a single person in the house and to assume that at least one other person in the house will have survived, to answer the question of the relatives of the dead person. Apparently then the two vv. are the work of two different interpolators, the second of whom sought to heighten the feeling of

horror which the first had himself endeavored to create. The full meaning of v. 10 in all its details is uncertain, due primarily to the obscure and probably somewhat corrupt term, **ומסרפו**.

8:8. This v. Maag<sup>1</sup> would link with 4:13; 5:8 f.; 9:5 f. as one original hymn, older than Amos and quoted by him in his address or in his various addresses. There can be no question that 8:8 voices much the same thought as does 9:5; but this would actually be one cogent reason for not ascribing both vv. to the same source, for to do so would seem to make that source unduly repetitious. The majority of modern biblical scholars regard this v. as a gloss; and inasmuch as it has no place whatsoever in the address, as we have reconstructed this, we too must interpret this v. as an editorial gloss.

9:9bβ. This section of this v. plainly qualifies or even contradicts what is stated in the v. proper. That says, as we have seen, that it is now Yahweh's intention to send the remnant of Israel which will survive the war waged against it by the conquering enemy into exile, to scatter it far and wide among the nations, just as something, gravel for example, is scattered when it is shaken out through a sieve. To this bβ of the v. adds the qualifying statement, "But not a pebble will fall to the ground"; in other words, the shaking of the sieve will have no effect, for nothing will fall out through its mesh. This very obvious addition to the original statement of the v. says that there will be no shaking out or scattering of Israel, or at least the effect thereof will not be the destruction of Israel, as the original portion of the v. clearly implies, that none will be lost through this scattering or exile of the people. This qualifying addition to the original v., which plainly predicts a positive future for Israel, is in all probability the work of the author of 9:11-15, though not necessarily an integral part of that passage and of the picture there presented. Rather it seems to anticipate those vv. and therefore to be editorial, and certainly late editorial, as we shall see.

9:11-15. Before endeavoring to interpret this passage it will be well to reconstruct it textually:

	< > אקים את־סכת דויד הנפלת / וגדרתי את־פרציה	11
4/4/4	והריסתיה אקים / וּבְנִיתֶיהָ כִּימִי עוֹלָם	
	למען יירשו את־שארית אדום / וכל־הגוים אשר־נקרא שמי	12
4/4/4	עליהם / נאם יהוה עשה זאת	
	הנהימים באים נאם יהוה / ונגש חורש <השרה> בקוצר	13
4/4/4	ודרך ענבים במשך הזרע	

<sup>1</sup> *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos*, 57 f.

4/4	והשיבתי שבות עמי ישראל / ובנו ערים נשמות וישבו	14
4/4	ונטעו כרמים ושתו את־ייןם / ועשו גנות ואכלו את־פרים	
	ונטעתים < / ולא ינתשו עוד / מעל־אדמתם אשר נתתי	15
4/4/2	להם / אמר יהוה	

All four vv. of this passage are cast in poetic form, with the 4-beat meter running through the entire poem. ביום ההוא, there is no indication whatsoever what day is here referred to; certainly it is not the same day as is indicated by the identical expression in 8:9, for that is a day of calamity and grief for the entire nation, while this is a day of restoration and joy; moreover, these two words seem seriously to disturb the meter, and apparently have no place in the v., at least as it is now worded, and so should either be omitted as a very late editorial insertion, a quite radical procedure, or else vv. 11 and 12 should be rearranged as a 4/4 triple-distich, thus:

4/4	ביום ההוא <נאם יהוה> / אקים את־סכת דויד הנפלת	11
4/4	ונדרתי את־פרציה והריסתיא אקים / וְבִנִּיתִיה כימי עולם	
	למען יירשו את־שארית אדום / וכל־הגוים אשר־נקרא שמי	12
4/4/2	עליהם / <	

This rearrangement of these two vv. involves the transfer of נאם יהוה from the end of v. 12 to the first stichos of v. 11 and the omission of the altogether superfluous עשה זאת at the very end of v. 12. This rearrangement too is a bit drastic, but all in all it has much to commend it; and since it brings vv. 11–12 into closer metrical harmony with vv. 13–15, it is probably to be preferred to the metrical arrangement first suggested. However, it throws no further light upon the identification of the day in question. Probably the author envisages the traditional Day of Yahweh, which he interprets as the day of Yahweh's triumph over His enemies and the enemies of His people and of the restoration of the latter to their own native land as an independent nation under their own native king of the Davidic line. Thus interpreted the retention of ביום ההוא is absolutely necessary; and this is made possible only by the above rearrangement. For פרציה read פרציה and for והריסתיא read והריסתיו, with the vss. and as the context requires. Accordingly:

11. On that day, oracle of Yahweh,  
I will raise up the fallen tabernacle of David,  
And I will close up its breaches, and its wrecked portions will  
I set up anew,  
And I will rebuild it as in the days of old.
12. In order that they may dispossess the remnant of Edom  
And all the nations over which My name has been called.
13. Behold, days are coming, Oracle of Yahweh,  
When he who plows the field will press upon the reaper,  
And he who treads out the grapes upon him who strews  
the seed.
14. And I shall bring back the captive body of My people, Israel,  
And they will rebuild the wasted cities and reinhabit them;  
And they will plant vineyards and will drink their wine,  
And they will prepare gardens and will reap their fruit.
15. And I shall plant them so that never again will they be uprooted  
From their land which I have given unto them,  
Hath Yahweh said.

12. For the precise implication of the terms, "the remnant of Edom" and "the nations over which My name has been called" and the indication as to the date of composition of this passage which the use of these two terms gives, viz., later than 485 B. C., cf. Morgenstern, "The Rest of the Nations."<sup>1</sup>

13. Inasmuch as נוּשׁ, "to draw near to," is regularly followed by the preposition אֶל, and never by ב', while נוּשׁ, "to press upon," is regularly followed either by the direct object or by the preposition ב' (Exod. 5:6; Isa. 3:5; 9:3), as is the case here, vocalize here נוּשׁ; insert הַשָּׂדֶה after חֹרֵשׁ for the sake of the meter. The thought here expressed, that in this new period of divine favor the crops will be so abundant that one stage of the cultivation of the fields and vineyards and of the harvesting and disposal of the crops will have barely been completed, because of the magnitude of the annual yield, when it will be time to start upon the next stage, is most vividly presented. Manifestly the author of this passage envisaged agriculture, and not commerce, as the main occupation and source of livelihood which Yahweh contemplated for His people. For מִשַּׁךְ הָדוּרֶע cf. Ps. 126:6.

14. Inasmuch as שׁוּב in the *qal* is intransitive, and inasmuch also as the *hif.* is frequently used with שׁוּבָה as the object (Jer. 32:44; 33:7, 26; 49:6; Ezek. 39:25; Lam. 2:14), for וּשְׁבָתִי here and also wherever

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Semitic Studies*, II (1957), 225-31.

the same expression occurs (Jer. 30:3, 18; 48:47; Ezek. 29:14; Hos. 6:11; Ps. 14:7; 53:7 *et passim*) read וְהִשְׁבֹּתִי וְיָשְׁבוּ, "and they shall reinhabit"; throughout this v. the verbs, as is so frequently the case in Biblical Hebrew, express the idea of repetitive action. For פָּרִיהֶם read the much more common פָּרִים.

15. Omit the first עַל־אֲדָמָתָם, since it disturbs the meter, as a dittograph by some careless scribe of the very same expression just three words later. This short, poetic passage, appended to the address proper of the prophet, ends effectively in a 4/4/2 tristich and with the significant words, אָמַר יְהוָה. Omit the very last word, אֱלֹהֶיךָ, for the suffix of which there is no ready antecedent, since in the v. proper Israel is referred to in the 3rd plu., and since this word adds nothing to the thought and even weakens somewhat the metrical effect thereof. The reference to the fallen tabernacle of David (v. 11) and "the remnant of Edom" establishes clearly that this poetic supplement to the Book of Amos must have been composed somewhat later than 485 B. C.<sup>1</sup> and later even than 478 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Morgenstern, "Jerusalem — 485 B. C.," *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Morgenstern, "The Rest of the Nations," *op. cit.*





אם המקבל פסקיהם והוראתם, אף כשטעו, חייב חטאת, והעלו שפטור מן החטאת מפני שתלה בב"ד (מ' הוריות ריש פ"א).

אולם זקני החסידים לא הודו בסמכותו של ב"ד בענייני הוראה בכלל, וכן לא במקום שהם טועים ומתנגדים למסורת הנביאים ואנכה"ג. לכן, אם אמר אחד מהם טועים אתם, או שאמר איני יודע, אין הוראתם הוראה. וכן אם אחד מחברי ב"ד המרכזי ההוא, הטרומ-חשמונאי, הלך ועשה שלא ע"פ חבריו אלא ע"פ דעת עצמו, חייב בכשבה או בשעירה (עיי"ש).

ע"ד) לפי שיטת ר"ג וחכמי יבנה צומצמה בדורות קדמונים סמכות של ב"ד המקדש מפני שלא היו חבריו ראויים להוראה ברוב מקצועות התורה. אולם כאשר נתקיים ב"ד המרכזי ביבנה, והורכב רק מחכמי ישראל, הרי היתה לו סמכות בכל התורה כולה, כתקנת המלך יהושפט.

ואחד בחיל. נצרך אחד מהן [כלומר, מן הציבור] הלכה הולך לב"ד שבעירו, אין ב"ד בעירו הולך לב"ד הסמוך לו. אם שמעו אמרו לו, אם לאו הוא ומופל'א שבהם באין לב"ד שבהר הבית. אם שמעו אמרו לו, ואם לאו הן ומופל'א שבהן באין לב"ד שבחיל. אם שמעו אמרו להם ואם לאו אילו ואילו הולכין לב"ד הגדול שבלשכת הגזית וכו' אם שמעו אמרו להם ואם לאו עומדין למינין רבו המטמאן טימאו רבו המטהרין טהרו, משם היה יוצאת הלכה ורווחת בישראל".

ברייטא זו הובאה בב' סנהדרין פ"ח, ע"ב בשנינויים, והעיקר שבב' לא הזכירו את ה"מופל'א"; ואדרבא, לפי נוסח הבבלי משמע שאם אין מסורת בידי חברי בתי דין של העיירות ושל פתח הר הבית, באים הדיינים החולקים ביניהם בשיקול הדעת ואומרים, "כך דרשתי וכך דרשו חברי, כך למדתי וכך למדו חברי". הנימוק לשינוי זה הוא קודם כל שנוסח הברייטא יתאים אל נוסח משנת סנהדרין פ"א, מ"ב; ועוד, שלפי שיטת הב' פירוש "מופל'א" הוא כמו שפירש רש"י ז"ל בב' סנהדרין פ"ו, ע"א ד"ה במופל'א שבב"ד, וכן בהוריות ד' ע"ב, ד"ה או שלא היה מופל'א של ב"ד שם; והוא שהמופל'א לא היה מחברי בית הדין, אלא זקן שאינו מן המנין או תלמיד ראוי להוראה. נחלקו עליו הרמב"ם ז"ל, שפירש שהמופל'א הוא ראש הישיבה (פירוש המשנה, הוריות פ"א, מ"ד), וכן בעלי התוס' ז"ל סנהדרין ט"ו, ע"ב ד"ה אחד, מפני שהר"מ ז"ל ובעלי התוס' ז"ל פירשו את המשנה והברייטות בהתאם אל המובא בתוספתא הנ"ל, שברור ממנה שה"מופל'א" הוא מחברי בית הדין. ולשיטת רש"י ז"ל אין לבאר את הב' אלא לפי הנוסח שלו.

ע"א) רבינו הקדוש שנה משנתו הנ"ל לפי שיטת ר' יוסי, אולם, כאמור, לא הזכיר את ה"מופל'א". ולפי נוסחתו במשנה משמע שהדיינים החולקים באים ללשכת הגזית. נימוקו של רבי הוא, כנראה, שגם הוא דוחה את הברייטא הנ"ל דו"מ בספרי כשמותית; ועוד הוא סובר שאין מופל'א אלא בב"ד הגדול, והוא הראש ביניהם, והוא ששנה שרק אם ה"מופל'א" היה נעדר אין הוראת ב"ד הגדול הוראה (השווה תוספתא הוריות פ"א ה"ב, ע' 474), אבל בהעדר של זקן אחר הוראתם הוראה. לכן, לפי דעתו, אין מקום להזכיר מופל'א אצל בתי דין שבעיירות.

ע"ב) שיטת ר"ג וחבריו, שיש לב"ד המרכזי של לשכת הגזית סמכות בכל מקצועות התורה, לא נתהוותה על ידיהם; מקורה בתורת כהני בית המקדש עצמה. הם דרשו גם בדורות הקדמונים את הכתוב "וירוש משפטיך ליעקב מלמד שכל הוריות אינן יוצאות אלא מפיהם". בספרי נוספה על הכתוב על ידי אשגרא הדרשה הרגילה בו, "ריב אלו ריבי פרה וריבי עגלה וריבי סוטה, ננע אלו ננעי אדם ננעי בגדים ננעי בתים". כבר הוכחנו, שבבא זו מוצאה העיקרית מברייטא דו"מ כפי שהרחיבו אותה בבית שמאי. וכן הוכחנו שעיקר ביאור זה בתקנת יהושפט הנ"ל.

ע"ג) כיוון שבפועל ב"ד מרכזי של בית המקדש מורה בכל מקצועות התורה, הוכרחו חכמי החסידים הראשונים קודם תקופת שמעון הצדיק והחשמונאים, לדון

ראב"ע כב"ש, ונוקף ר' ישמעאל. הוא עשה כן כפי המבואר שם שלא יקבע הדבר חובה; אחרת לא היה נוקף. (תוספתא ברכות פ"א, ה"ד, ה"ד הגר"ש ליברמן ע' 2; ספרי דברים פי' ל"ד, ע' 62; ב' ברכות י"א, ע"א. בירר' ברכות פ"א, ה"ד, ג', ע"ב, משמע שבק"ש של שחרית אירע הדבר. ועי' המר"מ על ברייתא זו בפ"י וחי' לירו' להגר"ל גינצבורג, שם, ח"א ע' 142, ובתוספתא כפשוטה להגר"ש ליברמן שם, זרעים ח"א, ע' 4).

כבר העיר הגר"ל גינצבורג בפ"י וחי' לירו' שם (ע' 146), שמקרה זה קדם להחלטה שהלכה כב"ה, מפני שבנוסח הספרי; התוספתא והבבלי נזכר ר' ישמעאל לפני ראב"ע.

ס"ו) מכל מקום יש להוסיף לדבריו שלפי מסורת הירו' אירע הדבר בק"ש של שחרית. הוכרחו לנסח ולבאר כן מפני שהזכירו את ראב"ע ראשון, ולפי זה אירע הדבר אחר בו ביום, שהוחלט לקיים דברי ב"ה.

עוד העיר הגר"ל גינצבורג שם על הקשר עם מסורת הירו', שבק"ש של שחרית מתבאר המקרה לפי מנהגם של בני א"י לעמוד לקבל מלכות שמים בשחרית. לפי הנראה, גימקם של בני א"י הוא שמותר להחמיר כב"ש לעמוד לקבל מלכות שמים, אבל לא להקל להטות לק"ש של ערבית. הם מצאו סמך לשיטתם בברייתא הנ"ל, שלפי המסורת שלהם אירע הדבר בק"ש של שחרית. ראב"ע נהג לעמוד כב"ש, אולם לפי מסורת זו, בק"ש של ערבית, גם הוא לא היה מוטה. אעפ"כ מחה ר' ישמעאל והיטה כשיטת ב"ה שכל אדם קורא כדרכו בין בשחרית בין בערבית.

ס"ז) מאידך גיסא, סברת דבי ר' ישמעאל, כפי שנמסרה ע"י ר"מ תלמידו, (או ע"י רבי לפי גי' מ"ת הנ"ל שלפנינו) שדנים בו"מ כלל ופרט, וכמו שבפרט חייבים על זדונו כדת כאמור, כן חייבים מיתה רק אם עוברים על דברי ב"ד בדבר שיש בזדונו כרת.

ס"ח) בספרי דברים הנ"ל נשתמרה הברייאת על ו"מ כמו ששונה במסורת ב"ש, וכמו שקיבלה כנראה ר"ע מרבו ר"א. וכבר העירותי על השפעת ב"ש על ספרי דברים בספר אסף (קובץ מאמרי מחקר), ע' 415, ואילך.

ס"ט) ר' יוסי, שהתעניין מאוד בתולדות ישראל, השתדל לבאר את המצב לפני החורבן לפי שיטת חכמי יבנה, והסביר שהיתה סמכות לב"ד של לשכת הגזית בכל סוגי ההלכה.

ע') וזהו ששינוי בתוספתא סנהדרין פ"ז, ה"א, ע' 425, "א"ר יוסי בראשונה לא היו מחלוקות בישי, אלא בב"ד של ע"א בלשכת הגזית. ושאר בתי דינים של כ"ג היו בעיירות של א"י (ושאר) [ושני] ב"ד של שלשה ושלשה היו בירושלים אחד בהר הבית

מד"ת ופירושו מדברי סופרים כגון הנבלה כגון השרץ שעיקרן מד"ת ופירושן מדברי סופרים. א"ר זעירא לעולם אינו חייב עד שיכפור ויורה בדבר שעיקרו מד"ת ופירושו מד"ס כגון נבילה כגון שרץ שעיקרן מד"ת ופירושן מד"ס והוא שיגרע ויוסיף בדבר שהוא מגרע הוא מוסיף. ברור, שלשית הנך אמוראי חייב גם על לאוין כגון נבילה ושרץ, ולא דווקא בדבר שזדונו כרת; ומן הדין הוא שדבריהם מתאימים לשיטת ר' יודה, האומר אינו חייב אלא על דבר שעיקרו מד"ת ופירושו מד"ס, כמבואר בב' סנהדרין פ"ו, ע"א. וכן היא סברת ר"ש, אלא שהוא מוסיף בב' שם, "אפילו דקדוק אחד מדברי סופרים". כשיטתו סתם בספרי דברים סוף קנ"ג, ע' 207, "והגידו לך את דבר המשפט, אלו דקדוקי משפט". כבר העיר בספרי דבי רב שברייטא זו כר"ש, וחולקת על המובא מיד שם פי' קנ"ד "על ד"ת חייבים מיתה ואין חייבים מיתה על דברי סופרים".

ס"ג) אולם הר"מ ז"ל פסק (ה' ממרים פ"ג, ה"ה ושם פ"ד, ה"ג) שחייבים בין על דבר שזדונו כרת, ובין על תפילין, וכבר השיג עליו הראב"ד ז"ל בפ"ד. נתחבטו בפירוש שיטת הבבלי ראשונים ואחרונים לקיים דברי הר"מ ז"ל. אלא שלפי פשוטם של דברים במשנתנו משמע שהיא לפי שיטת ר' יודה, וחולקת על ר"מ, ור' יודה בשיטת ר"ג השני, החולק על ברייתא דר"מ הנ"ל. מבין תלמידיו של ר"ע, רק ר"מ אחז בה, אולם הוא קיבל אותה בצורתה הקדמונית, כמו ששונה בדבי ר' ישמעאל, שהיה רבו הראשון.

ס"ד) ר"ע ורוב חכמי יבנה קיבלו כנראה את שיטתו של ר"ג בנידון זה, וגם הם סברו שסמכותו של ב"ד המרכזי כוללת כל ענייני התורה והמצוות. והוא שאמרו חבריו לר' טרפון (מ' ברכות פ"א, מ"ג) כשהטה לקרות את שמע, כשיטת ב"ש, "כדאי היית לחוב בעצמך שעברת על דברי ב"ה". משמע שאחר שהסיקו ביבנה שהלכה כדברי ב"ה, הרי העושה כב"ש, גם במ"ע כגון ק"ש, חייב מיתה.

ס"ה) וכן אמרו שם בירו' ברכות (ג', ע"ב) "ר' בא בר כהן בשם ר' יודה בן פזי תדע לך שחביבין ד"ס מד"ת שהרי ר"ט אילו לא קרא לא היה עובר אלא בעשה, וע"י שעבר על דברי ב"ה נתחייב מיתה". המובא שם בשם תני ר' ישמעאל אין לו קשר עיקרי עם המובא עוד תדע לך שהוא כן, דתנינ' תמן, שזוהו לשון אמוראים, ולא סגנון הברייטא. אולם ברור מן הבבא, שחייב מיתה הוא מפני שהעושה כב"ש הרי הוא דומה לז"מ, שכבר נמנו וגמרו שהלכה כב"ה. ואף שאין חייבים מיתה על הוראת ב"ד שביבנה (ספרי שם, פי' קנ"ד) מ"מ יש לדמות, לפיהם, את העובר על דברי ב"ה לז"מ.

אין לפרש אלא שהמקרה הזה אירע אחר שהחליטו ביבנה כב"ה. אולם קודם לכן לא הקפידו על מי שעשה כב"ש, שהרי כן מבואר בסיפור על ראב"ע ור' ישמעאל, שהיה ר' ישמעאל מוטה וראב"ע נזקף, הגיע זמן ק"ש של ערבית היטה

נ"ח) מן התוספתא הנ"ל ברור עוד פעם שדבי ר' ישמעאל ביארו את המלים בין - בין - בין בפרשת ד"מ לחלק, כפשוטו של מקרא, ובהתאם לברייטא דו"מ בצורתה העתיקה יותר, ולא כדרשת הספרי והברייטא הבבליית בצורתן הנוכחית. וכן לא דרשו את המלים "דברי ריבות בשעריך", כמו שדרשו אותן בברייטא דספרי בשביל הפרטים, שאם היו דורשים אותן, הרי אין כאן מקצת דבר בכל הפרטים.

נ"ט) אולם אין להשוות ברייתא זו גם עם הברייטא דו"מ לפי גי' הירו' שהבאנו למעלה, אף בצורתה המקורית, שהיא מדבי ר"י, שקבלוה מזקני ב"ה, ומהקודמים להם. הרי לפי ברייתא זו דרשין בין דם לדם, ולא כל דם; ואולם לפי הברייטא בירו', ודבי ר' ישמעאל הנ"ל, דרשין את הכתוב להבדיל ולהבחין בין דם בתולים לדם נידות, וכן בין דין לדין, להבחין בין דיני ממונות לדיני נפשות, וכו'.

אלא וודאי, שברייטא זו דתוספתא הנ"ל מקורה בברייטא העתיקה, הטרומ-חשמונאית, שלפיה מבארים בין דם לדם רק בדם בתולים; בין דין לדין רק בדיני נפשות, ובין נגע לנגע, רק בדיני צרעת אדם. התנא מדגיש שהשואל וכן המשיב מכירים בעיקר ההלכה, דאם לא כן אין כאן בעי' כלל. ולכן דן שגם בפר העלם הכרח שידוד בגוף, אף שעוקרים חלק ממנו. הרי מכאן עוד הוכחה לדברינו שנתקיימה ברייתא עתיקה, טרומ-חשמונאית, שלפיה דרשו את הכתובים כנ"ל.

ס') אעפ"י שלא הכירו חכמי החסידים שקדמו לחשמונאים בסמכותו הכללית של ב"ד המרכזי שבימיהם, וצימצמו אותו אל הנוכח בתורה ולא יותר, בכל זאת הודו שאם הלך היחיד ועשה ע"פ הוראתו, שוגג. לשיטתם, אינו חייב קרבן אף בדבר שאינו ברשות ב"ד ההוא, שסוף סוף עשה על פי ב"ד, כמבואר במ' הוריות פ"א, מ"א. אולם אם היה נוהג לבעט בהוראתם, הרי הוא חייב לשיטת החסידים, כמבואר במ' שם, ובב' הוריות.

ס"א) אחר החורבן, כשנשתתפו בב"ד של יבנה רק חכמי ישראל, ראה ר"ג הכרח להרחיב את סמכותו של ב"ד זה, כמו שעשה המלך יהושפט לב"ד של ירושלים כמה מאות שנה קודם לכן. לכן דחה ר"ג את הברייטא לגמרי, בין לפי צורתה הקדמונית שנשתמרה בדבי ר' ישמעאל, בין לפי צורתה החשמונאית, שנשתמרה במסורת ב"ש ור"א, שהרי לפי שתיהן נצטמצמה רשותו של ב"ד העליון.

ס"ב) כשיטת ר"ג שנינו במשנתנו "חומר בדברי סופרים מבדברי תורה. האומר אין תפילין כדי לעבור על ד"ת פטור. חמש טוטפות להוסיף על דברי סופרים חייב". אין דין תפילין נכלל בתוך סוגי ההלכה הנמנים בברייטא דו"מ, ואין חייבין על זדונו כרת. אלא וודאי, שתנא זה חלק על ברייתא דו"מ. וכן משמע בירו' דקאמר אמשנה זו (ל', ע"ב), "ר' בא ר' יוחנן בשם ר' הושע" אינו חייב עד שיורה בדבר שעיקרו

חייא ואינה עיקר; והודה שזה דוחק. לכן הוסיף, שיש לבאר שאינו חייב מפני שלא הורה לעשות, וזהו הנאמר אשר לא שמע מפי ב"ד ומורה, שלא היתה כאן רק הוראה, והדוחק גם בפירוש זה מבואר.

נ"ה) ברור, שהתנא פוטר את החולק על הסנהדרין ומורה שלא כמותם, אם דבריו נובעים משמועה של ב"ד. אין לתמוה על דברי התנא, שגם בבא זו מקורה בזמן הטרום-חשמנואי. היא פוסקת, שהממרא בכהני המקדש וסנהדרין שלהם אינו נעשה ד"מ אם יש לו מסורת מב"ד של החסידים דלא כמותם. בב' סנהדרין פ"ח, ע"א דחה ר' אלעזר את הבבא, ואולי את כל הברייטא, שלפי שיטתו לא נאמרה דק בזמנים ההם, אולם כשנצטרפו חכמי ישראל לסנהדרין לא היתה רשות לשום אדם לחלוק עליהן, מפני קבלה דלא כמותם. ורב כהנא פסק כברייטא הנ"ל ואיתותב, שהרי מבואר בברייטא דר' יאשי' המובאה בספרי דברים פ' רי"ח, ע' 251, ובב' פ"ח, ע"א, שכל ענין ד"מ הוא שלא להרבות מחלוקת בישראל. וא"כ מבואר שאין לסמוך על ברייטא זו, וכשיטת ר"א.

נ"ו) בתוספתא הוריות פ"א, ה"ז, ע' 472, שנינו "הורו ב"ד לעקור את כל הגוף, אמרו אין דם בתורה ואין חלב בתורה ואין פיגול בתורה הרי אלו פטורין. הורו לבטל מקצת ולקיים מקצת הרי אלו חייבין. כיצד יש דם בתורה אבל אין חייבין אלא על דם הקרב שלמים, > יש חלב בתורה אבל אין חייבים אלא על חלב הקרב לשלמים < [נוסף בכת"ב ובד, וגם שם שלא במקומו] יש פיגול בתורה אבל אין חייבין אלא על פיגול של שלמים הרי אלו חייבין שנ' דבר (ד'). נאמר כאן דבר ונאמר להלן דבר מה דבר האמור להלן דבר מקצתו ולא כולו, אף דבר האמור כאן מקצתו ולא כולו. אתה אומ' מקצתו ולא כולו או אינו אלא כולו תל' לומ' בין דם לדם ולא כל דם, בין דין לדין ולא כל דין, בין נגע לנגע ולא כל נגע וכו'.

נ"ז) ברור, שתנא דברייטא זו מדבי ר' ישמעאל, שבדבי ר"ע (שדבריהם מובאים במ' הוריות פ"א, מ"ג, וכן בתו"כ חובה פרשה ד' ה"ז, י"ג, ע"א) דנו מקצתו ולא כולו, בפר העלם דבר לא מג"ש דוקן ממרא, אלא מן הכתוב בפר העלם עצמו ונעלם דבר (ויקרא ד' י"ג). נחלקו אמוראי א"י עולא וחזקי' בפירוש המשנה והברייטא ההיא. עולא מבאר דדרשינן את הכתוב כאילו נאמר ונעלם מדבר. חזקי' מבאר שדרשינן בעיקר סוף הכתוב שנ' "מכל מצוות ולא כל מצוות" (ב' הוריות ד', ע"א). בירו' שם (פ"א, ה"ג) הובאה דרשת עולא בשם ר' חזקי' (האמורא המאוחר), ומסורת חזקי' בשם ר' הילא. רק רב אשי בב' (שם) ביאר את המשנה ואת הברייטא בתו"כ בהתאם לתוספתא הנ"ל. וקשה למה דחו עולא וחזקי' וכן ר' חזקי' ור' הילא את הברייטא הנ"ל? אלא ברור שאמוראי א"י הכירו שהיא נובעת מתורת דבי ר' ישמעאל; ובדבי ר"ע לא גמרו מקצתו ולא כולו בפר העלם דבר מג"ש, אלא מן הכתוב עצמו, כמבואר.



נ"ח) מן התוספתא הנ"ל ברור עוד פעם שדבי ר' ישמעאל ביארו את המלים בין – בין – בין בפרשת דם לחלק, כפשוטו של מקרא, ובהתאם לברייתא דו"מ בצורתה העתיקה יותר, ולא כדרשת הספרי והברייתא הבבלית בצורתן הנוכחית. וכן לא דרשו את המלים "דברי ריבות בשעריך", כמו שדרשו אותן בברייתא דספרי בשביל הפרטים, שאם היו דורשים אותן, הרי אין כאן מקצת דבר בכל הפרטים.

נ"ט) אולם אין להשוות ברייתא זו גם עם הברייתא דו"מ לפי גי' היר' שהבאנו למעלה, אף בצורתה המקורית, שהיא מדבי ר', שקבלוה מוקני ב"ה, ומהקודמים להם. הרי לפי ברייתא זו דרשין בין דם לדם, ולא כל דם; ואולם לפי הברייתא ביר', ודבי ר' ישמעאל הנ"ל, דרשין את הכתוב להבדיל ולהבחין בין דם בתולים לדם נדות, וכן בין דין לדין, להבחין בין דיני ממונות לדיני נפשות, וכו'.

אלא ודאי, שברייתא זו דתוספתא הנ"ל מקורה בברייתא העתיקה, הטרומ-חשמונאית, שלפיה מבארים בין דם לדם רק בדם בתולים; בין דין לדין רק בדיני נפשות, ובין נגע לנגע, רק בדיני צרעת אדם. התנא מדגיש שהשואל וכן המשיב מכירים בעיקר ההלכה, דאם לא כן אין כאן בעי' כלל. ולכן דן שגם בפר העלם הכרח הוא שידור בגוף, אף שעוקרים חלק ממנו. הרי מכאן עוד הוכחה לדברינו שנתקימה ברייתא עתיקה, טרום-חשמונאית, שלפיה דרשו את הכתובים כנ"ל.

ס') אעפ"י שלא הכירו חכמי החסידים שקדמו לחשמונאים בסמכותו הכללית של ב"ד המרכזי שבייביהם, וצימצמו אותו אל הנזכר בתורה ולא יותר, בכל זאת הודו שאם הלך היחיד ועשה ע"פ הוראתו, שוגג. לשיטתם, אינו חייב קרבן אף בדבר שאינו ברשות ב"ד ההוא, סוף סוף עשה על פי ב"ד, כמבואר במ' הוריות פ"א, מ"א. אולם אם היה נוהג לבצע בהוראתם, הרי הוא חייב לשיטת החסידים, כמבואר במ' שם, ובב' הוריות.

ס"א) אחר החורבן, כשנשתתפו בב"ד של יבנה רק חכמי ישראל, ראה ר"ג הכרח להרחיב את סמכותו של ב"ד זה, כמו שעשה המלך יהושפט לב"ד של ירושלים כמה מאות שנה קודם לכן. לכן דחה ר"ג את הברייתא לגמרי, בין לפי צורתה הקדמונית שנשתמרה בדבי ר' ישמעאל, בין לפי צורתה החשמונאית, שנשתמרה במסורת ב"ש ור"א, שהרי לפי שתיהן נצטמצמה רשותו של ב"ד העליון.

ס"ב) כשיטת ר"ג שנינו במשנתנו "חומר בדברי סופרים מבדברי תורה. האומר אין תפילין כדי לעבור על ד"ת פטור. חמש טוטפות להוסיף על דברי סופרים חייב". אין דין תפילין וכלל בתוך סוגי ההלכה הנמנים בברייתא דו"מ, ואין חייבין על זדונו כרת. אלא ודאי, שתנא זה חלק על ברייתא דו"מ. וכן משמע ביר' דקאמר אמשנה זו (ל', ע"ב), "ר' בא ר' יוחנן בשם ר' הושע' אינו חייב עד שיורה בדבר שעיקרו

חייא ואינה עיקר; והודה שזה דוחק. לכן הוסיף, שיש לבאר שאינו חייב מפני שלא הורה לעשות, וזהו הנאמר אשר לא שמע מפי ב"ד ומורה, שלא היתה כאן רק הוראה, והדוחק גם בפירוש זה מבואר.

נ"ה) ברור, שהתנא פוטר את החולק על הסנהדרין ומורה שלא כמותם, אם דבריו נובעים משמועה של ב"ד. אין לתמוה על דברי התנא, שגם בבא זו מקורה בזמן הטרום-חשמונאי. היא פוסקת, שהממרא בכהני המקדש וסנהדרין שלהם אינו נעשה ז"מ אם יש לו מסורת מב"ד של החסידים דלא כמותם. בב' סנהדרין פ"ח, ע"א דחה ר' אלעזר את הבבא, ואולי את כל הברייטא, שלפי שיטתו לא נאמרה דק בזמנים ההם, אולם כשנצטרפו חכמי ישראל לסנהדרין לא היתה רשות לשום אדם לחלוק עליהן, מפני קבלה דלא כמותם. ורב כהנא פסק כברייטא הנ"ל ואיתותב, שהרי מבואר בברייטא דר' יאשי' המובאה בספרי דברים פ' ר"ח, ע' 251, ובב' פ"ח, ע"א, שכל ענין ז"מ הוא שלא להרבות מחלוקת בישראל. וא"כ מבואר שאין לסמוך על ברייתא זו, וכשיטת ר"א.

נ"ו) בתוספתא הוריות פ"א, ה"ז, ע' 472, שנינו "הורו ב"ד לעקור את כל הגוף, אמרו אין דם בתורה ואין חלב בתורה ואין פיגול בתורה הרי אלו פטורין. הורו לבטל מקצת ולקיים מקצת הרי אלו חייבין. כיצד יש דם בתורה אבל אין חייבין אלא על דם הקרב שלמים, >יש חלב בתורה אבל אין חייבים אלא על חלב הקרב לשלמים <[נוסף בכת"ב ובד, וגם שם שלא במקומו] יש פיגול בתורה אבל אין חייבין אלא על פיגול של שלמים הרי אלו חייבין שנ' דבר (ד'), נאמר כאן דבר ונאמר להלן דבר מה דבר האמור להלן דבר מקצתו ולא כולו, אף דבר האמור כאן מקצתו ולא כולו. אתה אומ' מקצתו ולא כולו או אינו אלא כולו תל' לומ' בין דם לדם ולא כל דם, בין דין לדין ולא כל דין, בין נגע לנגע ולא כל נגע וכו'.

נ"ז) ברור, שתנא דברייטא זו מדבי ר' ישמעאל, שבדבי ר"ע (שדבריהם מובאים במ' הוריות פ"א, מ"ג, וכן בתר"כ חובה פרשה ד' ה"ז, י"ג, ע"א) דנו מקצתו ולא כולו, בפר העלם דבר לא מג"ש דוקן ממרא, אלא מן הכתוב בפר העלם עצמו ונעלם דבר (ויקרא ד': י"ג). נחלקו אמוראי א"י עולא וחזקי' בפירוש המשנה והברייטא ההיא. עולא מבאר דדרשינן את הכתוב כאילו נאמר ונעלם מדבר. חזקי' מבאר שדרשינן בעיקר סוף הכתוב שנ' "מכל מצוות ולא כל מצוות" (ב' הוריות ד', ע"א). ביר' שם (פ"א, ה"ג) הובאה דרשת עולא בשם ר' חזקי' (האמורא המאוחר), ומסורת חזקי' בשם ר' הילא. רק רב אשי בב' (שם) ביאר את המשנה ואת הברייטא בתר"כ בהתאם לתוספתא הנ"ל. וקשה למה דחו עולא וחזקי' וכן ר' חזקי' ור' הילא את הברייטא הנ"ל? אלא ברור שאמוראי א"י הכירו שהיא נובעת מתורת דבי ר' ישמעאל; ובדבי ר"ע לא גמרו מקצתו ולא כולו בפר העלם דבר מג"ש, אלא מן הכתוב עצמו, כמבואר.

כ"ז:מ"ו; ועוד. אולם כאן תירגמו *ἀνὰ μίεσον αἷμα αἵματος καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀφῆς ἀφῆς*. *κρίσις κρίσεως, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀφῆς ἀφῆς*.

הרי שלפי דעתם יש לבאר את הכתוב ב"ן דם ל דם כאילו היה כתוב בין דם מן הדם או של הדם וכו'; בהתאם לברייטא הקדומה שלפיה מדגיש הכתוב שנשאלים על מקצת דבר ולא על כל הדבר; משמע שדם הוא דם בתולים, ונשאו ונתנו בנידון זה; דין, הוא דין נפשות; ונגע הוא נגע צרעת, ונשאלה שאלה במקצת דבר של אחד מאלו.

מתברר, שברייטא דז"מ בצורתה העיקרית מוצאה מדורות קדומים ונשנתה אצל חכמי החסידים, להורותם איך להתנהג כששלטו בבית המקדש כהנים שהיו מתנגדים להם ולמסורת שלהם.

צורתה ותכנה נשתנו כשחכמי החסידים הצליחו להמנות בסנהדרין בדורותיהם של החשמונאים.

[ג] זהו ששינונו בספרי שם (פי' קנ"ד, ע' 207), ומובא בשהש"ר על הכתוב כי טובים דודיק מיין, "[לא תסור מן הדבר אשר יגידו לך] ימין ושמאל, אפילו מראים בעיניך על ימין שהוא שמאל ועל שמאל שהוא ימין שמע להם". ואולם בירו' הוריות פ"א, ה"א, מ"ה, ע"ד, הגירסה היא להיפך. "יכול אם יאמרו לך על ימין שהוא שמאל ועל שמאל שהיא ימין תשמע להם, ת"ל ל ל כ ת י מ ין ו ש מ א ל שיאמרו לך על ימין שהיא ימין ועל שמאל שהיא שמאל".

גירסת הירו' נובעת מן הברייטא המקורית, שנמסרה בלי שינויים והוספות. לפי השיטה העתיקה הטרומ-חשמונאית בוודאי לא היה על השואל לקבל גזירת הסנהדרין של המקדש אם אמרו על ימין שהוא שמאל, כלומר אם פסקו נגד המסורת של החסידים. אולם בדורם של החשמונאים, כשכבר נתחברו אל הסנהדרין חכמי ישראל והם החסידים והפרושים, לא היה ברשות שום אדם לנטות ימין ושמאל מדבריהם, אף אם גראו לו כמוטעים, אם היתה הוראתם הוראה.

להלכה זו של הברייטא המקורית כיוון כנראה המיוחס ליונתן, שתירגם את הכתוב ועשית על פי הדבר אשר יורוך, "ותעבדון על מימר הלכת אורייתא דיחיון לך וכו'". כאן מודגש, שרק אם מסקנתם מכוננת לקבלת החסידים, שאומרים על ימין שהוא ימין, צריכים לשמוע להם.

[ד] הספרי מוסיף, "והאיש אשר יעשה בזדון, אשר לא שמע מפי ב"ד ומורה". ברייטא זו קשה מאד, דמה לי אם שמע מפי ב"ד, הרי הסנהדרין החליטה דלא כשמועתו. בב' סנהדרין פ"ח, ע"א, "א"ר כהנא הוא אומר מפי השמועה והן אומרים מפי השמועה וכו' אינו נהרג". ור' אלעזר חולק עליו, ואיתותב רב כהנא. כבר הקשה בספרי דבי רב למה לא הביאו סיעתא לר"כ מברייטא זו, שהיא ממש כדבריו ותיובתא לר' אלעזר. נראה, שמפני קושי זה מחק הגר"א ז"ל את כל הברייטא (עי' בהוצ' הספרי עם פי' רבינו הלל ז"ל). בסד"ר פירש שלא נשנתה ברייטא זו בי ר'

להצריך שלשה בנעים, ג"כ לפסול קרובים בנעים, ולומר אם ממונו שלא בקרובים אף נעים שלא בקרובים, ונדחק מאד.

אלא נראה, שברייתא זו מורכבת משתי שכבות. בשכבה העתיקה דנו רק שנגעים ביום ושלא בקרובים כמו שריבים ביום ושלא בקרובים. והוסיפו עליה לדון שכמו שריבים בשלשה כך אולי יש לומר שנגעים בשלשה, וסתרו אותה ג"ש. אולם לפי הברייתא העיקרית לא ירדו לזה, שהרי נאמר מפורש בכתוב "ו ע ל פ י ה ם יהי' כל ריב וכל נגע", ושמע מינה שאין נטמא אלא ע"פ כהני המקדש, כמו שאינו בא לדון (כלומר דיני נפשות) אלא לפני בית הדין שבמקדש.

פשוטה של הברייתא הוא ש"ריב" משמעו כאן רק דיני נפשות, ואין דיני נפשות אלא בב"ד של המקדש, והוה שאמר הכתוב ו ע ל פ י ה ם יהי' כל ריב וכל נגע, כלומר שלהם לבד יש סמכות לדון דיני נפשות ונגעי אדם (להוציא נגעי בגדים ונגעי בתים שהם ביד כל כהן).

ר"מ הגיה בברייתא העתיקה שלפיו אין ללמוד נגעים מריבים, שהוא פירש ריבים גם על ד"מ, וד"מ אולי יש לומר שגומרים גם כלילה, כמבואר במ' סנהדרין ריש פ"ד. והוא חולק על האמור שם וסובר שגם ד"מ גומרים ביום, וצריך לדון מהיקש דנגעים, כמבואר בב' הנ"ל.

ברייתא זו דספרי פ' שופטים חולקת על המובא לעיל מספרי וזאת הברכה פי' שג"א, ע' 408, שלפיה יש לבאר הנאמר, "ו ע ל פ י ה ם יהי' כל ריב וכל נגע, ריב, אלו ריבי פרה וריבי עגלה וריבי סוטה; נגע, אלו נגעי אדם נגעי בגדים ונגעי בתים". כאמור, הברייתא דזאת הברכה היא כשיטת ברייתא דו"מ אליבא דב"ש, וכמו שהובאה בספרי ובב' הנ"ל. ברייתא דספרי שופטים מקורה בברייתא העתיקה שלפני זמן החשמונאים.

נ"ב) תרגום השבעים של הכתוב בין דם לדם, בין דין לדין, בין נגע לנגע מתאים כנראה לביאורה של הברייתא העתיקה הזאת, שכמעט נעלם זכרה. והוה שתירגמו שם כאילו היה כתוב "בין דם מן הדם, בין דין מן הדין, בין נגע מן הנגע" [את המשפט האחרון תירגמו גם בהוספה בין ריב מן הריב]. ולא כן תירגמו בכל מקום שג' בין דבר לחברו. כך תירגמו את המלים ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים (בראשית א':ו') כאילו היה כתוב בין מים לבין מים; וכן את הכתוב בין איש לאשתו בין אב לבתו (במדבר ל':יד) כאילו היה כתוב "בין איש לבין אשתו, בין אב לבין בתו". וכן הנאמר והבדלתם בין הבהמה הטהורה לטמאה ובין העוף הטמא לטהור (ויקרא כ':כ"ה) תירגמו כאילו היה כתוב בין הטמאה ובין הטהורה; בין הטמא ובין הטהור. וכן בכל מקום שג' בין-ובין תירגמו או  $\alpha\lambda\iota$  או  $\alpha\nu\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\nu$  או  $\alpha\nu\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\nu$  והשווה עוד בראשית א':ד; שם א':ז; שם א':י"ד וי"ח; שם ט':י"ב, י"ד וט'; שם י"ג:ד; שם ט"ז:ה; י"ז:ז; שמות י"ד:ב; ויקרא י':י; שם

מ"ח) עוד תירגמו במיוחד ליונתן ובתרגום ירושלמי את המלים בין נגע לנגע, וביני מכתש מצורע למכתש ניתקא; והנה אין לברר כאן שהמופלא או ב"ד המקומי אינו עומד על ההבדל בין צרעת לנתק, שהרי הם מובדלים לגמרי; צרעת היא בעור הבשר חוץ מזקן ומראש, ונתק הוא רק בראש או בזקן. אלא כאן מדובר על ענייני מצורע, בין צרעת העור ובין צרעת הראש והזקן, שצריכים להביא אותם לפני ב"ד המרכזי.

מ"ט) זהו שדרשו גם בברייחא העתיקה הזאת כמו שהובאה בספרי "כי יפלא במופלא הכתוב מדבר", שכל עניינים הללו יש לו לחכם מחכמי החסידים להביא לפני ב"ד של כהנים, ולא להתעסק בהם כלל.

נ') בצורתה זו, מוצאה של הברייחא הוא מן הדורות שקדמו לחשמונאים, כשעוד לא נתחברו חכמי ישראל אל הסנהדרין כלל. בדורות ההם צימצמו את סמכות ב"ד המרכזי של הכהנים במקדש לסוגים אחדים, כלומר לדיני נפשות (וכילולו בהם דיני בתולים) ולדיני צרעת אדם. כאשר גברה יד החשמונאים, והם צירפו חכמי ישראל אל הסנהדרין שלהם, ראו חברי קבוצה אחת (שממנה נבע לבסוף בית שמאי) להרחיב את סמכותה של הסנהדרין בהרבה עניינים; אולם מתנגדי החשמונאים (ומהם קם לבסוף בית הלל) עדיין צימצמו את סמכותה, אלא ששנו את הברייחא באופן חדש, שסוף סוף יש לסמוך על ב"ד המרכזי של המקדש באותם הסוגים של ההלכה שהכהנים מומחים בהם.

נ"א) בהתאם לברייחא עתיקה זו, דרשו בספרי (דברים פי' ר"ח, ע' 243) "ועל פיהם יהי' כל ריב וכל נגע, מקיש נגעים לריבים, מה ריבים ביום אף נגעים ביום (כן ה') בכל הנוסחאות חוץ ממה"ג. בהוצאתי של הספרי הגהתי ע"פ מה"ג, ללא צורך כמו שיבואר להלן) מה ריבים שלא בקרובים אף נגעים שלא בקרובים אי מה ריבים בשלשה אף נגעים בשלשה ודין הוא אם ממונו בשלשה גופו לא יהא בשלשה תל' לו' אל אחד מבניו הכהנים ללמדך שכהן אחד רואה את הנגעים". אולם בתו"כ תוריע נגעים סוף פרק א' (ס' ע"ב) (בערך) ובב' סנהדרין ל"ד, ע"ב בשם ר"מ הגירסה "מה ת"ל ועל פיהם יהי' כל ריב וכל נגע, וכי מה ענין ריבים אצל נגעים אלא מקיש ריבים לנגעים, מה נגעים ביום דכתיב וביום הראות בו בשר חי יטמא (ויקרא י"ג:יד) אף ריבים ביום, ומה נגעים שלא בסומים אף ריבים דכתיב לכל מראה עיני הכהן (שם י"ג:יג) אף ריבים שלא בסומין ומקיש נגעים לריבים, מה ריבים שלא בקרובים אף נגעים שלא בקרובים אי מה ריבים בג' אף נגעים בג' וכו'".

ברור שר"מ חולק על ברייתא דספרי, שהרי לשיטת ר"מ דנים ריבים מנגעים, שיהיו ביום. אולם כבר הקשה באהלי יודה, מדוע אין התנא מביא אותו ק"ו שדן לפיו



לא היה בו ענין של דיני נפשות כלל, אלא של גירושין. הבעל טען שלא מצא בתולים לאשתו, ורצה לגרשה. שאם היה **בא** על דיני נפשות, היה מביא את הענין לפני ב"ד שיש לו סמכות בדיני נפשות, ולא לפני המופלא. אלא שבא על דיני ממונות לתבוע הוצאותיו מאבי הכלה, שנסתחפה שדהו של הבעל.

מ"ו) כבר מצינו במ' ריש סנהדרין מחלוקת אם יש לומר בענין מוציא שם רע שבא מתחילה רק על דיני ממונות ולא על דיני נפשות; ויש חולקים וסוברים שמתחילת הדין יש בו דיני נפשות. ואולם אביה טען שהבעל מוציא עליה שם רע ואין בה עון. ידוע שגם אצל החסידים היו חכמים שדרשו את הכתוב ופרשו שהשם לה (דברים כ"ב:יז) כמשמעו; וכן מובא בשם ר' אליעזר בן יעקב בספרי דברים פי' רל"ז, ע' 270.

גם לפי שיטת ראב"י ברור שאין ממיתים את האשה שהוציא עליה שם רע, אם לא הביאו השמלה; שהרי אין ממיתים אלא על פי עדים. אלא ברור שראב"י דן רק בדיני ממונות ולשיטתו תחילת דין מוציא שם רע הוא בדיני ממונות ולא בדיני נפשות כלל. וכן היא שיטת ר"מ הסובר בריש מ' סנהדרין "מוציא שם בשלשה". ראב"י ור"מ סברי שיש לדון את מוציא שם רע בתחילתו בב"ד של עירות; ורק אם הם הסכימו שלא מצא לה בתולים, מובא הדבר לב"ד הגדול על דיני נפשות. וחכמים סוברים שתחילת דינו של מוציא שם רע היא בסנהדרין. מפני שיש בה דיני נפשות, וצריך לברר את דבריו שם אף לענין גירושין וממונות בעדים.

הרי כבר מצינו שר"מ דחה ברייתא דז"מ כצורתה בספרי ובבבלי, מהלכה. ר"מ סובר כדבי ר' ישמעאל שאין לב"ד המרכזי סמכות אלא בדבר שיש בו כרת, ודומה לפרטים שהזכירו, שב"ד המרכזי מבחין בין דם בתולים לדם נידות לענין הלכות טומאה. וכן מובאה לפני ב"ד המרכזי עובדה שנמצאה חייבת בב"ד המקומי, שהמופלא הסכים שלא מצא לה הבעל בתולים; וצריך לדון אותה דיני נפשות בב"ד המרכזי של הכהנים. ראב"י סובר כברייתא דז"מ שעגלה ערופה נימדת ע"י כל ב"ד המרכזי; ואולם סובר ג"כ, כנראה, שתחילת דינה של הנאשמת בבתולים לפני זקני העיר, כמו שכתוב בתורה (דברים כ"ב:יז) "ופרשו השמלה לפני זקני העיר". אלא שנחלקו ראב"י ור"מ בנידון זה, שלר"מ אפשר לדון דיני נפשות בכ"ג, ואם לא היה כתוב בין דם לדם היו דנים אותם בב"ד מקומי. ראב"י סובר שאין לב"ד המקומי דן דיני נפשות כלל.

מ"ז) לפי האמור, הברייתא העתיקה הטרומ-חשמונאית, נשאר ממנה זכר בתרגום יונתן וכנראה שימשה יסוד לברייתא דבירו', שהיא מדבי ר' ישמעאל. לפיה בין דם לדם, הנאמר בז"מ הוא דם בתולים, וכל דיני דם בתולים מובאים לב"ד של לשכת הגזית, מפני שיש בהם דיני נפשות. הבעל משכים לב"ד רק כדי שישמעו טענותיו, ולא לפסוק את הדין.



והקודמים להם; ובברייטא דז"מ בספרי ובב' נשתמרה מסורת שמקורה בתורת ב"ש, ודחו אותה זקני ב"ה הקדמונים.

ר' יוסי וכן אחריו רבי במשנתו דחו את הברייטא דז"מ מהלכה, בין בצורתה המקורית שנשתמרה בדבי ר' ישמעאל בין בצורתה המאוחרת שנשתמרה בספרי. הם הסיקו שבכל בעי' ובעי' צריכים לפנות אל לשכת הגזית, ויש לסנהדרין שלה סמכות בכל התורה כולה, כמו שיבואר להלן, א"ה. ואף שאין להשוות דבריהם עם מסורת דבי ר' ישמעאל, הרי ברור שלא ראו צורך להתחשב גם בברייטא דז"מ לפי מסורת של דבי ר"ע, ועי' להלן.

מ"ג) גם הברייטא דספרי והב' וגם הברייטא העיקרית שממנה נובע נוסח הירושלמי לפנינו, מקורן כאמור בדורם של החשמונאים, שראו צורך לדון איך להרחיב סמכותו של ב"ד המרכזי של המקדש, כיוון שנצטרפו לו חכמי החסידים. אולם בדורות קדומים יותר, כשעוד לא נתחברו חכמי החסידים (והם הנקראים פרושים אחר זמנו של יוחנן כה"ג, שנבדלו חכמי ישראל בזעם) אל הסנהדרין, נראה שדרשו את הכתוב באופן אחר לגמרי. ויש רישומים למדרשותיהם בתרגום ירושלמי ובנוסח היר' לפנינו, וכן בנוסח הספרי עצמו.

מ"ד) שנינו בברייטא דירושלמי על הכתוב בין דין לדין "בין דין לדין, בין הנסקלין לנשרפין לנהרגין ולנחנקין". משמע לפי נוסח זה שרק בדיני נפשות דיבר הכתוב.

מ"ה) לאמיתו של דבר, יוצא גם מתרגום ירושלמי על הכתוב ששם הגירסה "בין דם דקטולין בין דם דבתולין בין מכתש צרעתא בין מכתש נתקא" [והשווה הוצ' משה גינבורגר, ע' 63]. נראה שלפיו בין דם לדם, פירושו בדם בתולין, ובין דין לדין, בדיני נפשות, כמו שיבואר להלן, אלא שנתחלף סדר המלים, וצ"ל "בין דם דבתולין בין דם דקטולין". מפירוש המלים, לפי בבא זו דבירו' ולפי התרגום הירו' משמע, שאין להביא לפני ב"ד המרכזי אלא דין בתולים או דין של נפשות. התנא וכן המתרגם מבארים את המלים בין דם לדם, רק בדם בתולים; ואת המלים בין דין לדין, רק בדיני נפשות.

יש לפרש ענין של בתולים הנוכח כאן באופן שונה מן האמור לעיל, שלפיו יש לב"ד המרכזי להבחין בין דם בתולים לדם נידה. תרגום זה (שבוודאי מקורו בבבא דומה לו בברייטא קדומה) יש לבארו על פי האמור במ' ריש כתובות, "בתולה נשאת ליום הרביעי וכו' שפעמים בשבת בתי דינים יושבין בעיירות, ביום השני וביום החמישי, שאם היה לו טענת בתולים היה משכים לב"ד". ב"ד הנוכחים שם הם אלה שייסדם עזרא הסופר, כמבואר בב' כתובות ג', ע"א, ובב' ב"ק פ"ב, ע"א, שעזרא תיקן שיהיו דנים בשני וחמישי. הרי שענייני דם בתולים אם אירעו בין החסידים היו נידונים אצל חכמיהם ולא אצל בתי הדין של הממשלה. כשבא דין כזה לפני המופלא

ל"ט) עכשיו מתורצת היטב קושיית התוס' בסוטה ז' ריש ע"ב, שהקשו למה לא הזכירו במ' סנהדרין השקיית סוטה, עגלה ערופה וכו'. ונראה דבכולהו יש מחלוקת. השקיית סוטה וע"ע כדאמרינן. פר העלם אם מובא ע"י השבט אין לב"ד הגדול שום ענין בו; ז"מ אעפ"י שהמראתו מוכרחת שתהא נגד ב"ד של ע"א, דינו בכ"ג; שריפת פרה אינה בב"ד לפי תנא זה; וכן העמדת מלך וכה"ג לא מצינו בשום מקום חוץ מתוספתא סנהדרין הנ"ל שצריכה ע"א.

מ"י) הרי שנתקיימה מחלוקת עתיקה, אם הלכה כברייתא דז"מ בצורתה הנוכחית שלפיה ע"ע והשקיית סוטה [וכן לפי ההבאה מספרי דברים פי' שנ"א, גם פרה] דינן דווקא על פי ב"ד הגדול שבירושלים. ואף רבי, שכאמור מודה דעגלה ערופה היא על פי ב"ד הגדול, דן הלכה זו לא מן הבריייתא דז"מ, שדחה אותה, אלא מן הכתוב הנ"ל. וכן כנראה דחו ברייתא דז"מ ר' יודה ור"ש דאם לא כן היו מודים שצריכים ב"ד של לשכת הגזית לדון בעגלה ערופה.

מ"א) בקשר עם הבבא הדורשת את הכתוב בשעריך בלקט, שכחה ופיאה, יש להעיר שבבא זו חסרה לגמרי בבריייתא דירו' לפנינו. ונראה שנעדרה ג"כ בבריייתא דבי ר' ישמעאל שהשתמשו בה בירו'.

לפי זה נעדרו כל הבבות הדורשות את הכתוב דברי ריבות בשעריך מן הבריייתא דבי ר' ישמעאל וכן נעדרו מן הבריייתא העתיקה, שסידרו אותה הפרושים המתנגדים אל החשמונאים, שמפיהם יצאה ברייתא דז"מ בצורתה בספרי הנ"ל.

מ"ב) מחלוקת זו בין התנאים, באם לאמיתו של דבר יש לגרוס את שלש הבבות האחרות של ברייתא דז"מ, משתקפת גם במובא בספרי שופטים פי' ר"ח (ע' 243), „ו על פיהם יהי' כל ריב וכל נגע, מקיש ריבים לנגעים מה נגעים ביום אף ריבים ביום מה ריבים שלא בקרובים אף נגעים שלא בקרובים וכו'". ברייתא זו הובאה בתו"כ נגעים סוף פרק א' (ס' ע"ב) ובב' סנהדרין ל"ד, ע"ב ונדה ג', ע"א. לפי שיטת תנא זה משמעה של המלה ריבות הוא כפשוטה, ריב ודיון של בעלי דינים, כמו שתירגמו את הכתוב אונקלוס והמיוחס ליונתן, כנ"ל. לפי זה, סובר התנא שאין לגרוס את הבבות האחרונות דבריייתא דז"מ כלל, שהרי לפי גוסס הספרי פירוש ריבות, ריבי עגלה וכו', ועי' להלן.

מכל האמור מתברר שבדורות קדמונים נתקיימו שני סגונים בבריייתא דז"מ: האחד דורש רק הבבות בין - בין; השני כולל בין הדברים שיש לב"ד של לשכת הגזית ענין בהם גם חרמים וכו', השקיית סוטה וכו', לקט, שכחה ופיאה. לפי הדברים הללו נתקבלה הבריייתא דז"מ בדבי ר' ישמעאל בלי השינויים וההוספות הנמצאים בנוסחת הספרי והב', והצטרפו לסגנון העתיק בירו'. עוד נראה, שבמסורת זו של דבי ר' ישמעאל נתקיימה מסורת חכמי ב"ה

בעינן. אולם בספרי לא נזכר במחלוקת ר"י ור"ש שצריכים שיהיו מב"ד הגדול של לשכת הגזית (ספרי דברים פי' ר"ה, ע' 241).

אותה המחלוקת בין ר"ש לר"י מובאה ביחס למספר הדיינים גם בתור"כ חובה פרק ו' ה"ב (י"ט, ע"ב). בקשר לפר העלם דבר של ציבור. שם אין לפרש בוקני ב"ד הגדול, שהרי גם לפי ר"ש וגם לפי ר"י ו' שבטים שחטאו בהוראת ב"ד של שבטם מביאים כל אחד ואחד פרים. ובוודאי לר' יודה הסובר שאף שבט אחד שחטא בהוראת בית דינו מביא פר כמבואר במ' הוריות סוף פ"א, אין לפרש שבב"ד הגדול עסקין כלל.

בקשר לפר העלם פסק הר"מ ז"ל שצריכים ג' מסנהדרין, ולא הזכיר ב"ד שבירושלים (פ"ג ממעה"ק ה"י). [כן הבין גם בתוס' העזרה, חובה ריש פרק ו' ד"ה אי]. נימוקו הוא שלא הוזכר במשנה ב"ד הגדול בקשר לפר העלם לשיטת ר"י, וכן משמע גם לשיטת ר"ש בפר של שבטים; אולם בעגלה ערופה אמרו מפורש במשנה שהם ג' או ה' מב"ד הגדול (ה' רוצח פ"ט ה"א).

אולם לפי פשוטם של דברים קשה להפריד בין פר העלם ועגלה ערופה בנידון זה, וכנראה סובר תנא דתור"כ (ודלא כשיטת הב' סוטה שם) שחולקים ר"י ור"ש על משנתנו, וסוברים שאין צריכים דווקא זקני ב"ד בהעלם דבר, ולא בעגלה ערופה. ואף שבתור"כ לפנינו מובאה מחלוקת ר"י ור"ש מיד אחרי הבריייתא המצריכה חברי ב"ד הגדול בפר העלם דבר, תברא מי ששנה זו לא שנה זו.

יש להטעים, שלפי תרגום השבעים מדובר אצל פר העלם רק ב"זקנים", ואצל עגלה ערופה בב"ד המרכזי (Gerousia). וכן באונקלוס ובמיוחס ליונתן מדובר בפר העלם דבר רק על "סבי כנשתא", ואצל עגלה ערופה נזכר במיוחס ליונתן "בי דינא רבא" (וכשיטת ר' יודה, שצריכין ה'). הרי שגם השבעים וגם המיוחס ליונתן סברו כתנא דתור"כ, דלאו דווקא זקני ב"ד הגדול סומכים בפר העלם דבר, ואולם מצריכים ב"ד הגדול אצל עגלה ערופה; אולם לא ע"פ הכתוב בוקן ממרא, אלא על פי המובא בפרשה ההיא. וכל זה כשיטת הר"מ ז"ל.

כמו כן יבואר להלן אי"ה שלפני השבעים היתה ברייתא דו"מ בצורתה העתיקה מאד, ולא כבספרי ובב' וכן לאו כבירו' שלפנינו. לא למדו שצריכים ב"ד המרכזי להתעניין בעגלה ערופה מפני הנאמר בפרשת זקן ממרא, אלא כל ענייני שפיכות דמים נידונים על ידם. וחלקו על שיטה זו בדבי ר"ע וסברו שדיני נפשות בכ"ג; וכיוון שכן, הוצרכו לדון שמעלים לב"ד הגדול כל עניין של שפיכות דם שנסתפקו בו, ועגלה ערופה למדו מן הפרשה דו"מ כמו שביארוה החשמונאים וכן המתנגדים להם, כנ"ל. אלא שר"י ור"ש חולקים על ברייתא דו"מ וסוברים שעגלה ערופה אין לה ענין לב"ד הגדול כלל.

וזהו שהוצרכו ראב"י ורבי להדגיש שב"ד הגדול מודדים, דלאו כולי עלמא

מודים בזה.

שבירושלים בקשר להשקיית סוטה, ונוכר רק „הכהן” כמבואר שם ריש פ׳ ח׳. וכן שם פ׳ י״ב (ע׳ 18) מבואר ש ה כ ה ן אומר לה דברי כיבושים. ממשנת סוטה הנ״ל עצמה מתברר שהנאמר במשנה שם נוסף מן הספרי, ולכן שנו שם לפי הגירסה העיקרית, שנשמרה בב׳ (ז׳ ע״א), וכן בהבאה שם וכמו כן בהבאה ביר׳ סוטה ט״ז, ע״ד, „היו מעלין אותה לב״ד הגדול שבירושלים ומאיימין עליה כדרך שמאיימין על עדי נפשות ואומר [ולא ואומרים] לה בתי הרבה יין עושה הרבה שחוק עושה וכו׳”. [במשנה שבמשניות תוקן ואומרים, אולם ברור שהג׳ העיקרית היא ואומר, והוסיפו במשנה ע״פ הספרי ששם שייך ל׳ יחיד, שבכהן הכתוב מדבר]. בוודאי, שאותם הדברים שתנא דספרי מייחסם לכהן, תנא דמתני׳ מייחסם לב״ד הגדול. אבל לפי הספרי במדבר אין ענין לב״ד של ירושלים כאן כלל. תנא דספרי שהוא מדבי ר׳ ישמעאל סובר שהסוטה מובאה רק אל הכהן, כפשוטו של הכתוב, אולם תנא דמתני׳ סובר כשיטת ברייתא דז״מ והמובא לעיל, שהשקיית סוטה היא בב״ד הגדול של לשכת הגזית.

כשיטת הספרי מבואר ג״כ בתנחומא נשא ש ה כ ה ן אומר לה דברי כיבושין, אולם ברבא נשא (ס׳ ל״ח) השתדלו להשוות את גירסת הספרי עם גירסת המשנה. וכך שנו שם „והביא האיש וגו׳ מן ה ת ו ר ה האיש מביא את אשתו א ל ה כ ה ן” [במקבילה בב׳ ז׳ ע״א חסרות המלים א ל ה כ ה ן, בהתאם למשנתנו, שלפיה מביאה לב״ד הגדול שבירושלים] אבל אמרו כיצד הוא עושה מוליכה לב״ד וכו׳. ובסימן מ״ב מובאה המשנה, „תני היו מעלין אותה לב״ד הגדול שבירושלים ומאיימין עליה וכו׳ אומרים לה בתי וכו׳”. כרגיל הולך התנחומא לפי שיטת דבי ר׳ ישמעאל; והרבא כאן ידע ג״כ שיטת דבי ר״ע, וצירף שתי השיטות.

ל״ז) וכן בדבר עגלה ערופה נתקיימה מחלוקת עתיקה אם יש לב״ד של לשכת הגזית ענין בה. כבר הובאה לעיל משנה דריש סנהדרין שבה לא הוזכרה סנהדרין של ע״א בקשר לעגלה ערופה ובניגוד להתוספתא סנהדרין פ״ג, שלפיה עגלה ערופה היא בב״ד של ע״א. בספרי סוף שופטים לא נזכר ב״ד של לשכת הגזית בענין זה. אולם במ״ת שם (כ״א ב׳, ע׳ 123) שנינו „ויצאו זקניך, רבי או׳ בוקני ב״ד הגדול הכת׳ מדבר וכו׳ ד״א בוקני כל ישראל בשופטי כל ישראל הכת׳ מדבר ואי זה זה ב״ד הגדול”. וכן היא שיטת ר׳ אליעזר בן יעקב בב׳ סנהדרין י״ד, ע״ב; וכן ביר׳ שם פ״א, י״ט, ע״א. וכן מובא סתמא במ׳ סוטה ריש פ״ט, וכן משמע ביר׳ שם „כדי שיצאו ב״ד מלשכת הגזית וימודו” (יר׳ סוטה כ״ג, ע״ג), וכעין זה בב׳ שם מ״ד, ע״ב, ומ״ה, ע״א.

ל״ח) הנה לפי המשנה סוטה ריש פ״ט משמע שגם ר״ש הסובר שלשה דינים מודדים, וגם ר׳ יודה הסובר חמישה, מודים שהם מב״ד של לשכת הגזית. וכן במיוחד ליונתן דברים כ״א:ב׳, „וייפקון מבי דינא רבא”. ראב״י פליג עליהם וסבר דכל סנהדרין

בין ממונות לדיני נפשות; בין נגע לנגע, בין מצורע מוסגר למצורע מוחלט". לפיו בין-בין-הנאמרות כאן כוונתן שב"ד צריכים להבחין ולהפריד בין הנשאים הנזכרים. הם דנים בין דם בתולים שהוא טהור לדם נידה שהוא טמא, ויש כאן חיוב כרת אם נכנסו למקדש או אכלו בשר קודש בטומאה. מצורע מוסגר ומצורע מוחלט שניהם חייבים כרת אם נכנסו למקדש. אולם הנאמר "בין דיני ממונות לדיני נפשות" צריך ביאור. ביאורו הוא שלתנא דבי ר' ישמעאל היא מיתה [בידי שמים] היא כרת, כמובא במכילתא בא פ"ח, ע' 29; שם פי', ע' 35; ופ' כי תשא, ע' 342; ספרי במדבר פי' ע', ע' 66; ופי' ק"ב, ע' 120; וביתר ביאור בספרי במדבר פי' קכ"ה, ע' 161, "מפני מה ענש להלן מיתה וכאן כרת ללמדך למיתה היא כרת וכרת היא מיתה"; ועי' בציוני הרחש"ה שם. וכן לתנא דבי ר' ישמעאל דין המעוות את הדין בין דיני ממונות בין דיני נפשות, ענשו מיתה בידי שמים, וזהו שאמרו בספרי דברים פי' ט', ע' 17 (שהוא מדבי ר' ישמעאל), "אמר להם איני כשאר כל הדיינים מלך ב"ו יושב על בימה שלו דן להריגה וכו' ואין בכך כלום ואם חייב ליטול סלע נוטל שנים שנים נוטל שלשה וכו' אינו כן אלא אם חייבתי ממון נפשות אני נתבע וכה"א אל תגול דל כי דל הוא ואל תדכא עני בשער כי ד' יריב ריבם וקבע את קובעיהם נפש" (משלי כ"ב:כ"ג).

זהו שדן התנא כלל ופרט. מה הפרט דבר שזדונו כרת ושגגתו חטאת וכו'. אולם כל זה לשיטת תנא דבי ר' ישמעאל. לשיטת ברייתא דו"מ בצורתה הנוכחית, אין בכל הפרטים חיוב כרת, ואין לדון ממנו על הכלל.

ל"ה) יש עוד סמוכים להשערותנו שנוסח הברייאת לפי גירסת הירוש' מקורה בדבי ר' ישמעאל. הנה לפי המובא במ"ת לעיל, לא דרשו המלים דברי ריבות בשערי כפרטים, אלא ככלל; וגם בזה חולק תנא זה על תנא דברייאת דו"מ בספרי.

הנה מציינו שדבי ר' ישמעאל לית להם שהשקיית סוטה ועגלה ערופה נעשות ע"י ב"ד המרכזי.

ביחס להשקיית סוטה נתקיימה מחלוקת, כנראה בין דבי ר"ע ובין דבי ר' ישמעאל, וכן לפניהם בין זקני ב"ש וב"ה, וגם בדורות הקדמונים, בין חכמי הפרושים הקרובים לחשמונאים, ובין אלה שהתנגדו להם.

ל"ו) בעקבות מחלוקת זו שנינו במ' סוטה פ"א, מ"ד שהיו מעלין אותה (כלומר את הסוטה) לב"ד הגדול שבירושלים. המשנה היא מתאמת אל המובא בברייאת דו"מ בספרי ובבב', וכן בירוש' בגירסה שלפנינו.

וכן משמע בתוספתא סנהדרין פ"ג, ה"ד, ע' 418, שמובא שם "אין שורפין את הפרה ואין עורפין את העגלה ואין עושין ז"מ על פי ב"ד ואין עושין פר העלם דבר של ציבור ואין מעמידין לא מלך ולא כה"ג אלא בב"ד של ע"א".

אולם במ' ריש סנהדרין אין זכר לכל אלה; המבארים הוכרחו לפרש שתנא ושייר, ועי' להלן. אבל גם בספרי במדבר פי' ז' (ע' 13) ואילך, אין זכר לב"ד הגדול

נראה שהברייתא בנוסחה בירו' (בלי ההוספות) מקורה בתורת דבי ר' ישמעאל; והם קיבלוהו מחכמי הפרושים הראשונים בזמן החשמונאים, שהתנגדו להרחבת סמכותו של ב"ד המרכזי על אף זה שחכמי הפרושים נצטרפו לו, וששיטתם נתגשמה בבית הלל. הברייתא דספרי ובב' מקורה בתורת החשמונאים עצמם.

ל"א) וזהו ששנו במ"ת הג"ל "כי יפלא, אין פליאה אלא כסיהא", ולא ביארו את הכתוב ב"מופלא" כי לשיטתם אין מקום למופלא בב"ד, אלא הוא צריך להיות מורכב כולו מחכמי הפרושים. בירו' לא הובאה בבא זו, ואדרבא, הובאה במקומה הבבא הבבלי, בהשפעת אותו תלמוד על נוסח הירו'. הגירסה מופלא שבב"ד פירושה שיש פלוגתא בב"ד עצמו בין חכם הפרושים והכהנים, כמבואר לעיל, שנתחברו חכמי הפרושים לב"ד של כהנים, וכן תירגמו את המלים ד ב ר י ר י ב ו ת אונקלוס, המיוחס ליונתן והת' הירושלמי.

ל"ב) וזהו ששינוי עוד במ"ת י"ז, ח', ע' 102, "רבי אומר כי יפלא ממך דבר למשפט, כלל; בין דם לדם ובין דין לדין ובין נגע לנגע, פרט. דברי ריבות, חזר וכלל כלל ופרט וכלל אין אתה דן אלא כעין הפרט מה הפרט מפרש דבר שחייבין על זדונו כרת ועל שגגתו חטאת אף כל דבר שחייבין על זדונו כרת ושגגתו חטאת".

הלכה זו שז"מ חייב בכל דבר שזדונו כרת ושגגתו חטאת מובאה בשם ר"מ בברייתא בב' סנהדרין פ"ז, ע"א. ואולי צריך לגרוס גם כאן ר' מאיר, שהרי תכופות נתחלפו להם למעתיקים ר"מ ור'. ואולם, אולי יש עוד לגרוס כאן ד ב ר א ח ר, שהרי המידה שנשנית כאן היא ממידות ברייתא דר' ישמעאל.

ל"ג) מ"מ יש להניח שברייתא זו, המובאה רק במ"ת, מקורה בתורת דבי ר' ישמעאל. אולי שנה אותה ר"מ מפי ר' ישמעאל, כשהיה עוד תלמידו. היא חולקת על ברייתא דז"מ המובאה לעיל, שהרי לפי אותה ברייתא בצורתה הנוכחית, פונים ללשכת הגזית גם בעניינים שאין בהם כרת, כמו דיני מכות, ולקט, שכחה ופיאה וכן ערכים, והקדשות וחרמות. ואמנם לא בכל ענייני התורה, בברייתא במ"ת משתקפת הדעה שנתרחבה בזמן מאוחר יותר ביבנה כמו שיבואר להלן, אי"ה. ואף שנדחקו בב' סנהדרין פ"ח, ע"א להעמיד את הברייתא הג"ל לפי שיטת ר"מ הסובר שם שאין חייבים אלא על דבר שזדונו כרת, ברור שלפי פשוטם של דברים אין להשוות את דברי הברייתא דז"מ בצורתה הנוכחית בספרי ובב' עם שיטת ר"מ המבוארת שם, שנוסדה על תורתם של דבי ר' ישמעאל. אלא שר"מ (ואולי ר' ישמעאל לפניו) לא צימצם את סמכותו של ב"ד המקדש לגמרי, כמו שצימצמה אותה הברייתא העתיקה רק לפרטים הנמנים בה (לשיטתם), והוסיף ע"י מידת כלל ופרט וכלל, כל הדומה להם, והם כל דבר שזדונו כרת ושגגתו חטאת.

ל"ד) מ"מ ברור, שתנא דברייתא זו המובאה במ"ת שנה ברייתא דז"מ לפי הנוסח המקובל בירו', "בין דם לדם, בין דם בתולים לדם נידה; בין דין לדין,



בכולו, או אם נשאל המופלא אם מותר למצורע מוסגר או מוחלט באשתו וכו' לא היה המופלא פונה לכהני המקדש, אם לא היה בידו, אלא לראשי הפרושים.

כ"ז) לברייאת זו בצורתה בירו' מתאימה כוונת אונקלוס שתרגם „בין מכתש סגירו למכתש סגירו“. ואולם במיוחס ליונתן ובתרגום ירו' תירגמו „וביני מכתש צורעא למכתש ניתקא“, משמע שכולם תרגמו בבא זו רק בצרעת אדם, ועי' להלן.

כ"ח) יש להעיר, שאונקלוס תרגם את הכתוב ועל פיהם יהי' כל ריב וכל נגע (דברים כ"א:ה') „ועל מימרהון יהא כל דין וכל מכתש סגירו“. ובמיוחס ליונתן שם „ועל מימר פומהון יהא מתדן כל דין וכל מכתש צורעא למסגור ולמחלוט“. משמע, שתירגמו את הכתוב בהתאם לברייאת בצורתה שבירו' המובאה לעיל, שלפיה יש סמכות לב"ד המרכזי של הכהנים רק בדיני נפשות (שהרי אצל עגלה ערופה בהרוע עסקין, והכתוב מבאר את הצורך לפנות לב"ד המרכזי) וצרעת אדם, ולא נזכרה שם צרעת בגדים ובתים כלל.

כ"ט) ברוב סעיפי הברייאת שבירו', נוסף ג"כ נוסח הב' והספרי, אולם אין זה אלא הוספת מוסרי הירו' או המעתיקים, שרצו להשוות את שתי הנוסחאות. בעיקר הדברים נחלקו, כנראה, נוסחי הירו' מחד גיסא, והב' והספרי, מאידך גיסא.

ל') עכשיו יש לעמוד על פתיחת הברייאת, לפי גירסת הירו' השונה מגירסת הספרי. לפי הירו' נדרש הכתוב ממך דבר למשפט, „ממך זו עצה, דבר זו אגדה“.

כוונת בעל הברייאת (לפי הנוסח שבירו') היא להגדיר את העניינים שבקשר להם חכם מחכמי החסידים צריך לפנות לב"ד שבמקדש. הוא אינו פונה להם בנוגע למסורת ההלכה, שהיא נמסרת איש מפי איש, מן הנביאים לאנכה"ג. לכהני המקדש וסנהדרין לא היה שום קשר לה; אדרבא, הם דחו אותה המסורת בשתי ידיים. רק אם המופלא היה נבון בשיקול הדעת, ורצה לעמוד על טיב העובדה שלפניו, היה לו לפנות אל ב"ד המקדש, שהיו דיינים מומחים בכגון דא. וכן במקום שלא קיבל מסורת מקודמיו, פנה אליהם גם במו"מ של הלכה, לברר את הכתובים שלא היה לו ביאור קבוע בקשר להם.

כבר ביארתי בס' היובל לכב' ר' יצחק בער נ"י, ע' 28 ואילך, ש„אגדה“ כאן פירושה מו"מ בהלכה. לפי הברייאת בירו' יש לבאר, איפוא, שפונים לב"ד המרכזי לשיקול הדעת או בעובדה עצמה (עצה) או במשא ומתן של הלכה (אגדה). אבל בקשר למסורת אין פונים ללשכת הגזית, אף שנמצאו בה חברים אחדים מחכמי הפרושים.

ברם, לפי שיטת תנא דספרי והב' צריך לפנות לב"ד המרכזי בכל ענייני דת, וגם במסורת. והו' שדרשו, דבר זו הלכה; כלומר מסורת. משפט זה הדין, כלומר מו"מ בהלכה.

הלכות הקדישות]; והיה אומר אין משקין לא את הגיורת ולא את השפחה המשוחררת [הלכות השקיית סוטה].

לא רצו למנות אותו אב ב"ד בישראל עד שיחזור באותם דברים, כי לפיהם נקרא החולק על ב"ד של לשכת הגזית בכגון דא ז"מ. אולם בשעת מיתתו ציווה לבנו לחזור בו, והסביר שהוא שמע מפי המרובים, כלומר מפי ב"ד, כמבואר להלן, שהשומע מפי ב"ד ומורה אינו חייב, כנ"ל; אבל בנו שמע רק מפי היחיד, ואין לשמועתו תוקף נגד שמועת המרובים מפי המרובים, בהלכות הללו. הרי שעקבי' בן מהללאל קיבל ברייתא דו"מ בצורתה הנוכחית בספרי ובבב', ודלא בסגנון ששימש כנ"ל יסוד לברייתא ביר'. כבר הוכחנו במקום אחר שעקבי' היה מב"ש (השווה) מבוא למסכתות אבות ואדר"נ, ע' נ"ו, ולהלן יתבאר אי"ה שברייתא זו בצורתה הנוכחית בספרי ובב' היא מב"ש.

כ"ד) אולם נתקיימה ברייתא מקבילה לזו של הספרי והב', ונשתמרו ממנה רשמים ביר'. לפי ברייתא זו אין לב"ד המרכזי סמכות אף בסעיפי התורה האמורים. לפי תנא דיר' הנ"ל, ביאור המלים בין דם ל דם הוא "בין דם נידה לדם בתולים". הרי התנא הזה מבאר את המלים בין - בין בבבא זו, בין דם ל דם, להפריד ולהבחין, ולא לכלול (והשווה דברי הרמב"ן בפי' לתורה על הכתוב בין דם ל דם), כלומר שאם בא לפני ב"ד המקומי מקרה שצריך היה להבחין בו בין דם בתולים לדם נידה היה פונה אל לשכת הגזית, שהיו בקיאים ממנו במראות דם. נימוק הבבא הוא לכאורה שדם בתולים אינו מטמא ודם נידות מטמא, וצריך לעמוד על טיב הענין. לשיטת התנא, צריכים לפנות אל כהני בית המקדש ובית הדין שלהם בכגון דא. כנראה, שביאור זה נתקבל אצל המיוחס ליונתן והוא מתרגם המלים בין דם ל דם "ביני אדם סאוב לאדם דכר".

כ"ה) עוד גרסין בברייתא ביר', "בין דין ל דין, בין דיני ממונות לדיני נפשות". וכן תירגם במיוחס ליונתן "וביני דיני נפשתא לדיני ממונא". ביאור הדברים הוא, שאם אין ביד ב"ד המקומי לעמוד על טיב העובדה שלפניהם אם הוא בדיני ממונות או בדיני נפשות; וכן בכל דיני נפשות (שאין לב"ד של עיירות סמכות בהם) פונים הדיינים אל ב"ד המרכזי במקדש. לכן אם יש להסתפק בדין המובא לפנייהם אם הוא של ממון או של נפשות, צריך שיבררו אותו בב"ד המקדש.

כ"ו) עוד מבארת הברייתא לפי גרסת היר' את הכתוב "בין נגע ל נגע", "בין מצורע מוסגר למצורע מוחלט". אין צורך להדגיש, שב"ד המקומי לא היה בקי תכופות במראות נגעים. אם אירע שבא לפניו מצורע, ולא ידע אם להסגיר אם להחליט, היה מביאו לפני ב"ד של כהני המקדש. ברם, שאר דיני מצורע, שאינם תלויים בבקאות המראה, כגון אם נידון כמצורע מוחלט ואחר כך פרחא הצרעת

ועוד היתה סמכות לכהני המקדש בכל ענייני טומאת צרעת, בין נגעי אדם, בין נגעי בגדים ובין נגעי בתים, וגם כן בעניינים הנוגעים למקדש עצמו כמו הערכים וההקדשות והחרמים. דברים אלו נוספו על יסוד הנאמר דבר י, שמתקיימים ע"י דיבור הפה.

י"ט) גם הלכות הקשורות בהשקיית סוטה, בעגלה ערופה, וטהרת מצורע צריך ה"מופלא" להגיש לב"ד הגדול, ואין לו רשות להתעסק בהן כלל שהן הלכות כהנים, כמו שיבאר להלן.

כ') אולם נראה, שסעיף זה בצורה הקדומה של ברייתא זו, היתה גירסתו "ריבי פרה ה, ריבי עגלה, והשקיית סוטה". הוכחה לדברינו היא שבספרי דברים פ' שנ"א (ע' 408) נדרש הכתוב "ועל פיהם יהי כל ריב וכל נגע, ריב אלו ריבי פרה ריבי עגלה וריבי סוטה, נגע, אלו נגעי אדם נגעי בגדים, ונגעי בתים". ברור, שהמדרש ההוא מקורו בברייטא דלפנינו, ופירשו ריב ונגע כמו כאן, ואין המאמרים ההם אלא הבאות מן הנאמר כאן.

כ"א) וכן בירו' שקלים פ"א, ה"א, מ"ו, ע"א, הוצ' ר' אברהם סופר ע' 6, ובתוספתא מ"ק פ"ב, ה"א (ועי' בשינוי-נוסח, מכת"י ב ומד') מובאה ברייתא, שכנראה נתחברה במקצת עפ"י ברייתא דז"מ שלפנינו. היא מפרטת את המלאכות המותרות בחולו של מועד, מפני שהן צרכי רבים, וביניהן, "דנין דיני ממונות דיני נפשות ודיני מכות [בתוס' הג' דיני קנסות] ופודין ערכין וחרמין והקדשות ומשקין את הסוטה ושורפין את הפרה ועורפין עגלה ערופה", הרי שפרה היתה נמנית בסעיף זה במקום טהרת מצורע. אלא שמסדרי הספרי שופטים ראו לתקן את הברייטא, מפני שלשיטת הפרושים עשיית פרה היא ביד וקניהם לגמרי; ולא ביד ב"ד של המקדש.

כ"ב) הלכות לקט, שכחה ופיאה יש לכהנים ענין בהן, שפטורים מן המעשר ומן התרומה, כמבואר במ' חלה פ"א, מ"ג; וכן בתרומות פ"א, מ"ה. כבר מצינו שבהתאם לבבא זו, כשזרע שמעון איש המצפה שני מינים לפי ר"ג [הזקן] ושאל אותו, לא רצה ר"ג לדון אם חייבים שתי פאות או אחת ועלו ללשכת הגזית. אמר [להם] נחום הלביר "מקובל אני מר' מיאש' שקיבל מאבא שקיבל מן הזוגות שקיבלו מן הנביאים הלכה למשה מסיני וכו'". כיוון שהיתה קבלה מאושרת ביד נחום הלביר, לא הוצרכו חברי הסנהדרין לעמוד למנין.

כ"ג) לפי האמור לאו מקרה הוא שד' הדברים המובאים ביחס לעקבי' בן מהללאל וחבריו (מ' עדויות פ"ה, מ"ו) הם כולם מן הסוגים הנמנים בברייטא דז"מ כפי שנשנתה בספרי ובב'. הוא נחלק על חבריו, שהיה מטמא שער הפקודה [במצורע]; ודם הירוק [בנידה]; התיר שער בעל מום שנשר והניחו בחלון ואח"כ שחטו [הרי כאן

היא להוכיח שרק "מופלא", כלומר חכם, מותר לו לפנות אל בית דין של המקדש, כשהוא נבוכ. שאר החסידים צריכים לפנות אל המופלא שבחבורתם ושבמקומם.

כרם, כאשר קם שמעון הצדיק, והכיר בעמדתם של חכמי החסידים (כמו שביארתי בחיבורי "הפרושים ואנכה"ג, ע' ע"ז), נתרחבה הסנהדרין, וכיללו בה גם אחדים מחכמי החסידים. וכן המשיכו לעשות הכהנים החשמונאים. כך מצינו בסיפור על ינאי המלך (ב' קידושין ס"ו, ע"ב), שנבדלו חכמי ישראל בזמנו בזעם [מן הסנהדרין שהיו משתתפים בה לפנים], וכך מצינו אצל יוסיפוס (קדמוניות י"ד, ט' ג, שם ט"ז, א' א'; ופרק י' ד') ששמע' ואבטליון היו מחברי הסנהדרין המרכזית.

ט"ו) כנראה, שלכל ב"ד מקומי נצטרף או אחד מחכמי החסידים והפרושים להורות לחבריו שהיו כהנים או ראשי אבות את תורת ישראל כפי שנמסרה איש מפי איש, ממש רבינו ע"ה. בזמן ההוא כינו את המופלא הזה שנצטרף לב"ד "מופלא שבב"ד". וגירסת הברייתא מופלא שבב"ד באה להדגיש שרק מופלא שבב"ד יש לו לפנות לב"ד המקדש אם היה נבוכ. אולם כשהיתה ההלכה ידועה לו לא היה צריך לפנות אל ב"ד המרכזי כלל.

על יסוד ההנחה שברייתא זו נובעת מתורתם של הדורות הראשונים של החשמונאים יש לעמוד על נוסחה ותכנה, ועל השינויים שבין מסורות הירוש' והספרי והב'.

ט"ז) לפי שיטת הברייתא צריכים לפנות לב"ד הגדול שבמקדש, בשביל עצה, הלכה, ודין. (בב' גרסו יו ע"ץ, ופירשו ביודע לעבר שנים, אולם קשה להעמיס פירוש זה על גירסת הספרי והירוש', שהיא עצה, ומשמע שעצה מקבילה להלכה או לפי גירסת הירוש' לא גדה ולדין.)

כוונת התנא, כמובא בספרי ובב', היא שהמופלא פונה ללשכת הגזית בעיקר באחד משלשה אופנים: או שהוא נבוכ בשיקול הדעת במאורע הבא לפניו, ולא הבין את עצם המאורע (עצה); או שנתעלמה ממנו ההלכה, כלומר המסורת; או שנתלבט במר"מ של ההלכה, כלומר בדין.

כיוון שאחדים מחכמי ישראל נצטרפו לבית הדין המרכזי, בוודאי שהיה מקבל אצלם הדרכה בקשר לעניין המופלא והמכוסה ממנו. התנא מבאר את סוגי ההלכות שבקשר להם ה"מופלא" פונה לבית דין המרכזי של בית המקדש, אף שרובם התנגדו למסורת הפרושים.

י"ח) לשיטתו, הוא פונה אליהם בכל הלכות טומאת דם, דם נידה, דם זיבה ודם יולדת, שהם בקיאים במראות הדם, הם פירשו את המלים בין דם לדם וכו', ככולל, כמו שביארן יהושפט, וכן ביארן הרמב"ן ז"ל.

י"ח) וכן פונה אליהם בכל ענייני דין, דיני ממונות, דיני מכות ודיני נפשות, שהם דיינים מומחים. הדבר הקשה לב"ד המקומי צריך להגיש לפניהם.

לשאול מדייני ב"ד המרכזי של המקדש, שיוורו לו איך להתנהג בתורה ובמצוות. וכן כל דיני נפשות הם בידם. והמלים בין דין לדין, פירש כנראה על החוקים, כלומר על דיון ומדרש שבהלכה; וכן בין גגע לגגע בנגעי צרעת, שהוצרך הכתוב להטעים שהם ברשותם של כהני המקדש לבד.

י"א) כמובן כך היתה ג"כ שיטתם של כהני המקדש בימי בית שני. אולם כיוון שהרבה מהם, ובייחוד הגדולים שבהם, לא היו נוהרים במצוות בכל דור ודור, וכן כיוון שהתנגדו החסידים, כלומר תלמידי צורא וסיעתו, ותלמידי תלמידיהם, למסורת הכהנים [שנתגשמה לבסוף בתורת הצדוקים] ראו הסופרים אנכה"ג הכרח לצמצם סמכות רחבה זו עד כמה שאפשר.

כנראה, שלשיטתם תיקן המלך יהושפט מה שתיקן שרק בדורות כשרים יש לסמוך על הכהנים שבמקדש; ולא קבע תקנה זו לדורות, אם יארע שיסורו הכהנים מן התורה והמצווה.

י"ב) בראשונה ביארו, לפי מסורת ברייתא דספרי, שב"מופלא" הכתוב מדבר, או לפי גירסת הב' והירר' "במופלא שב ב"ד הכתוב מדבר". מכל המקורות, ולפי כל הביאורים ברור, שמופלא זה היה חכם [או לפי שיטתו של רש"י ז"ל, תלמיד החכמים] מחכמי ישראל, המחזיקים בשיטת הפרושים והקודמים להם, תלמידיהם ותלמידי תלמידיהם של אנכה"ג. אולם עוד לא הוברר למדי פתרון המלה, מקורה ומשמעה.

נלע"ד שכינו את חכמי החסידים הללו בשם "מופלא" בעיקר, מפני שנתקיימה מסורת קדומה בישראל שלא להזכירם בשם, וכבר עמדתי על זה במאמרי על עילום השם אצל חכמי ישראל, בחיבורי "הפרושים ואנכה"ג, ע' ס"ג, וביתר ביאור ברבעון האנגלי, Conservative Judaism, שנה י"ב, תשי"ח, ח"ד, ע' 1 ואילך.

י"ג) כבר העירותי באותו מאמר על הנמסר בב' ב"ק ס"א, ע"א, שדוד אמר "כך מקובלני מב"ד של שמואל הרמתי כל המוסר עצמו למות על ד"ת אין אומרי' דברי הלכה משמו". ולאמיתו של דבר, הלא מצינו כך במ' גיטין פ"ו, מ"ז, "והו הלכה העלה ר' חנינא איש אונו מבית האסורין", א"ר יוסי גומינו לשליח וכו'. ת"ק מזכיר שמו של השליח אולם משמיט את זה של ר"ע, וגרס רק מ"בית האסורין"; ור' יוסי, הסובר שגם ר' חנינא מסר עצמו בענין זה, אינו מזכיר את שמו ואמר רק "גומינו לשליח".

מן הדברים הללו נראה דלאו מקרה הוא שלא נמסר שמו של אף אחד מחכמי ישראל שקמו במשך מאתים וחמשים שנה מדורו של צורא עד שמעון הצדיק. וזמנו של שמעון הצדיק עד זמנם של שמאי והלל, לא נשתיררו אלא שמותיהם של חברי הזוגות, שהוכרחו להזכירם מפני המחלוקת בין בתי המדרש שלהם, ושל עוד חסידים אחדים כחוני המעגל.

י"ד) לכן נראה לי ש"מופלא" פירושו הוא חכם מחכמי החסידים של הדורות הראשונים, ונקרא מופלא ע"ש עילום שמו. כוונת ברייתא דספרי, לפי הנוסח שם,

עזרא ושל אנכה"ג, שנתכנו אחר כך "פרושים". עיקר מגמת ה"מופלא" היה להורות לחבריו, חברי בית הדין, שרובם היו כהנים או ראשי אבות מן השכבות הגבוהות בעם, את תורת החסידים והפרושים, שקיבלוה מן הנביאים הלכה למשה מסיני, וקבלו עליה הכהנים. כשהובא דין לפני ב"ד, ולא היה ביד המופלא לפתור אותו, פנה בסוגי ההלכות המפורטים ללשכת הגזית.

ואולם בהוריות סתם, כמו ה' טומאה וטהרה וה' אישות שאינן נזכרות כאן, פנה לראשי בית המדרש של הפרושים, כמו יוסי בן יעזר ויוסי בן יוחנן בשעתם, ויהושע בן פרחי ונתאי הארכלי בשעתם.

(ח') לפי פשוטו של מקרא, לא היתה לבית הדין הגדול המרכזי של בית המקדש שום סמכות בהוריות דתיות, שהרי נאמר במפורש "כי יפלא ממך דבר למשפט, בין דם לדם, בין דין לדין, בין גנע לגנע, דברי ריבות בשעריך" (דברים י"ז:ח). הביאור הפשוט של המלים בין דם לדם הוא ברציחת נפש; של המלים בין דין לדין הוא בדיני ממונות, ושל המלים ובין גנע לגנע הוא בחבלות. וכן פירש הראב"ע ז"ל שם. וגם הרשב"ם ז"ל פירש כן אלא שלפיו גנע הוא גנע צרעת. ד"ר צ. ד. הופמאן בביאורו על דברים הסכים שפשוטו של מקרא כשיטת הרשב"ם ז"ל. וכעין פירוש זה נראה בת' השבעים שתירגמו בין גנע לגנע בראשונה על המצורע, והוסיפו שיש לפנות לבית הדין גם בדינים אחרים, כמו דיני חבלות ודיני ממונות.

(ט') המלך יהושפט הרחיב את סמכותם של הכהנים והשופטים של ב"ד המרכזי בירושלים, והעמיד שופטים בירושלים "מן הלויים והכהנים ומראשי האבות לישראל למשפט ד' ולריב, וישבו ירושלם. ויצו עליהם לאמר וכו' וכל ריב אשר יבוא עליכם מאחיכם היושבים בעריהם בין דם לדם בין תורה למצוה לחקים ולמשפטים והזהרתם אותם . . . ולא יאשמר" (דהי"ב י"ט:ח-י').

הרי שהמלך יהושפט דרש לפי דה"י שם, את הכתוב בין דם לדם שלא כמשמעו - להבדיל ולהבחין בין מקרים בהלכות האחרות ולדון איך הדין במאורע שלפניו, אלא ככלל, שנתן לב"ד סמכות בכל ענייני דם, וכן בכל ענייני חוקים וכו', כמו שביאר הרמב"ן ז"ל בפירושו על הכתוב בדברים, אליבא דמדרש חז"ל. וכן העמיד המלך יהושפט דיינים בכל עיר מבצר והזהיר אותם שלא לקחת שוחד, "כי לא לאדם תשפטו כי לד'" (דהי"ב י"ט:ו).

המלך יהושפט נתן רשות לדייני העיירות לדון דיני ממונות וחבלות; ואולם דיני נפשות וביאור התורה והמצווה בשביל כל ישראל מסר לב"ד המרכזי של המקדש.

(י') מן האמור משמע שיהושפט ביאר את הכתוב כי יפלא לא בדיינים שנכסה הדבר מהם או שהם נבוכים, אלא בכל אדם מישראל, שנסתפק בהלכה. הוא צריך



ג') לפי כל הביאורים תמוה: וכי רק במופלא או במופלא שבב"ד דיבר הכתוב; וכי אם הוצרך כל אחד מישראל לשאול דבר הלכה, אין סופו לבא ללשכת הגזית לברר את הדין, אם לא ביררו אותו בב"ד המקומיים והנמוכים? ומה זה שאמר תנא דברייטא "כי יפלא במופלא [או, לפי גי' הב' והירו' במופלא שבב"ד] הכתוב מדבר?"

ד') בדבי ר' ישמעאל דרשו, "כי יפלא, אין פליאה אלא כסיאה שנ' (זכרי' ח:ו) כי יפלא בעיני שארית העם ואו' (ירמ' ל"ב:כז) הממני יפלא כל דבר" [מ"ת ר"ז ז', ע' 102]; וכן עוד שם, "ד"א וקמת ועלית, למה נאמר לפי שהוא אומר כי יפלא ממך דבר למשפט, שאם נכסה דבר לאחד מהם שומע אני יהו כולן זקוקין לעלות ת"ל וקמת ועלית לא אמרתי אלא במי שנכסה ממנו דבר בלבד". תנא זה חולק על תנא דספרי כמבואר במה"ג שם, המביא מיד אחר ברייתא דר' ישמעאל את הברייטא שלפיה במופלא שבב"ד הכתוב מדבר, ועי' להלן.

ה') לפי תנא דבי ר' ישמעאל צריכים לעלות לב"ד המרכזי בכל ענין הכסוי והמופלא, ומי שנכסה ממנו צריך לעלות לב"ד, ולא דווקא ה"מופלא" במובנו הטכני. וכן תירגם אונקלוס ובמיוחס ליונתן, שעולים לב"ד הגדול אם יש פלוגתא בין הדיינים המקומיים, ולא מדובר כאן ב"מופלא" כלל.

וכן, כנראה, חולק ר' יוסי ביחוד על המובא בברייטא, שהרי הוא אומר בב' שם פ"ח, ע"ב, "הוצרך הדבר לשאול", או כגירסת התוס' הנ"ל "נצרך אחד מהם הלכה". הרי בכל שואל הכתוב מדבר ובכל בעי' בתורה, ולא דווקא במופלא, ולא דווקא כסוגים הנמנים.

לשיטת ר' יוסי, לא היו מחלוקות בישראל [או כג' הב' לא היו מרבים מחלוקת בישראל] כי כל בעי' שנתעוררה נפתרה ע"י הסנהדרין.

ו') ועוד יש לברר את השינויים הגדולים בין המסורות בברייטא זו, שבירו' שנו "בין דם לדם, בין דם נידה לדם בתולים, וכו'", ובספרי ובב' חסרו ארבע מלים הללו שסימנתי בפיוור האותיות. וכן שנו בירו' רק דיני ממונות ודיני נפשות, ולא דיני מכות, והוסיפו "בין הנסקלין לנשרפין לנהרגין ולנחנקין". וכן דרשו "בין גנע לגנע, בין מצורע מוסגר למצורע מוחלט", [חמש המלים הללו שסימנתי בפיוור האותיות חסרות בשאר המקורות]. השינויים הללו אין מקורם בטעויות מעתיקים או מוסרי ההלכה, שהוסיפו במקרה לפי אשגרא, אלא הם שינויי מסורת שיש לעמוד עליהם.

ז') הבעיות הללו נפתרות על יסוד ההנחה שברייטא זו דו"מ מקורה בדורות קדמונים, בתחילת ימי החשמונאים, כשסודרו בתי דין רשמיים בכל עירות ישראל. לכל ב"ד צירפו "מופלא" והוא אחד מחכמי החסידים, כלומר מתלמידיהם של

א') לכאורה ברייתא זו תמוהה, שהרי בכל ענייני התורה, בין מצוות עשה בין מצוות לא תעשה, הנבוכך בא לפני ב"ד הגדול כמבואר במ' סנהדרין פ"א מ"ב, וממנו תורה יוצאת לכל ישראל. וכן מפורט ביתר ביאור בדברי ר' יוסי בב' שם פ"ח ע"ב (ובנוסח שונה שיבואר להלן, בתוספתא שם פ"ז ה"א, ע' 425): "מתחילה לא היו מרבין מחלוקת בישראל אלא ב"ד של שבעים ואחד יושבין בלשכת הגזית וכו', הוצרך דבר לשאול שואלין מב"ד שבעים, אם שמעו אמרו להם, ואם לאו באין לזה שסמוך לעירן וכו', ואם לאו באין ללשכת הגזית". הרי שלכל בעי' בתורה שאין לה פתרון בב"ד המקומי או בבתי דינים נמוכים האחרים, פונים ללשכת הגזית. וכן מבואר עוד שם במ' סנהדרין פ"א מ"ג: "חומר בדברי סופרים מבדברי תורה. האומר אין תפילין כדי לעבור על ד"ת פטור. חמש טוטפות להוסיף על דברי סופרים חייב". והרי הוא זקן ממרא.

לפי משנה זו יש להקשות על הברייתא הנ"ל, איפה נכלל דין תפילין, שיש לשאול עליו בלשכת הגזית. וכן, איך נשמטו מן המניין רוב דיני טומאה וטהרה, כל דיני איסור והיתר, וכל דיני אישות וכו'. ועוד למה הוצרך התנא בכלל לפרוט את ההלכות לפי סוגיהן? אם כוונתו רק לברר את המקרא, המונה פרטים פרטים, הרי המקרא נדרש בתוספתא הוריות פ"א ה"ז, ע' 474, "בין דם לדם, ולא כל דם; בין דין לדין, ולא כל דין וכו'". כלומר, שאינו חייב אלא השואל על מקצת מצווה והורו ועבר על הוראתם. ובמ"ת י"ז ח', ע' 102, נדרש המקרא בכלל ופרט, שאין חייבין אלא על דבר שזדונו כרת ושנגתו חטאת, והרי כאן פרטים רבים שאין בהם כרת. ועוד קשה, שהאי תנא דורש דברי ריבנות כפרט, ותנא דבי ישמעאל דורש את המלים ככלל.

ב') ועוד תמוה, מה זה מופלא הנזכר כאן. רש"י ז"ל פירש "במומחה לב"ד, למעוטי תלמיד". העירו בתוס' שם ד"ה במופלא, שלפי דבריו אין מופלא זה כשאר מופלא דבכל דוכתין, שבכל מקום משמע שמופלא הנזכר יש לו יחס לב"ד, או שהוא ראש ב"ד, כשיטת הרמב"ם ז"ל בפ' המשניות (הוריות פ"א מ"ד); או שהוא החכם ביניהם ויודע את התורה; או שהוא יודע ההלכות אלא שלא נמנה בין הסנהדרין. כן מבואר בברייתא דר' יוסי הנ"ל לפי הנמסר בתוספתא סנהדרין פ"ד ה"א, ע' 425, וזהו נוסחה: "אם שמעו אמרו לו אם לאו הוא [כלומר השואל] ומופלא שבהם [שבב"ד] באין לב"ד שבהר הבית אם שמעו אמרו להן ואם לאו הן ומופלא שבהן באין לב"ד שבחיל וכו'". כבר נשאו ונתנו בהוראת המלה "מופלא" ראשונים ואחרונים וביניהם מר"ר הג' ר' לוי גינצבורג ז"ל, בפ' וחי' לירושלמי ח"ג, ע' 213 ואילך; ועי' השלמות ותוספות למשנת גויקין לר"ח אלבק, ע' 458 וע' 504, ובמרגליות הים לר' ראובן מרגליות, סנהדרין ג' ע"ב, אות י"א ואילך; ושם פ"ז ע"א אות א. והשווה גם מה שהעירתי בנידון זה בס' היוכל לכ' הגר"ל גינצבורג, חלק עברי, ע' שי"ד.

## ברייתא דבית דין של לשכת הגזית\*

מאת אליעזר ארי' פינקלשטיין

בית המדרש לרבנים באמריקה, ניו יורק, נ. י.

ספרי	ירושלמי	בבלי
כי יפלא, מלמד שבמופלא הכתוב מדבר. ממך, זו עצה. דבר, זו הלכה. למשפט, זה הדין. בין דם לדם, בין דם נדה לדם יולדת לדם זיבה. בין דין לדין, בין דיני ממונות לדיני נפשות לדני נפשות לדני מכות. בין נגע לנגע, בין נגעי אדם לנגעי בגדים לנגעי בתים. דברי, אלו ערכים וחרמים והקדשות. ריבות, זו השקית סוטה ועריפת עגלה וטהרת מצורע. בשעריך, זו לקט שכחה ופיאה.	כי יפלא ממך דבר למשפט, מגיד שבמופלא שבבית דין הכתוב מדבר. ממך, זה עצה. דבר, זו אגדה. בין דם לדם, בין דם נידה לדם בתולים. בין דם נידה לדם זיבה לדם צרעת. בין דין לדין, בין דיני ממונות לדיני נפשות. בין דין לדין, בין הנסקלין לגשרפין לנהרגין ולנחנקין. בין נגע לנגע, בין מצורע מוסגר למצורע מוחלט. בין נגע לנגע, בין נגעי אדם לנגעי בגדים לנגעי בתים. דברי, זו השקיית סוטה ועריפת העגלה וטהרת המצורע. ריבות, אילו הערכים והחרמים והתמורות וההקדשות.	תנו רבנן כי יפלא ממך דבר, במופלא שבב"ד הכתוב מדבר. ממך, זה יועץ וכן הוא אומר ממך יצא חושב על ה' רעה יועץ בליעל. דבר, זו הלכה. למשפט, זה הדין. בין דם לדם, בין דם נדה לדם זיבה. בין דין לדין, בין דיני נפשות, דיני ממונות, דיני מכות. בין נגע לנגע, בין נגעי אדם נגעי בתים נגעי בגדים. דברי, אלו החרמים והערכין וההקדשות. ריבות, זו השקאת סוטה ועריפת עגלה וטהרת מצורע. בשעריך, זו לקט שכחה ופאה.

\* בספרי דברים פי' קנ"ב, בירו' סנהדרין פרק ואלו הן הנחנקין ה'ג, ובב' שם פ"ו, ע"א מובאה ברייתא המפרטת את ההלכות שבקשר עמהן צריכים לפנות אל ב"ד הגדול שללשכת הגזית. והוה נוסחה לפי המקורות האמורים [איני רושם את שינויי הנוסח במקורות שאין להם עניין למל' כאן].

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